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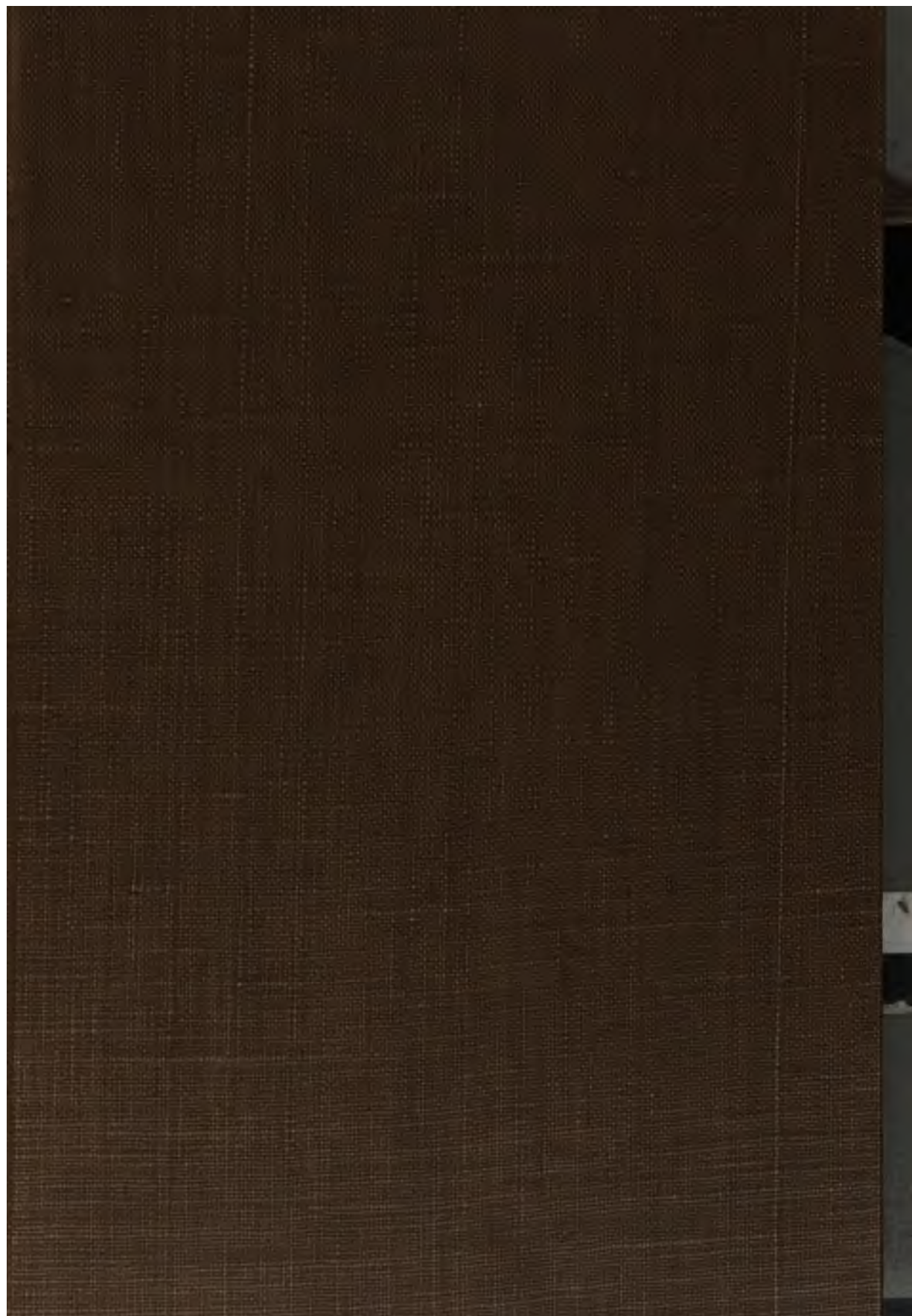
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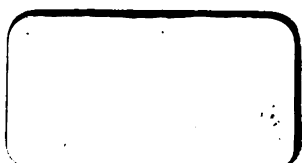
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# THE CHURCHMAN

A Monthly Magazine

CONDUCTED BY CLERGYMEN AND LAYMEN  
OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

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VOL. I.

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LONDON  
ELLIOT STOCK, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW  
1880

Per ... d. 31  
1.



## PREFACE.

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THE completion of the first volume of THE CHURCHMAN imposes upon its Editor the grateful duty of rendering his hearty thanks to the friends under whose advice and encouragement the Magazine has come into existence, to the contributors who have lent to its pages their literary ability, experience, and learning, and to the subscribers who have given it their support. THE CHURCHMAN is indebted to their combined influence for an early history full of promise. It has already acquired a circulation considerably larger than was attained by the *Christian Observer*, in the years when that Magazine was a power in the Church, a circulation larger, indeed, than many of its hearty supporters ventured to expect. THE CHURCHMAN may, therefore, be regarded as a commercial success. If the same amount of support can be secured from the laity as the clergy have generously accorded, a prolonged career of influence and usefulness may be confidently anticipated.

In soliciting the enlarged co-operation of the clergy in bringing THE CHURCHMAN under the notice of their lay friends, the Editor bases his appeal on the recognised need of some organ of public opinion among Evangelical Churchmen. Evangelical Protestantism in the Church of England must needs have its own standpoint. A representative periodical, which at once possesses a clear insight into the real meaning of current events, and is competent to express a sound judgment on the most important works in sacred and secular literature, cannot fail to render valuable service in the guidance of opinion, the defence of truth, and the encouragement of well-directed Christian effort.

The Editor is, however, fully aware that the final success of any magazine must depend upon its own merits. If it proves

false to the principles it professes, or fails to accomplish the purposes for which it was founded, by falling short of the literary excellence demanded by the growth of taste and the increase of knowledge, no goodwill of its friends will save it from decay. For THE CHURCHMAN'S faithfulness to its principles the Editor can pledge himself; for its literary excellence he must in some degree be dependent on his friends.

The Evangelical section of the Church has proved itself to possess ample abilities and learning to hold its own in any competition, if they can be fully enlisted in the work.

There are two difficulties inherent in the conditions of the task laid upon the Editor and his co-workers, of which it is desirable that all friends of the cause should form a clear and adequate conception. One arises from the limited space of a monthly serial containing only eighty pages: another from the constitution and circumstances of the Evangelical body.

The first affects the details of management. Two classes of readers have to be consulted. The one asks for readable articles on general subjects; the other for the complete and exhaustive treatment of questions of a higher order. Papers of this latter kind cannot possibly be short. If excessive condensation be employed, all grace and vivacity of style are necessarily forfeited. If the length be excessive, they not only weary ordinary readers with their prolixity, but they occupy so large a portion of the space at command as to render variety of subjects impracticable. To adjust the mutual claims of the two modes of treatment is a task of equal difficulty and delicacy. Should the Editor sometimes be thought to miss the happy mean, he can only deprecate severity of judgment, and appeal to the forbearance of the student and the patience of the general reader.

Nor is the task less difficult to regulate the allowance to be made for diversities of opinion on secondary points, consistently with the firm and most unflinching maintenance of the distinctive principles of Evangelical truth. Wide variations of opinion, even on points of doctrine, have always existed, wider, indeed, than persons, conversant only with the history of their own times, are probably aware. It is inevitable that this should be the case in a School, of which a primary principle is the bounden duty of private judgment. Profound reverence for the absolute authority of the Word of God, and devout belief in Christ's

promise of the gift of the Spirit of truth, encourage an independence of judgment, which calls no man master. It would be strangely foreign to all past experience of human nature if such a tendency did not sometimes run into excess ; but in itself it is right and good. If on one side it renders a close organisation and anything approaching to party discipline impracticable, it nurtures on the other side a free vigorous life, which grows by exercise and is full of spiritual force.

That the difficulty of adjusting these two various claims has been felt by the Evangelical Fathers of the past generation will be seen from the following extracts. They proceed from the pen of the Reverend Henry Venn, whose sagacity of judgment was as eminent as was his jealousy for the truth of God:—

No one intimately acquainted, by tradition or by the careful study of the biographies and letters of the early Evangelical ministers, will be surprised that such differences as those alluded to should arise within the Evangelical body. Differences on secondary matters always have existed, often to a far greater extent than at present ; many such differences have been precisely of the same character as some at this day—many on far more important theological questions."

He sums up the whole question as follows :—

In addition to the cautions here given respecting the treatment of young and immature inquirers after the truth, it must ever be borne in mind that while the Evangelical body are united by certain great principles essential to the life of the soul, there always have been, there always must be, differences on many points, without compromising those principles, arising from the natural bias of mind, or individual relations, or, it may be, from idiosyncrasies which call for mutual forbearance, candid construction, and charity which is the bond of perfectness.

On these lines THE CHURCHMAN will be conducted. The Editor earnestly asks the prayers of those who are alive to the necessities of modern controversy, that a work, commenced out of a single desire to promote the glory of God, may be guided by His Spirit, and effectually prospered to the maintenance of His truth.





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# THE CHURCHMAN

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OCTOBER, 1879.

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## ART. I.—THE EVANGELICAL SCHOOL.

1. *The Evangelical Movement : its Parentage, Progress, and Issue.*  
By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE. (*The British Quarterly Review* for July, 1879.)
2. *History of the Eighteenth Century.* By W. E. H. LECKY.
3. *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century.* By the Rev.  
C. J. ABBEY and Rev. J. H. OVERTON.
4. *Religion in England under Queen Anne and the Georges.*  
By JOHN STOUGHTON, D.D.
5. *Essays on Ecclesiastical Biography.* By Right Hon. Sir  
JAMES STEPHEN, K.C.B.

IF the concurrence of independent testimony can establish any matter of opinion, the prevalent influence of the Evangelical School on the thought and feeling of the Church of England must be accepted as an established fact. All the writers above named concur in asserting it—the statesman, the philosopher, the clergyman, the Nonconformist, and the lawyer form the same general estimate. They differ widely, indeed, from each other as to the period at which the predominance of the School was reached, and as to the causes to which it is to be ascribed, but as to the fact they are unanimous. Mr. Gladstone affirms that by infusion it profoundly altered “the general tone and tendency of the preaching of the clergy.” Mr. Lecky asserts that before the close of the eighteenth century “the Evangelical movement had become dominant in England, and it continued the almost undisputed centre of religious life till the rise of the Tractarian movement in 1830.” Mr. Abbey, in the introduction to the valuable work with which his name is associated, states

that the Evangelical movement did good even in quarters where it had been looked upon with disfavour, and attributes to its influence "better care for the religious education of the masses, an increased attention to Church missions, the foundation of new religious societies, greater practical activity and improvement in the style of sermons." Mr. Overton declares that the Evangelical leaders were "the salt of the earth" in their day, and concludes his history of the Evangelical revival with the declaration that "every English Churchman has reason to be deeply grateful to them for what they did." Dr. Stoughton, in his introduction, speaking of the "outburst of religious zeal which took place under George II., both within the Church of England and without it," describes it as "a wonderful movement," "which develops into large and still larger dimensions as time rolls on." Towards the close of his second volume he states that the revival of Evangelical religion, with the religious machinery to which it gave rise, "penetrated efficaciously into the depths of society, so as to render the continuance of certain existing evils almost impossible. . . . And beyond all this, multitudes were converted to the faith and practice of the Gospel, so as to live in virtue and benevolence, and die in the hope of eternal life." Sir J. Stephen, in his Essay on the Evangelical succession, declares that its members "accomplished a momentous revolution in the national character."<sup>1</sup> If it may be permitted to combine all these statements into one, they cover the whole life of Evangelicalism from its revival in the eighteenth century down to the present day. They constitute a splendid eulogy; and those who can trace their religious genealogy back to Simeon, Scott, Newton, and Venn, have cause to be proud of their spiritual inheritance.

The fact must, therefore, be held to be established that the Evangelical School, more than any other, has moulded the religious character of the English nation. It is not simply that a

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<sup>1</sup> Note in Lord Macaulay's *Life*, vol. i. pp. 67, 68.—Macaulay writing to one of his sisters in 1844, says, "I think Stephen's Article on the Clapham Sect the *best thing he ever did*. I do not think with you that the Claphamites were men too obscure for such delineations. The truth is, that from that little knot of men emanated all the Bible Societies, and almost all the Missionary Societies in the world. The whole organisation of the Evangelical party was their work. The share which they had in providing means for the education of the people was great. They were really the destroyers of the slave-trade and of slavery. Many of those whom Stephen described were public men of the greatest weight. Lord Teignmouth governed India at Calcutta. Grant governed India in Leadenhall Street. Stephen's father was Percival's righthand man in the House of Commons. It is needless to speak of Wilberforce. *As to Simeon*, if you knew what his authority and influence were, and how they extended from Cambridge to the most remote corners of England, you would allow that his real sway in the Church was far greater than that of any Primate."

revival of spiritual life, like the revival of letters in the thirteenth century, took place, and that this section of the Church of England, in common with other sections, partook of its quickening influence; but it is that the Evangelical School, taking its rise in the middle of the eighteenth century in the persons of a few men—not powerful from their wealth and social position, not remarkable for special intellectual genius or for vast erudition, not giving expression to the secret thought of their times or of their Church, but standing in opposition to it, and struggling against obloquy and reproach—has yet permeated and interpenetrated with its own spiritual force the heart and mind and conscience of the Church of Christ in this country for a period of more than a hundred years. In the face of such a fact despondency and timidity in the maintenance of our principles should be for ever discarded.

The mind naturally inquires about the source of this power, and the elements that have composed it. Two answers have been given, and it would seem that two answers only are possible. The one attributes the result to the character of the men themselves, principally of its first founders, and subsequently of those who have received their mantle, and inherited their spirit; the other attributes it to the doctrines embodied in the School—that is, to the vital power of the truth which formed the substance and communicated the quickening energy to their teaching.

"The points," Mr. Gladstone says, "in which the Evangelical School permanently differed from the older and traditional Anglicanism were those of the Church, the Sacraments, and the forensic idea of Justification. They are not, in my view, the strong points, and I do not wish to dwell upon them." Accordingly, in contrast with them, he proceeds to place what he assumes to be the primary points of difference. "Its main characteristic was of a higher order. It was a strong, systematic, outspoken, and determined reaction against the pervading standards both of life and preaching. It aimed at bringing back on a large scale, and by an aggressive movement, the Cross, and all that the Cross essentially implies, both in the teaching of the clergy, and into the lives as well of the clergy as of the laity." In this effort it is admitted that they succeeded; "the pith and life of the Evangelical teaching, as it consists in the re-introduction of Christ our Lord to be the woof and warp of teaching, was the great gift of the movement to the teaching church, and has now penetrated and possessed it on a scale so general, that it may be considered as pervading the whole mass." Let the statement be accepted; but how did the Evangelical Fathers succeed in reintroducing Christ the Lord as the woof and warp of teaching, but by inculcating those very doctrines which Mr. Gladstone professes to put on one side as questions of



inferior importance. What is the "preaching of the Gospel" which the Evangelical fathers are stated to have restored, but the doctrines relative to the person and work of Christ. There are few of these doctrines more crucial than the very three which are deemed not to be strong points of the Evangelical School. They are the doctrines of all doctrines. Let it be said that the soul derives spiritual life by membership with the Church; that the body and blood of Christ are *in, with, or under* the consecrated bread and wine; that justifying righteousness is inherent and not imputed—and in every case our Lord is pushed into the background, and other objects interposed between Him and the sinner. Yet it is implied (p. 14) that these doctrines are negative, not positive. The Evangelical teaching is but the echo of the eleventh, the nineteenth, and the twenty-fifth Articles, and in all these Articles the language is not negative, but affirmative and didactic to the utmost degree.

The statement, therefore, that the great obligation conferred by the Evangelical School upon the Church of England consists in "having roused her from her slumbers and set her vigorously to work" (p. 10) is scarcely consistent with the admission that the revival of Gospel preaching was due to it, or with the statement in another place (p. 24) that the function of the School is to keep alive "the vigour and activity in the Anglican body of those 'doctrines of grace,' without which the salt of Christianity soon loses all its savour" (p. 24). It may, however, possibly be thought that the spiritual force of the School is due not to the doctrines they preached, but to the depth of conviction and fervency of zeal with which they were preached. It would be not only foolish, but ungrateful, to overlook the service rendered to the Church by the personal qualities of the Evangelical Fathers. Their profound convictions, their intense earnestness, their self-sacrificed devotedness, their self-abnegation, their heroic courage, their lofty faith and spirit of devotion, were worthy of all admiration. It is scarcely possible to exalt them too highly. Nevertheless, no force of personal qualities can adequately account for the work that has been accomplished. For personal qualities only act upon the circle of those who are brought into personal contact, and this circle is, after all, a narrow one. It was so especially with men who, like Newton, Scott, Romaine, Cecil, and Simeon, were pastors of congregations, or incumbents of parishes, which taxed all their energies, and from which the most vexatious and trying opposition was sometimes encountered, as with Newton and Scott at Olney, and Simeon at Cambridge. No doubt the itinerancy maintained during the earliest stages of the revival extended the sphere of personal influence. The immense labours of Wesley and Whitefield, within the sphere of Methodism, and of Grimshaw of Howarth, and Berridge of Everton, outside

of it, must have acted over a very considerable area. It has been computed that Whitefield preached from forty to sixty hours every week, and ten or even twenty thousand hearers at a time would hang breathlessly on his words. Grimshaw itinerated throughout the Northern counties, Berridge in the Eastern, Toplady and Walker in Devon and Cornwall, and all of them with a burning zeal that knew no weariness. By these labours, the seeds of truth must have been sown broadcast throughout the land, and men's minds have been brought into a receptive condition. But the impression produced by the personal earnestness of the preachers, valuable as it must have been in establishing what Aristotle calls the *ἦθος* of the speakers, must have been in itself too superficial to have lived, still less to have worked, without some solid basis of doctrinal truth to support it. By the very necessities of the human constitution, strong and permanent affections can only be excited and maintained by equally strong and permanent convictions. Every human emotion has its root in some truth apprehended by the understanding. It is certainly conceivable that a general sentiment of reverence and desire may have been aroused by such preaching and such preachers in persons who understood but little of the truths presented and impersonated; but such a sentiment can have had no vitality. It must have been too nerveless to act upon others; too deficient in backbone to be able to stand by itself. The holy enthusiasm of the Evangelical Fathers was a powerful instrument for exciting attention; but the spiritual force of the movement must be sought in something much more inward, more constraining, and more abiding.

Moreover, if it be admitted that the Evangelical School has been distinguished for peculiar earnestness—and to use a Scriptural as well as a popular word, “unction”—in preaching the doctrines of grace, the question occurs, whence this earnestness has been derived. It cannot have been a personal attribute if it has descended in the succession of a School. Unity of spirit maintained for a hundred years would be an abiding miracle if there were no underlying cause to which it is to be attributed. That the common characteristics of a School should hold no relation to the peculiar system of belief which constitutes it into a School is absolutely incredible. Men die, but truth lives.

This leads to another aspect in which the whole question may be considered. It has already been observed that the admissions of the various writers, who have discussed the rise and progress of the Evangelical School, involve the existence of a spiritual force peculiar to the School, and not possessed by other Schools of religious opinion. This force must exist in that which distinguishes it from other Schools, that by which

it is differentiated. What are the specific marks by which it is to be identified? There are three possible answers—by the personal holiness of its members; by its outward system of worship; by its inward principles of truth.

Of the personal qualities of its members little more need be added. It would ill become an Evangelical writer to assert any monopoly of holiness, or of earnestness and zeal, for the members of his own School; and was he conceited enough to advance the claim, certainly none of the writers mentioned at the head of this Article would admit of it for a moment. The claim has, indeed, been advanced on the other side. Few things have been more prominently pleaded in Episcopal Charges and the columns of the press than the peculiar holiness and self-devotedness of English sacerdotalists. Those who would not for a moment advance such a claim on their own behalf may be pardoned for demurring to its justice when advanced on behalf of others. Such a comparison should be not only unspoken, but unthought. The operations of the Holy Spirit upon the human heart are no special prerogative of any School. In the absolute freedom of His sovereignty He divides to every man severally as He will.

Is the secret of Evangelical influence to be found in the system to which it has given rise, and the modes of worship in which it has embodied itself? This needs to be carefully considered, the more carefully, because of the confessed, and perhaps the growing similarity of practice which exists between Evangelical Clergymen on one side, and High Churchmen and even Ritualists on the other. Some view this approximation with the greatest alarm; some with exultation and loud-expressed triumph. Both of these parties widely mistake the facts of the case, and exaggerate the results. One broad distinction which lies at the threshold of the inquiry, and which must be jealously kept in mind throughout, may perhaps tend to allay the alarm of one section, and to moderate the triumph of another. A line, broad and deep as it can possibly be drawn, separates ritual practices which are symbolical of doctrine, and ritual practices which are matters of æsthetic taste, and which vary with the varying constitutions of men. That ritual may have a symbolical meaning was openly asserted at an early period of the ritualistic history by the Rev. F. Lee, in his "*Directorium Anglicanum*," and has been constantly repeated since, as, for instance, by the Rev. W. J. Bennett in his "*Plea for Toleration*," and very recently by the Lord Bishop of Colombo in his correspondence with the agents of the Church Missionary Society. One quotation may suffice for all. "*Ritual and Cereemonial*," says the Preface to the "*Directorium*," "are the expressions of doctrine, and witness to the sacramental truth of the

Catholic religion." With practices of this character, ritual or otherwise, no man of Evangelical belief can have anything whatever to do. To adopt them would be to deny the fundamental principles of his own creed. He must not only shrink with jealous vigilance from the slightest complicity with them on his own part, but must protest against their introduction into the Church of his forefathers. He must regard them with an abhorrence not measured by the trivial nature of the acts, but by the importance of the doctrines they are employed to symbolize. His attitude towards them must ever be an attitude of indignant protest and uncompromising opposition.

There is one matter not strictly belonging to the class of practices just mentioned, which may be noticed in this place more properly than in any other. I refer to the habitual disrespect exhibited by Ritualists towards their Bishops, when they happen to disagree with them. It furnishes a curious illustration of the genealogical descent of modern sacerdotalists, for it would be unfair to the great body of English High Churchmen to involve them in the charge, from the Ultra Churchmen of the eighteenth century. The latter are described by Mr. Lecky in a passage which might be adopted as an accurate portraiture of the modern Ritualist. The passage is worth quotation, in spite of its length, so precisely and exactly true are the particulars of the portrait:—

The writers of this school taught that Episcopalian clergymen were as literally priests as were the Jewish priests, though they belonged not to the order of Aaron, but to the higher order of Melchizedek; that the Communion was literally, and not metaphorically, a sacrifice; that properly-constituted clergymen had the power of uttering words over the sacred elements which produced the most wonderful, though, unfortunately, the most imperceptible of miracles; that the right of the clergy to tithes was of direct Divine origin, antecedent to, and independent of, all secular legislation; that the sentence of excommunication involved an exclusion from heaven; that the Romish practice of prayers for the dead was highly commendable; that all non-episcopal communities who dissented from the Anglican Church were schismatics, guilty of the sin, and reserved for the fate of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. Aiming especially at sacerdotal power, these theologians had naturally a strong leaning towards the communities in which that power had been most successfully claimed, and negotiations were accordingly at one time opened for union with the Gallican, at another with the Eastern Church. Some of them contended that all baptisms except those of Episcopalian clergymen were not only irregular, but invalid, and that, therefore, Dissenters had no kind of title to be regarded as Christians. Brett, some time before he joined the sect, preached and published a sermon maintaining that repentance itself was useless unless it were followed by priestly absolution, which could only be administered by an Episcopalian clergyman; and both Dodwell and Lealey were of opinion that such absolution was essential to salvation. . . .

It might have been imagined from the solemnity of the ordination vow, and from the peculiar sanctity supposed to attach to the clerical profession, that clergymen would be distinguished from lawyers, soldiers, and members of other secular professions, by their deference and obedience to their superiors. It might have been imagined that this would be especially true of men who were continually preaching the duty of passive obedience in the sphere of politics, and the transcendent and almost divine prerogatives of Episcopacy in the sphere of religion. As a matter of fact, however, this has not been the case. If the most constant, contemptuous, and ostentatious defiance, both of civil and ecclesiastical authorities, be a result of the Protestant principle of private judgment, it may be truly said that the extreme High Church party in more than one period of its history has shown itself, in this respect at least, the most Protestant of sects. While idolizing Episcopacy in the abstract, its members have made it a main object of their policy to bring most existing Bishops into contempt, and their polemical writings have been conspicuous, even in theological literature, for their feminine spitefulness and for their recklessness of assertion. The last days of Tillotson were altogether embittered by the stream of calumny, invective, and lampoons, of which he was the object. One favourite falsehood, repeated in spite of the clearest disproof, was that he had never been baptised.—*Lecky's History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i. pp. 86–88.

For the Sacerdotalists of the eighteenth century take the Sacerdotalists of the nineteenth; for Archbishop Tillotson substitute Archbishop Tait, and *de te fabula narratur*. Caustic, however, as Mr. Lecky is, he has failed to trace this common likeness to its common source in the two centuries. The cause is probably to be found in the conception formed of the Church by the Sacerdotal School of the two periods. To their imaginations she has stood ever in the front, an august and majestic figure bearing on her crowned brow the words, *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*. Such a conception has been a pure work of imagination. It has had no existence in fact. It is but a great name given to an abstraction of the mind; a vague, shapeless shadow beneath the majesty of which each man may idolize his own private judgment and stamp it with an ideal Catholicism. But with such a conception in view it is not surprising that the actual claims of practical authority should be disregarded, and treated with contempt in face of a supreme authority, which, were not the conception as utterly baseless in fact as it is imposing in theory, would naturally overshadow particular persons, however high their office, into insignificance. If the curious accuracy of Mr. Lecky's portraiture be doubted, or its application to some moderns be called into question, we have only to refer the doubter to the *Church Herald* of July 15, 1874.

But while there can be no truce between the Evangelical

School and practices, which are the unwritten language of doctrines offensive to all our deepest convictions, there is another class of devotional practices which are common to more parties than one, and which, consequently, furnish no line of distinction between the Evangelical School and other Schools with which we stand in conflict. I refer to practices relative to the solemnity of public worship, to the honourable beauty of the outward structure, to the office of the Christian ministry, as being of Divine appointment, and not of Ecclesiastical convenience, and to the authority of the Church as an organised society, with "power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith" (Art. xx.).

No candid mind will claim perfection for the Evangelical School, or be ashamed of admitting that in modern times it has learned something from its opponents. It is probably true that higher conceptions of the functions of the Church, and of the value of the sacraments now prevail than were common among Evangelicals fifty years ago; but this change, if it be a fact, has only brought the School back to the standpoint of its most eminent founders. In those practices which are distinctive of Sacerdotal doctrine there has been no approximation between the Schools; no, not a single hair's breadth. There is, however, a tendency in the human mind in avoiding one extreme to approach rashly towards another. There is danger lest, in getting as far as possible from a given error, the simple standard of revelation should be overstepped, and some corrective truths overlooked in the very vehemence of the rebound. It is not given to any human mind to embrace with equal clearness and force every section of the Divine circle of truth. We cannot yet see things as God sees them. The Great Master governs His Church in a great degree by the action of contraries. Each man sees with peculiar vividness some truth or class of truths, and for that truth he must contend with all his might. He sees a part, where God sees the whole; grasps a part, while God holds in His mighty hands all the converging lines in one perfect and harmonious unity. That in their strong revulsion from Romish or Romanizing teaching some ardent minds should trench too far towards the other side is no more than natural. Richard Cecil saw and lamented the tendency in his own day.

Man is a creature of extremes—the middle path is generally the wise path, but there are few wise enough to find it. Because Papists have made too much of some things, Protestants have made too little of them: the Papists treat man as all sense; some Protestants would treat him as all spirit. Because one party has exalted the Virgin into a divinity, the other can scarcely think of that "most highly-favoured among women" with respect. The Papist puts the Apocrypha into his



canon; the Protestant will scarcely regard it as an ancient record. The Popish heresy of human merit in justification drove Luther on the other side into most unwarrantable and unscriptural statements of that doctrine. The Papist considers grace as inseparable from the participation of the Sacraments; the Protestants too often lose sight of them as instituted means of conveying grace.—*Remains*, p. 168.

The attitude of the Evangelical Fathers, adjusted to the parties of our own day, may be aptly described by the phrase "Protestant Evangelical Churchmen." Mr. Overton, in his sketch of the Evangelical Revival, states that the early Evangelicals were as firmly attached to the Church and to parochial order as the highest of High Churchmen. Dr. Stoughton states that while "Newton and Scott were friendly with Methodists, and were not shocked at the Ecclesiastical irregularities of their fellow-labourers, Cecil and others were Churchmen to the backbone, and intensely disliked the doings of the itinerants."

Cecil says of himself, "I never choose to forget that I am a priest, because I would not deprive myself of the right to dictate in my ministerial capacity." Newton in his "Theologia" expresses himself thus—"Though the Bishop who ordained me laid me under no restrictions, I would not have applied to him for ordination if I had not previously determined to submit to his authority and to the rules of the Church."—*Works*, vol. v. pp. 44, 45.

It is true that Venn, of Huddersfield, did himself itinerate. But his son writes, "Induced by the hope of doing good, my father, in certain instances, preached in unconsecrated places. But having acknowledged this, it becomes my pleasing duty to state that he was no advocate for irregularity in others; that when he afterwards considered it in its different bearings and connections, he lamented that he had given way to it; and restrained several other persons from such acts by the most urgent arguments."—*The English Church*, vol. ii. p. 184.

Thomas Scott's loyal attachment to the Church was attested by the publication of his "Seven Letters on the Evils of Separation from the Church of England." Simeon, as already stated elsewhere, was charged by the writers of his day with being more of a Churchman than a Gospel-man. And in the discussions of the Eclectic Society it appears that the unanimous opinion of the brethren held schism to be a sin. Firm attachment to the Church of England, therefore, and a devout recognition of her claims on the obedience of her ministers, and of the Divine appointment of the ministerial office, furnish no line of demarcation by which the Evangelical School can be distinguished from the Anglican School, either of the eighteenth or of the nineteenth centuries.

Nor did there exist in the Evangelical Fathers any lack of re-

verence for the Sacraments, or any tendency to depreciate baptism, or to neglect the Lord's Supper. Any such accusation would be most untrue. Simeon protested against being misrepresented, as if he thought meanly of the Sacrament. "All penitent adults have in baptism the remission of their sins sealed to them, and the Spirit in a more abundant measure communicated. Infants dedicated to God in baptism may, and often do (though in a way not discoverable by us save by its fruits), receive a new nature from the Spirit of God in and with and by that ordinance;" and he prefaces the statement thus: "We are no more disposed to detract from the honour of that sacred ordinance than our adversaries themselves." At a later period he expressed himself somewhat more cautiously. We have not, indeed, very ample materials for ascertaining the views of the Evangelical Fathers on the Sacraments, because it was not this side of doctrine which had been forgotten in their day, or consequently which they had need to revive and to confirm. Their work lay in the vivid proclamation of those "doctrines of grace" which all writers admit had nearly disappeared from the pulpits of the Church of England in the first half of the eighteenth century. But we have intimations here and there in the story of their lives and labours, from which their views may be not obscurely gathered. We know, for instance, that Thomas Scott administered a weekly communion at Lothbury. And earlier in the movement we read of such immense numbers of communicants thronging to the ordinance as to prove that "mad Grimshaw" himself had no low estimate of that blessed Sacrament. Three thousand persons are recorded to have received the consecrated memorials of the Body and Blood of Christ at one time, and no less than thirty bottles of wine to have been used in a single administration. Neglect of the Sacraments was, therefore, no characteristic of their system.

Neither, again, is the specific characteristic of the Evangelical School to be found in the careless performance of Church ordinances, or the disrespectful neglect of the sacred buildings appropriated to public worship. This has been a common charge; but it unjustly shifts on to the shoulders of the Evangelicals what was the general fault of the Anglicans of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and especially of that section popularly known as the "high and dry!" That the services of the Church were wretchedly conducted, the congregations irreverent in the extreme, and the churches themselves neglected and mean, can scarcely be denied. Archbishop Secker, in 1750, thus described the condition of the churches of his day: "Some, I fear, have scarcely been kept in necessary present repair, and others by no means duly cleared from annoyances, which must gradually bring them to decay; water undermining and rotting the foun-

dations, earth heaped up against the outside, weeds and shrubs growing upon them. . . . Too frequently the floors are meanly paved, or the walls dirty or patched, or the windows ill-glazed, and it may be, in fact, stopped up . . . or they are damp, offensive, and unwholesome." So much for the structures. Dr. Stoughton draws a picture of the same general character. "In country villages, where no exemplary minister was found, where the rector or curate lived a free and easy life, and liked to drink a dish of tea with the landlady, and afterwards a bowl of punch with the landlord of the inn, not much attention would be paid either to spiritual necessities, or to the decencies of religious service. Buildings were neglected; chancel and nave fell into decay; the communion-table presented a shabby appearance; surplices were dirty; the singing was miserable; the preaching no better; and, from beginning to end, everything presented a slovenly aspect" (I. p. 286). He tells a story, that the high-backed pews which have only of late years been ejected from our churches originated in the reign of Queen Anne, and were occasioned by complaints that the maids of honour and the gentlemen of the Court at Whitehall and elsewhere spent their time in looking at one another, instead of attending to their religious duties. All accounts concur in representing the irreverence of the age as absolutely shocking during the early part of the century. Addison thus describes the demeanour of a friend of Will Honeycomb: "He seldom comes in till the prayers are about half over, and when he has entered his seat (instead of joining with the congregation) he devoutly holds his hat before his face for three or four moments, then bows to all his acquaintances, sits down, takes a pinch of snuff, and spends the remaining time in surveying the congregation." When all allowances are made for exaggeration, the picture that remains is equally melancholy and offensive.

Now, on what section of the Church must rest the responsibility of this state of things? Surely, on that party which had a predominant influence, and yet allowed the evil to grow unchecked. This party was High Church, and its prevalence at that time is unquestionable. An attempt has been made to call this predominance into question, and so to relieve the School of the responsibility of the unhappy state of things that has been described. But the more closely the matter is examined the more firmly does the odium rest on the shoulders of High Churchmen. Mr. Lecky establishes the fact with his usual abundance of evidence in the first volume of his *History* (pp. 53-57 and pp. 73-80); and that the High Churchmen of the eighteenth century were the legitimate progenitors of the Sacerdotalists of the nineteenth has been illustrated in a passage already quoted in this Paper. That this irreverent slovenliness in the services and in

the churches is in no degree due to the Evangelicals, and is no characteristic of the School is certain, since the Evangelical revival had not originated when these things were at their worst. As soon as their influence began to be felt, the evil was abated. "During the latter half of the century," writes Mr. Abbey, "the careless and undevout could no longer have ventured without fear of censure on the irreverent familiarities in church which they could have freely indulged in for the first twenty years."

The real fact is that the Evangelicals were the first to set the example of restoring the Churches of England into a state worthy of their sacred purpose, and to them belongs the honour of cultivating that reverential regard to all the accessories of public worship which has become characteristic of our own day. The Camden Society was instituted in 1838. But twenty years earlier the Rev. R. P. Buddicom, St. George's, Everton, Liverpool, and Archdeacon Jones, of St. Andrew's, were remarkable for the order they maintained in their churches, when the general state of things on every side of them was very different. The Rev. W. Carus Wilson, about 1817, was the first to introduce order into the churches of the North, administering baptism in obedience to the rubric after the Second Lesson. The Rev. R. Carus Wilson during his incumbency built five churches in the parish of Preston, all of them distinguished among the churches of the day by their ecclesiastical character, and was himself suspected in some quarters of being too "churchy." The Rev. W. Richardson, of St. Michaelle-Belfry, who died in 1820, his brother, James Richardson, and John Graham, of St. Saviour's, were staunch Churchmen, and remarkable for their strict observance of church order. The same thing is true of many others of their contemporaries. Charles Simeon's church was restored in 1833, and was the first at Cambridge to undergo the process and be brought into a state of comely beauty. The fittings were of oak throughout, and the work handsome and costly, the total expense having been 3000*l*. In the words of a living dignitary, whose name is a title of honour, "The Evangelicals began the great work of church restoration and extension, were the introducers of order in their services, and gave the impulse to church building." Thus it was that the early Evangelical Fathers lived and worked, combining in one harmonious system the love of God's truth with loyal attachment to the Church to which they belonged. The grand "doctrines of grace" were, as it was right they should be, the first supreme objects of their care; yet they were not indifferent to secondary truths, but held them with firm conviction and consistent observance.

It is evident, therefore, that the specific characteristic of the

Evangelical School, and the source of its spiritual power, is not to be found in those points of belief or of practice which are common to itself with other Schools contained within the broad comprehension of the Church of England. If it has exercised a peculiar force, that force must lie somewhere in its peculiar attributes. The source of it is, in short, to be found in Evangelical doctrine. Mr. Gladstone practically admits this, when he states the special function of the School to be the maintenance of the doctrines of grace, and attributes to its influence "the re-introduction of Christ our Lord to be the woof and warp of preaching." Such a work goes far beyond the use of the Divine name, which is as "ointment poured forth;" it must include the Divine person and the Divine offices, all that circle of doctrine by virtue of which Christ is Christianity, and Christianity is Christ. But Evangelical doctrines constitute one complete and harmonious whole, cemented by a strictly logical connection of truth with truth. They cannot be broken up, as Mr. Gladstone breaks them up, nor can one part be accepted, while another part is put on one side as comparatively unimportant. They must consistently stand together or fall together. They are a galaxy of jewels strung on one thread, and that thread is the immediate personal contact of the individual soul with God. This truth is not only replete with the richest comfort and full of strength, but it is a singularly grand one, and throws its own dignity over the human soul, and all its relationship to the Divine Being. Mr. Lecky has had the sagacity to perceive this, and to appreciate the fact.

It is (he says) the glory of Protestantism, whenever it remains faithful to the spirit of its founders, that it has destroyed this engine (Sacerdotal pretension). The Evangelical teacher emphatically declares that the intervention of no human being, and of no human rite, is necessary in the hour of death. Yet he can exercise a soothing influence not less powerful than that of the Catholic priest. The doctrine of justification by faith, which diverts the wandering mind from all painful and perplexing retrospect, concentrates the imagination on one Sacred Figure, and persuades the sinner that the sins of a life have in a moment been effaced, has enabled thousands to encounter death with perfect calm, or even with vivid joy, and has consoled innumerable mourners at a time when all the commonplaces of philosophy would appear the idlest of sounds. This doctrine had fallen almost wholly into abeyance in England, and had scarcely any place among national convictions, when it was revived by the Evangelical party.—Vol. ii. p. 639.

But whence did the Evangelical School derive their special doctrines? They drew them out of the formularies of the Church of England, as those who prepared the formularies drew them from the pure fountain of the Word of God. It was the strength of their case, as Evangelicals, that they appealed to the

authority of the Sacred Scriptures, and, as Churchmen, to the authority of the recognised documents of their Church. No one can peruse their writings, as, for instance, the Theological Essays of Thomas Scott, without perceiving this. "In this great and cardinal business," writes Mr. Gladstone, "without doubt, the Evangelical preachers of the English Church were not innovators, but restorers. They were restorers, not by re-enactment of laws which had been repealed, but by revived attention to laws which had been neglected or forgotten." "The Evangelical leaders of theology," says Dr. Stoughton, "drew their inspiration from the Protestant works of the sixteenth, and Nonconformist works of the seventeenth century. The Homilies were their delight. They appealed to them in proof of their own distinctive theology; certain Articles they regarded with great satisfaction, especially the seventeenth." This witness is true. It is the honourable pride of the School that they represent not only the letter but the spirit and reality, what Mr. Gladstone pithily calls "the sap and juice," of the teaching of their Church. Their belief has been not only framed on its broad outlines, but nicely adjusted to its proportion of faith. Nor is there any point of doctrine on which this is the more remarkable, than that moderate Calvinism (not extreme Calvinism), which has ever been characteristic of the School, and which has been moulded on the exact lines traced with equal moderation, firmness, and wisdom, in the language of the seventeenth Article. The claim is equally true in regard to the three special doctrines which are declared by the statesman not to be the strong points of Evangelicalism, but which are specified by the Nonconformist historian in an exactly opposite estimate. The Evangelical doctrine of Justification is the accurate echo of the eleventh Article, supplemented and explained by the Homily of Justification—that is, as the Bishop of Winchester states in his learned work upon the Articles, the Homily on the salvation of mankind. The doctrine of the Sacraments is the exact echo of the twenty-fifth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-eighth Articles; and the Evangelical doctrine of the Church of the nineteenth and twentieth.

It has been said that the Evangelical scheme of doctrine, indistinguishable from that of the Church herself, is a harmonious whole, and that all its parts must in consistency stand or fall together. But, happily, men are not always consistent, nor are they guided by strict logical conclusions. Thus, in modern times there has been a distinct School of divines who, with the highest views of sacramental grace and of the corporate life of the Church, have held also the doctrine of immediate faith and of spiritual conversion. This is the distinctive feature of what has been known as "Aitkenism."



The Scriptural doctrine of grace has been a spring of Divine life wherever it has been held, and has fructified what otherwise had been barren. Even the broken fragments of Evangelical truth have borne fruit, just as a tree may flourish by virtue of some roots which have struck deep into the fertile soil, although other roots may touch the stony ground, whence neither moisture nor nourishment can be derived. It is in this respect that Theological Schools have approximated in our day. It is not that the Evangelical School has borrowed from its opponents those principles of a Scriptural Churchmanship which were distinctly maintained by its founders, but it is that other Schools have borrowed from it the vivifying doctrines of justification by faith, and of the sovereign operations of the Holy Spirit of God. We have Mr. Gladstone's authority for this statement. "To bring it (the preaching of the Gospel) back again was the aim and work of the Evangelical reformers." "The juice and sap of the Evangelical teaching has in a very remarkable manner coursed through 'the natural gates and alleys of the body' of the English Church." It would not be difficult to extract passages from the writings of High Ritualists which, taken alone, might be supposed to have issued from the warm heart and the burning tongue of the Evangelical School. The necessity of drawing this Paper to a conclusion prevents more than a quotation or two from a single writer: "Justification derives its special force from our being by nature sinners and culprits. It supposes a judicial process—a judgment-seat and a prisoner. Such is our condition. As sinners, with guilt in the past, there can be for us no justification but the Divine acquittal. Justification, as viewed in connection with the past, can mean nothing else. Not in our power is it to unlive the past; we cannot unsay the words we have spoken, or the deeds we have done. Would to God we could, but we cannot. And here God comes and freely pardons; and such a pardon really proclaimed, and leading the sinner on to the knowledge of the forgiveness of sins, is the justification that can alone satisfy the cravings of the sin-burdened heart, and change its agonizing cry into the deep thanksgivings of him 'whose transgression is forgiven, and whose sin is covered.' Again, 'Many a soul, burdened and heavy laden with the sense of its sin, has gone to the Cross of Calvary, and there, kneeling at the feet of the Crucified, and looking unto Jesus, has seen in Him his sin nailed to the Cross, and in the recognition of Christ's redeeming grace, 'his soul set on fire with the joy of Divine forgiveness,' has sung to Him who loved him his triumphant thanksgiving." Could any Evangelical preacher express himself more clearly, or more eloquently? Yet they are the words of the Rev. G. Body, extracted from his book on the "Life of Justification."

What has been already said may constitute a sufficient answer to the suggestion that the Evangelical School is partly responsible for the rise of Tractarianism, just as the Tractarians are responsible for the constant stream of secessions that has flowed from their ranks to the Church of Rome. The proportionate dimensions of what the two Schools are respectively alleged to have contributed to Schools beyond themselves might show the parallel to be illusive. For if all that is asserted be accepted as true without qualification, there are some half-dozen cases in which distinguished men have passed from the Evangelical School to the Tractarian School; while the perversions from Tractarianism to Rome are numbered at three thousand. If all that is meant had been the existence of a historical sequence, and of that reaction to which the weakness of the human mind renders it specially susceptible, there would be no need of being careful to disprove the imputation. No doubt the Reformation preceded the rise of Socinianism. "Hampden moved in the direction of Cromwell; Lafayette in the direction of Robespierre." In all such cases, it is enough to reply *post, non propter*. But more than this is intended. It is vaguely suggested that some undefined, and to all appearance wholly undefinable, connection of cause and effect has existed between the Evangelical and the Tractarian Schools. Now that the matter is reduced to a question of doctrine, such a connection scarcely lies within the sphere of possibility. In regard to the three specified points—the Church, the Sacraments, and the mode of Justification—the difference between the two Schools is fundamental. There are some minds which, wrestling against a conviction they are unwilling to receive, find refuge in an extreme hypothesis in the other direction. But this is the fault, not of the doctrine, but of the mind of the thinker, and of his constitutional tendency to run into opposition. On the principle that none are such bitter enemies as apostates, it may be readily understood that those who reject an Evangelical doctrine once entertained by them, may run violently into the opposite extreme; just as the sons of Nonconformists are often found to become the bitterest of High Churchmen. But inclined plane between the two Schools there is none and can be none, where the line of separation is as deep and sharply cut as between Protestantism and Romanism. Between Tractarianism and Rome the case is wholly different; there is a distinctive principle common to both, and there is no difficulty in defining it. It is the acceptance of the authority of the Church as supreme. On Evangelical principles the Bible gives authority to the Church; on Tractarian principles the Church gives authority to the Bible. The Church is, therefore, supreme, and, consequently, whatever is stamped with the authority of the Church must be accepted, whatever it may be. The conclusion

s inevitable ; and a vigorous mind will readily receive it in proportion as its habits of reasoning are logical and its convictions deep and earnest. Does it follow from all this that there has been no connection between Evangelicalism and Tractarianism, and that the one contributed nothing to the other ? By no means. Those who passed from the one to the other took with them their Evangelical warmth and earnestness, and their supreme faith in the personal Christ. This Mr. Gladstone affirms, and so far we willingly accept his evidence.

It remains, then, that the distinctive characteristic of the Evangelical School is the Evangelical doctrine. It is only a truism to say so, and nothing but great subtlety of intellect could ever conceive of it otherwise. If there has been a spiritual force in the Evangelical School, such as no other religious School possesses, it must be in that Evangelical doctrine which no other School holds with the same completeness and consistency. This doctrine has been already shown to be identical with the teaching of the Church of England. But its genealogy may be traced yet higher. In the words of Sir J. Stephen, it is "that system of which (if Augustine, Luther, Calvin, Knox, and the writers of the English Homilies may be credited) Christ Himself was the author, and Paul the first and greatest interpreter."

Here, then, we find the secret of the spiritual force exercised by the Evangelical School. It is not intended to assert, for a solitary moment, that the men by whom the School has been represented at any given period have been perfect men ; that there has been neither defect nor redundancy in their opinions, or that they have reflected, without any admixture of human error, the revealed mind of God. It cannot be that the most absolute truth should not acquire some touch of imperfection, some taint of contamination from the earthly vessels in whom has been placed the priceless gift. Nor is it asserted that no precious fragments of the great diamond have found place in other Schools. But the Evangelical School has possessed the truth of God in a far higher and more complete degree than any other School, and by it has been linked backwards in an unbroken succession to the true Church of God that has worshipped Him in secret in all periods, to the Primitive Ages, to the glorious company of the Apostles, and to the Great Master Himself. The Spirit of God has accompanied the truth He has Himself revealed. In its ultimate source, the spiritual power of the School has therefore been nothing less than the operation of God the Holy Ghost on the intellect and heart and conscience of mankind. But here we prefer to speak by another, and by an impartial tongue. Sir J. Stephen, in his "Essay on Wilberforce," thus expresses himself:—

The human mind is subject to a sacred influence, which, like the wind, bloweth where it listeth, although it be given to none to discover whence it cometh, or whither it goeth. It is a fact which few, if any, self-observers will deny, that in the inward life of every man there are occurrences explicable on no hypothesis, but that of the direct intervention of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe for the spiritual improvement of His rational creatures. Such events may be considered, either as parts of some great pre-determined system, or as immediate interpositions of the Deity in particular cases. Each supposition alike refers to that Divine origin, those salutary changes in human character, which the least thoughtful so often notice, and which even the most depraved not seldom undergo.—Vol. ii. pp. 214, 215.

Then we reach a height where the varying fortunes of religious controversy and the hopes and fears of party strife lie far below. From the imperfect knowledge of man we pass into the sphere of Divine omniscience; from the mingled motives of human action into the cloudless atmosphere of Divine wisdom; from amid the shattered wrecks of human hope to the full sunshine of Divine accomplishment. As we look at the widespread and varied landscape, presented in the fortunes of the Church of Christ from the beginning, we see that the course of the spiritual kingdom has been that of progressive triumph. Like the course of the natural sun, its march has been ever onward. Now almost eclipsed by clouds, now dimmed with earth-born mists and fogs, now struggling up through drifting storms, it has yet risen higher and higher towards its zenith. The progress has been interrupted and irregular; but it has been sure. Not only faith, but even reason herself anticipates the full meridian, when, before the unclouded face of a manifested God, the last trace of human ignorance, the last doubt and fear, the last conflicts of faith will for ever pass away in the perfected manifestation of the Redeemer. That meridian will have no decline, that sun no setting, that "sacred high eternal noon" no evening. Then the saints of Christ will doubtless be permitted to see truth in its ultimate relations, and all the doctrines of our earthly faith will be found to have their origin, and to find their explanation, in the immutable realities of God Himself.

EDWARD GARBETT.



## ART. II.—THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

## ITS ORIGIN.

IT is a question whether there is any institution in the world that has engaged so much affection, and called forth so many prayers, as the Church Missionary Society. Of all Protestant institutions, whether religious or philanthropic, it is the one that certainly receives the largest amount of contribution and is most probably maintained by the largest number of contributors. There are tens of thousands of zealous friends throughout the country who are deeply interested in its welfare, and many amongst the number who are exercising great self-denial for its support. Some are persons of high distinction and wide-spread influence, while others are in the humblest walks of life, who are influential only with God; but all are united in one common desire to maintain and extend the sacred work in which, with one heart, they take so deep an interest. It is right, therefore, that the Church Missionary Society should have a foremost place in our new Magazine, and that its true character should be brought clearly before our readers.

This is the more important as there are some who stand aloof from it because they believe that it was formed in antagonism to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and who consider its formation as an act of opposition to the previously existing missionary agencies of the Church. But it requires a very slight acquaintance with the real history of missionary work in the Church of England to convince any one that such was not the case. This Paper, therefore, shall be devoted to an examination of the state of things that led to the formation of the Church Missionary Society.

In order to understand its origin, it will be necessary to review the previous work of missions in the Church of England. For some reason or other there was very little done for the extension of the Gospel for the first century after the Reformation. The Reformers appear to have been so much occupied with the great conflict with Rome that their attention was not directed to the claims of the heathen world. There was, however, a holy line of devoted men, who, by their true missionary spirit, were faithful witnesses for the Lord. Such men as Hariot, who went with Sir W. Raleigh to Virginia in 1585; Hunt, who followed in 1606, and Bucke in 1609. But the real systematic commencement of English missionary work was made by the Puritans in the time of the Commonwealth. The first English missionary society

was called "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, and the Adjacent Parts." An ordinance of the Long Parliament in 1649 formed the corporation of the company. A Lord Protector's letter was afterwards sent round to all the parishes of England requesting contributions, and a sum of about 11,000*l.* was collected, with which certain estates were purchased. Charles II., on his accession to the throne, gave the company a royal charter. After a time Robert Boyle became the governor. He was a member of the Royal Society, and one of the leading philosophers of his day. So highly was he esteemed, that, though a layman, he was offered a bishopric, and urged to receive holy orders in order that he might accept it. But, though a philosopher, he was not one of those who exalt their philosophy above the Word of God. Like his contemporary, Sir Isaac Newton, he regarded the study of Divine truth as the highest of all philosophies. To him is ascribed the saying respecting Scripture: "That it is a river in which a child can wade and an elephant swim." This was the Society that sent forth those apostolic men, Eliot and Brainerd, the former of whom has been called "The Apostle of the Indians;" and its missions still exist. I have myself visited one of them in the Indian reserve on the banks of the Grand River in Canada, and there conversed with the chief of one of the six tribes, who has since become the highly-valued clergyman of an English congregation in the diocese of Huron.

The next great institutions for the spread of the Gospel were the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded A.D. 1698, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in A.D. 1701.

Thus, by the commencement of the eighteenth century there was a certain amount of Church organization for foreign work, but in the great mission field there was very little done. The primary object of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was the extension of Christian knowledge through books and education. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was established for the benefit of English colonies, the colonists themselves being the primary objects of its labours.

But neither society was permitted to rest long without having the claims of the heathen forced on its attention, for there was a contemporaneous movement taking place in Denmark. It should never be forgotten that the Danes were the brave pioneers who led the way in our Indian missions. In the year 1621 the Rajah of Tanjore had allowed a Danish commercial company to purchase Tranquebar and a small surrounding territory, on the coast of Coromandel; and about the time of the formation of the two English Societies, Dr. Lutkens, one of the chaplains of Frederick the Fourth, King of Denmark, set before his Majesty the duty

of providing for the conversion of his Indian subjects to the Christian religion. He immediately received the king's commands to carry the suggestion into effect. Dr. Lutkens, therefore, was the real originator of English missionary work in India. When he had obtained the royal consent his first object was to find suitable men for the missions; and through the help of Dr. Franck, Professor of Divinity in the University of Halle, he was directed to two students pre-eminently qualified for the work, Ziegenbalg and Plutschou, who sailed for Tranquebar as the first Protestant missionaries to India in the year 1705. The beautiful spirit of faith in which they went forth is indicated by their account of their thoughts during a storm in the Bay of Biscay:—"The sight we had of the marvellous works of God cheered our spirits not a little; and the more the stormy and roaring seas broke in upon us, the more were the joy and praise of God increased in our mouths, seeing that we had so mighty a Lord for our Father, whom we may daily approach, and as confiding children put up our prayers to Him." Such language may teach a wholesome lesson to many of our modern Christians who are frightened out of all their joy by the first appearance of a storm.

But the people of Denmark do not appear to have realized the absolute necessity of steady help for the maintenance of a mission. The funds provided were insufficient, and the greater part of them were lost, as two ships were wrecked, each containing a remittance of a thousand crowns. The result was that the missionaries were reduced to great extremity, and their case was laid before the newly-founded Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The Danish mission in India lay very clearly far beyond their appointed province; but Christian love has the noble art of bursting, or over-leaping, boundaries; so the managers of the venerable Society for once disregarded their charter, and sent a present of 20*l.*, with a case of books, and letters of encouragement. This gift may seem small in modern times, but it was considered so great then, that the Governor of Madras would not entrust it to Ziegenbalg's messengers, but required him to come himself to Madras in order to secure its safe delivery.

But the letters were more valuable than the money, not only because they express a beautiful Christian spirit, but because they establish a remarkable proof of the close bond of union between the Church of England and the Reformed Churches on the Continent. In one of them it was said:—

May the Lord bless you whom He hath counted worthy to sow the first seed in a work which, in time, may grow to be the tree in whose branches the birds of the air may build their nests! . . . . We may go forth boldly, but it must be in the name of Christ. We may go

on, but it must be in His strength. When all who profess the name of Christ throughout the world shall hold together, as members of one body, in holy love, they will show forth great strength, and exercise a mighty, though secret, influence over the heathen, who then cannot but hear, see, and feel that there is a power residing in us to which they are strangers.

But the 20*l*. was soon gone, and the chartered boundaries began to reappear, so the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were unable to renew their help. The appeal was then made to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, but it was considered that they also would be stepping out of their proper sphere in appropriating to a Danish Mission to the heathen moneys contributed for Promoting Christian Knowledge in Great Britain and the Colonies. But the love of the Lord Jesus Christ was once more too strong for their rules, and the difficulty was overcome by opening a special fund for the Danish Mission. The result was, that from the year 1710 to 1826, when the Mission was handed over to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had the high honour of leading the way in English missions to India, in maintaining the spirit of union with the Protestant Churches of the Continent, and in supporting some of the noblest missionaries ever known in Christendom—such as Gerické, Jænické, and Swartz!

But the eighteenth century was a dull, dark period, and the missionary spirit appears to have made very little progress till near its close. During the century the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent out to the colonies some admirable men, including, as some may be surprised to find, John Wesley. But at the close of the century there was very little life in either of the two Societies, and their incomes were miserably small: that of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge amounting to 2280*l*. 7*s*., and that of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel 706*l*. 0*s*. 1*d*. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was, as I have just stated, still supporting the Danish Mission in Tranquebar; and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was carrying on its own appointed work amongst the British possessions; but, with one exception, I meet with no record of any systematic effort for the conversion of the heathen. Those who were outside the British possessions were never thought of, and even those within the colonies appear to have been left to the zeal of any of the missionaries who might be labouring amongst the colonists in their neighbourhood. Thus, there was a zealous man who took an interest in the Maroons in the Bahamas; and a most devoted man, Mr. Stewart, afterwards Bishop of Quebec, who showed a warm-hearted missionary spirit towards the Indians in the neighbourhood of Kingston, in



Canada. But the only effort especially for the heathen mentioned in the Reports, was the payment of 50*l.* to a Mr. Philip Quake, "missionary, catechist, and schoolmaster to the negroes on the Gold Coast." This 50*l.* was half his salary, the remainder being supplied by the residents of Cape Coast Castle, amongst whom he appears to have laboured as a kind of lay-chaplain. As objections have been made to the employment of lay agency, and to co-operation with the non-Episcopal Reformed Churches of the Continent, it is important that the practice of these two great Church Societies should be carefully observed and remembered.

Thus, towards the close of the eighteenth century, there was very little being done by the Christians of England for the evangelization of the heathen world. The heathen within the British Dominions were in some cases cared for by the devoted men who were labouring as clergymen amongst the colonists; but, with the exception of the contributions to the Danish Mission at Tranquebar, the whole mass of the heathen outside the British Dominions were left to perish in all the miseries of heathenism. There was the whole Continent of Africa with its teeming population weltering in its blood, through the curse of the slave-trade. There was Palestine, India, China, Japan, and almost the whole of Asia, without one ray of Christian light. There was Australia, the islands of the Pacific, and New Zealand, without one witness for the truth; and neither of the existing Church of England Societies could regard any one of these vast spheres as falling within its province. Was there not, then, a need for some fresh organization that might devote its whole attention to the heathen world, and that might go forth as the bearer of the everlasting Gospel without any reference to chartered boundaries? Was there not a vast gap to be supplied? And ought not all loyal members of the Church of England to be thankful that at length it pleased God to rouse His people to a sense of their duty; and to lead them, without any interference with any existing institution, to make a fresh effort to fill the void?

But, considering the enormous magnitude of the work, how small was the beginning! When we look around at the present missions of the Church Missionary Society encircling the world, and then look back eighty years at its commencement, we may well say, as the Word of the Lord said to the Prophet Zechariah, 'Who hath despised the day of small things?' The idea of the new Society was first suggested in the house of the Rev. W. Goode, Rector of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, the father of that eminent theologian, W. Goode, the late Dean of Ripon, and that devoted man, Francis Goode, the author of "Goode on the Better Covenant." It was afterwards discussed at a meeting

of the Eclectic Society, a small clerical society held in the vestry-room of St. John's, Bedford Row. On March 18th, 1799, the subject of discussion was, "What methods can we use most effectually to promote the Gospel among the heathen?" The subject was opened by the Rev. John Venn, Rector of Clapham, the father of that great, noble-minded Christian statesman, Henry Venn, who for thirty-one years as its honorary secretary guided with consummate wisdom the affairs of the Society. He laid down three principles—

1. That success must depend entirely on the Spirit of God, and that God's providence must be followed, not anticipated.
2. That all success must depend on the persons sent on the missions. They must be men made by God.
3. The mission must proceed from small beginnings, and not enter on a large scale at first.

After which he submitted certain resolutions for the consideration of the meeting.

The Rev. Josiah Pratt advocated the adoption of the resolutions, "as breathing a quiet, humble, dependent spirit." The Rev. Charles Simeon, in a most characteristic manner, proposed three questions, "What can we do? When shall we do it? How shall we do it? and urged the meeting to immediate action.

The Rev. Thomas Scott, the commentator, gave the caution: "We must not expect too perfect missionaries."

The Rev. W. Goode summed up the discussion by saying that the difficulties only proved that there was no missionary spirit abroad, and urged them without delay to "form a plan and publish it."

The practical result was that on the 12th April, 1799, a meeting was held at the Castle and Falcon, Aldersgate Street, for the foundation of the new Society. There were present on that occasion seven rectors, one fellow of a college, two lecturers, two ministers of proprietary chapels, one curate, three other clergymen, and nine laymen—in all twenty-five brave men; without wealth, without the patronage of the great, without any agents to carry on their work, and, above all, without experience; but prepared to go forth in the Lord's name boldly to grapple with the heathenism of the world, for the simple reason that they believed in the Lord Jesus Christ, that they knew that He had said, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature," and that they trusted His promise, "I am with you always even unto the end of the world."

Such was the origin of this great institution, and such the commencement of the sacred, scriptural, and most blessed work, which it is our privilege to labour by God's grace both to maintain and to extend. Our position is, of course, entirely different to theirs. We have both encouragements and difficulties to

which they were total strangers. But, thanks be unto God! we have the same principles, the same hope, the same call from God, and the same blessed Saviour to be the Leader and Commander of His people. It is more difficult sometimes to maintain than to originate; but we may take courage from their experience, and remember that the same Lord who carried them through difficulties which seemed at the time to be insuperable, can help us through any difficulties which may arise, and enable us to hand on the sacred work unchanged in its principles, and vastly increased in its efficiency.

EDWARD HOARE.

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### ART. III.—THE IRISH UNIVERSITY ACT.

#### I.

**A**FTER many vain attempts and fruitless efforts to grapple with the question, a Bill has received the Royal assent, intituled "An Act to Promote the Advancement of Learning, and to Extend the Benefits connected with University Education in Ireland." Its passage through Parliament has been watched with no little anxiety by many persons, who, though willing to credit the Government with the best intentions, are unable to believe that it is possible to satisfy the so-called demands of the Irish people, without making concessions to the claims of the Ultramontane party, fatal to the advancement of sound learning in Ireland. It cannot be denied by any person acquainted with the subject that the claims of the Ultramontanes involve the submission of the education of Roman Catholics to the absolute authority of the Latin Church; nor can it be doubted by any well-informed and impartial person that education so conducted would narrow the mind and dwarf the intellectual stature. Under the most favourable conditions the aim would be rather to cultivate the memory than the reasoning powers of the pupils—the exercise of the latter being inconvenient; and when the standard could safely be kept low, without unfavourably attracting public attention, the results—as in Italy a few years ago—would be utterly unworthy to bear the name of education in any civilized country. No Government could long retain the confidence of the English people whose conduct justly exposed them to a suspicion that they were prepared to yield in this particular to the demands of the Roman hierarchy, whether advanced in their own name or in that of the people of Ireland. Suspicion is easily roused on this question, and it was perilous even to touch the subject. It is therefore not

surprising that the Bill promoted by the Government has been sharply criticized, and their policy severely handled.

It was asked, last July, why, if the Government could not give all that was desired, and if they would not give more than the Bill contained, did they stir the question at all? Why should they adopt a course which must end in disappointment for the Roman Catholics, and might lead to fresh embarrassments for themselves? These questions are plausible; they have been urged with considerable effect, and will doubtless be repeated; for it cannot be denied that with their present majority in the House of Commons the Government could have escaped for the moment from the difficulties of the position. One thing, however, ought to be borne in mind, in justice to the Government—that they did not stir the question. It is one which has been forced upon the consideration of every Government of recent years; indeed, it may be regarded as one of the questions, if not the main question, which broke up the Liberal party, brought about the downfall of the administration of Mr. Gladstone, the dissolution of Parliament, and the accession of the Conservatives to power. And though, as they were not bound by any pledges to deal with it, Lord Beaconsfield and his colleagues were for a time content—wisely, as we think—to let it alone, the Irish Papists in the House of Commons were not content to see it shelved. Ever on the watch to advance their own interests, and never unwilling to embarrass a Government, the Ultramontane party raised the question. The mistake they had made in 1873, and its result in 1874, seem to have taught them a lesson. They went warily to work. The late Mr. Butt was their agent. It was he who raised the question in 1876. His Bill gave it a definite shape in 1877; and when illness and death prevented him from prosecuting the notice which he had given for last Session, the question was taken up by the O'Connor Don. The Bill which he promoted as a measure for secular education proved on examination to be in fact a scheme for the endowment of denominational colleges, and, as such, it was met by the introduction of the Government Bill. It may be asked, why did they not content themselves with a statement of their objections to the proposal of the O'Connor Don, and rely upon their majority to defeat it? To understand this, we must dispassionately consider the position of the Government. Judging from the speeches made by Cabinet Ministers it would appear that their position was this:—

(1) They could not accept the Bill which was before them; they were not prepared to see a Roman Catholic University established in Ireland, and endowed with 1,500,000*l.* out of the Church funds. (2) They could not say that the existing system was in their opinion perfectly satisfactory, seeing that under it some

of the Roman Catholic subjects of the Crown were debarred by conscientious scruples—honest, though, as we think, mistaken—from giving their sons an University education. (3) They thought it right and just that these scruples should be respected, and were of opinion that they might be removed by a measure such as that which they subsequently introduced.

Whether we can entirely sympathise with this view of the case or not, it is sufficiently clear that, this being their opinion, her Majesty's Ministers could not well avoid the introduction of a Bill on the subject. Had they contented themselves with a simple statement of their opinions, their conduct would have raised expectations in Ireland which it is beyond their power to satisfy, whilst it would have created an amount of alarm and uneasiness amongst their Protestant supporters, which, though not well founded, would have been most injurious to the Conservative party. It must be conceded that, entertaining the opinions with which they are credited above, they adopted the right course in embodying their proposals in a Bill for the consideration of Parliament. Whether it was introduced in the right manner, or at precisely the right time and in the right form, has been questioned and may be disputed. The reasons which influenced the Cabinet, if they were fully known, might, in the public estimation, justify their proceedings entirely; with that we are not now concerned. The present Paper is intended rather as an historical *résumé* of recent occurrences, than as an apology for or a defence of the Government.

It is desirable that the country should clearly understand what has taken place; but it is even more important that it should be borne in mind that this Bill is only a beginning, and that now we are mainly concerned with the future. Whatever may be the intentions of her Majesty's Ministers, the Home Rule party have their own ideas of the terms of settlement which they will accept; and they have already given us a sufficient indication of their policy. They will take what they can get, and will agitate for more. They accept the present Act only on account of the destructive elements which it contains—as an “unsettling” Act. Doubtless there is a struggle before us, for which we need to prepare; and it is more important for us to realize that, and to make ready for it, than to question or to justify the policy of the Government.

The foregoing remarks are intended to lead up to a due appreciation of the present position of affairs. Whether we like it or not, a new departure has been taken by the Legislature and by the Ultramontanes. By passing the University Bill in its amended form the Legislature has, in effect, said: “The Roman Catholics are subjects of the Crown. Some of them entertain conscientious scruples as to mixed education in Ireland, which we can no longer ignore. Their education in the higher branches

of learning is a thing to be desired. We will not entertain any proposal which involves sectarian endowment, whether in the form of a direct vote of money, or in the shape of result fees to be paid to denominational teachers; but we will extend to the Roman Catholic youth of Ireland increased facilities and substantial inducements to obtain in Ireland, without frequenting colleges of which they disapprove, a degree which shall mark a definite attainment in intellectual culture." By their zealous support of the Bill the Ultramontanes, in effect, have said: "We see that we shall get nothing at all if we do not take what is now offered. We cannot get all we want; we will take all we can get *as an instalment*, and agitate for more." Meanwhile, those who regard the question from a Protestant point of view have been somewhat divided—but rather in action than in opinion. Whilst all have agreed that the dissolution of the Queen's University is a misfortune, and the proposal to create a new University on its ruins is open to risks and dangers from which a scheme for an extension of an existing University would have been free—some, on this account, have opposed the measure as a whole, or challenged details of which they disapprove; others, chiefly those found in the Conservative ranks, have thought it right, in the main, steadily to support the Bill. Their action has been influenced, amongst other considerations, by the conviction (1) that, as Protestants, we ought to do what is in our power to promote the sound secular education of Roman Catholics, and to give them all the assistance which we should desire to obtain for ourselves were the circumstances of the case reversed. (2) That the concessions made in the Bill, great as they are, and even unnecessary as they may appear to some of us, do not involve any question of principle, and when proposed, were accompanied by a definite pledge on the part of the Government that they would not countenance any direct or indirect endowment of Roman Catholic colleges. (3) That power is reserved to Parliament to approve or disapprove the scheme to be prepared under the Act, and hereafter to exercise, if need be, a permanent control over it, by voting the money required for its development. They thus supported the Bill as an indication that they were ready to do all they could to meet the wishes and the religious convictions of their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects; and further, as a deliberate declaration that they would not endow out of the public purse any institution over which Parliament can have no control, and for the efficient working of which it can take no sufficient precautions.

So much for the past. As to the future working of the University Act, we can only observe in the present Paper that the ultimate success of the scheme is still problematical.

JAMES MADEN HOLT.

## ART. IV.—WHERE ARE WE?

WHAT is the state and condition of the Evangelical body in the Church of England? This is a question which demands special attention just now. Where are we? What is our present condition? What are our future prospects? Let us see if we can supply an answer to these inquiries.

Whatever the cause may be, there is no doubt that the eyes of the public have lately been concentrated on the Evangelical body in a very marked and peculiar manner. When our late gallant champion, Dr. McNeile, died, the *Times* at once contained a leading article declaring that Evangelicalism was worn out, decaying, and passing away. We were useful, forsooth, at one time; but we are played out, and our usefulness is at an end! When the probable sale of Exeter Hall was recently reported, the *Saturday Review* coolly informed its readers that this was a symptom of our decline, ignoring the notorious fact that the tide of fashion has run westward since the hall was built, and that the famous great room in the Strand at best is a most inconvenient, awkward place of meeting, with means of entrance and egress disgracefully insufficient, and far too long tolerated by the authorities. The *Church Times* continually tells the public that there is not a single real theologian in the Evangelical School—nobody, of course, being a theologian who does not agree with the *Church Times*! The *Guardian* gives us occasionally some faint praise, but never ceases to remind us that our views are sadly defective, and that our system does not meet the times. Mr. Gladstone in the *British Quarterly*; Mr. Lecky in the *Nineteenth Century*; Dr. Lang in the *Catholic Presbyterian*, all have been writing about us lately, and making us a text for articles of various kinds, tendencies, and proclivities.

I suppose we ought to feel much flattered by the amount of attention we are receiving, and the proofs supplied, that our existence is a great fact which cannot be ignored. We evidently live, and move, and have a being in the Church of England. But surely when the fierce light of public opinion is turned so fully upon us, it is common prudence to review our position, and see how we stand. If there are any real symptoms of decay in the Evangelical body, let us look them fairly in the face, and know what they are. If there are no such symptoms, let us show cause for our confidence. To bring the matter to a definite point, let us look back over the last fifty years, and compare the position of the Evangelical body at the end of that period with the position which it occupied in 1829.

It may clear the way if I remind my readers that the state of things as to religious parties within the Church of England has undergone a complete change since 1829. At that date it is not too much to say the Evangelical body formed the only distinct party of any activity within our pale, and that it had almost a monopoly of the life and zeal of the Establishment. No doubt from the days of Bishop Hooper and the Vestiarian controversy there were always two Schools, a "High" and a "Low" School of thought, among our clergy. But in 1829 the immense majority of Churchmen took very little interest in religious matters beyond a formal use of the Church's services, and perhaps the only bond of union among them, with a few bright exceptions, was a common dislike to Evangelical principles and practices, and to all who followed them. In short, outside the Evangelical body, as a general rule, sleepiness and apathy was the order of the day. I need hardly say that this Boeotian state of things has utterly and entirely passed away. Within the last fifty years two other distinct and active Schools of thought, beside the Evangelical, have crystallized and come into existence. I mean, of course, the High Church and the Broad Church. Each of these two Schools has its own distinctive opinions, and makes its mark on the nation. Each has attracted round it numerous adherents, each has also its own peculiar phraseology, its own literature, and its own organs in the press. Each party is rich in preachers, speakers, and writers, and zealous in pushing and maintaining its own views. Not least, each of the two can show as much laboriousness and diligence in ministerial work as we can ourselves, however much we may think it misdirected. The logical tendencies of the two parties at first sight seems to be in diametrically opposite directions. High Churchmen who push their principles to legitimate conclusions seem in danger of returning to Rome, and swallowing the creed of Pope Pius IV. Broad Churchmen who go all lengths seem likely to give up all creeds, and articles, and dogmas as fetters, and to cast them overboard like useless lumber. Within these three great Schools in 1879 the greater part of the energy and life of the Church will be found ranged.

The modifications, and subdivisions, and shades, and half-tones of these three great Schools of thought are so many and so delicate that I cannot pretend to enumerate them. Their name is legion. There are honest, old-fashioned High Churchmen of the School of Andrewes. There are equally honest Broad Churchmen of the School of Burnet. There are Ritualists, pure and simple, who make no secret of their dislike to Protestantism. There are Evangelical Ritualists, and Ritualistic Evangelicals. There are Broad Church Evangelicals, and Evangelical Broad Churchmen, and Broad Church Ritualists.



There are Eclectics, who try to pick a tit-bit out of every School, and partly agree with none, and partly agree with all. There are some zealous and active Churchmen who hold such rabidly outrageous opinions that, like the fly in amber, you wonder how they are in the Church at all, and why they do not go to their own places. There are some decidedly non-Evangelical men who really work so hard, and preach so much truth, that you feel "*Cum talis sis utinam noster esses!*" There are other zealous fellows much run after and admired, on whose pulpits you might justly write "*Mangling done here!*" and whose sermons, like Solomon's ships, contain not only gold and silver and ivory, but worthless apes and gaudy peacocks. In short, there are such complications of opinion in the present day that it baffles any attempt to classify all. For all this time, we must remember, there remains outside all Schools of English Churchmen a large residuum of men who are ever proclaiming that they belong to "no party," and hold "no extreme views," not knowing in their Arcadian simplicity that they form about the most distinct party in the land! Never, I suppose, were there so many distinct schools and religious parties as there are in England at the present day. It need not surprise us; it is the natural consequence of increasing intellectual life and thought; men are awake and will think and act. It is not an unmixed evil; we provoke each other to emulation; we keep each other in order. We almost all agree in loyal love to the Church of England; the man who tries to destroy the Church, because we are divided, will find that he might as well interfere in the quarrels of husband and wife. We may scratch each other's faces, but we will not allow any one else to do it. One curious fact, however, remains to be mentioned. Of the three great parties in the Church, the most isolated and unpopular among the clergy is our own. Whenever a question has to be settled by voting, all Schools of thought combine in voting against the Evangelical.

But after all, when we balance party against party within our pale, and measure their comparative strength, what is the precise position which the old Evangelical School occupies in 1879 as compared with fifty years ago? Are we weaker or are we stronger? Is our influence in England increasing or diminishing? Do we hold our own, or, like the later Roman Empire, are our boundaries contracting every year? Is our strength, like that of Caleb, equal to anything, or are we silently decaying and melting away? Is there any vigour left in our School, or are we, like extinct volcanoes, the cold memorials of a bygone power to shake the world? These are deeply interesting questions which ought to be looked in the face. I shall not shrink from looking at them and giving an answer.

Now, it is the fashion in many quarters just now to speak

of the Evangelical School of Churchmen as an effete and worn-out body. It pleases some to proclaim everywhere that our day is past and our work is done. We were once useful, like the old wooden three-deckers, but are now only fit to be laid up in ordinary or broken up. We are distanced in the Ecclesiastical race and left far in the rear. We shall soon be as useless as an old almanack or a stranded wreck on a sand-bank. Such is the talk of many. Mr. Gladstone once wrote in the *Contemporary* that Evangelical Churchmen are deficient in learning, and that their system "contains in itself the elements of disintegration." The organs of extreme ritualism declare that we are destitute of theological knowledge, and are rapidly falling to pieces. I believe some weak folk are frightened by all this "tall talk," and are preparing, like rats, to quit the sinking ship, or, like rabbits, to bolt into their holes. For my own part, I regard it all as "talk," which there is nothing whatever to justify. The wish is father to the words of these men. I see facts, great patent facts, which lead me to a very different conclusion. No doubt the faults and infirmities of the Evangelical body are not few, and it does not need a Solomon to discern them. No doubt we are only a minority in the Church of England. We never were anything else, and probably never shall be. If we pleased men, and all spoke well of us, we should not be servants of Christ. We are completely outnumbered by all the other Schools of thought combined together. We are comparatively a little flock among the clergy, while "the Syrians fill the country." But if any man means to tell me that on striking the balance of parties and analyzing the spiritual condition of each, he sees in the Evangelical party the signs of decay, I take leave to tell him that he is utterly and entirely mistaken. I will give him some plain facts to digest, and in the face of those facts I defy him to prove the truth of his assertion.

1. Does it look like decay when the Evangelical body occupies a commanding position, both in the pulpits of London and almost every other large town in England, which it certainly did not occupy fifty years ago? Where and in what number were the Evangelical clergy in the metropolis, in Marylebone, Paddington, St. Pancras, Westminster, Chelsea, St. Giles's, St. George's, Bloomsbury, Whitechapel, Spitalfields, Islington, Stepney, Greenwich, Southwark, in the year 1829, and where are they now? Where at the same date was the Evangelical body in Manchester, Salford, Liverpool, Birmingham, Macclesfield, Bradford, Sheffield, Newcastle, Sunderland, Gateshead, Hull, Nottingham, Derby, Cheltenham, Bath, Bristol, Clifton, Plymouth, and where is it now? I cordially dislike this numbering and counting. But necessity is laid upon me. Does this look

like a dying party, or a failing cause? Is this decay? I think not.

2. Does it look like decay when all over the land we possess the confidence of the majority of lay Churchmen—that is, of the middle classes and intelligent lower orders? That we are in a minority among the clergy I fully admit, and probably in the ratio of four to one in the south of England. An Evangelical clergyman has very little chance of being elected a proctor in Canterbury Convocation. But I firmly believe a return from the laity, if it could be obtained, would tell a very different tale. When the Public Worship Bill was before the House of Commons, which is the true representative of the middle classes, Mr. Gladstone, with all his tail of Ritualistic and Broad Church followers, never dared to go to a division. When Diocesan Conferences containing clergy and laity from all the parishes are brought together, and the churchwardens are fairly represented, you soon find that the speeches which elicit the most hearty response are those which are most thoroughly Protestant and Evangelical. When large masses of the population are brought together for religious objects in places like Manchester or Liverpool or Birmingham, you soon see that the good old principles of the Reformation—the principles of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and not of Laud—are the only principles they cheer and applaud. And does this look like decay or a dying cause? I think not.

3. Does it look like decay when our most distinctive doctrinal views and opinions can stand the test of sifting, searching, judicial inquiry, and can come out from such ordeal not merely unscathed and unharmed, but triumphant and victorious? Men used to say fifty years ago that Evangelical clergymen were little better than “tolerated heretics.” They might be good earnest ministers, but they were not sound Churchmen. And too many of our party, I fear, with more meekness than book-knowledge, and more grace in their hearts than learning in their heads, used to hold their tongues, assume an apologetic attitude, and find nothing to answer. But since the Gorham case, and the Denison case, and the Mackonochie case, and the Purchas case, and the Bennett case, have been argued, and the arguments made public, I note that men have altered their tone a good deal, and changed their minds. Moreover, such books as Dean Goode’s volumes on Scripture, Baptism, and the Lord’s Supper, and Dr. Blakeney on the Prayer-book, and Canon Mozley on the Baptismal Controversy, have made their appearance and stand to this hour unanswered and unrefuted. In short, people have found out that Evangelical Churchmen are as loyal and true Churchmen as any in the land. We hold our ground at Church Congresses, and are recognised as an honest integral part of the Church of England which has a right to be heard anywhere. A Congress in which

the Evangelical body was not represented would hardly be considered a Church Congress at all. We can set our foot down firmly, and speak with our enemies in the face, and defy any one to convince a jury that our distinctive views are not the views of the Articles and Prayer-book, if fairly, honestly, and harmoniously interpreted. If any are "tolerated heretics" now-a-days, at any rate it is not the members of the Evangelical body. And does this look like decay? I think not.

4. Does it look like decay when every kind of Evangelical machinery has been borrowed from Evangelical Churchmen by clergy of other Schools, and adapted to their own purposes? They confess by their actions that they find no tools like ours and can invent no better. To hear some people talk, one might fancy there never was any hymn-book before *Ancient and Modern*, and never any Mission Weeks till the Ritualists began them! But this notion is ridiculously and entirely incorrect. I boldly assert, and I defy contradiction, that lively hymn singing, special Missions at home, non-Liturgical Services, Lay Agency, Mission Women, Pastoral Aid Societies, Missions to the Heathen, Missions to the Colonies, Missions to Seamen, Missions to our brethren on the Continent—all, all, all were first started by the Evangelical body. Other parties have had the wisdom to borrow our engines, but have too often not had the grace to acknowledge where they got them. But does it look like decay when the rival Schools of thought are continually coming to our arsenals, like Russians to Woolwich, and getting patterns to work by in their own way? I think not.

5. Does it look like decay when the religious societies, supported by Evangelical Churchmen, are continually growing in wealth, power, attractiveness, and influence? Let any intelligent Englishman quietly study the history of such institutions as the Church Missionary Society, the Jews' Society, the Pastoral Aid Society, the Colonial and Continental Church Society, the Irish Church Missionary Society, the Bible Society, and the London City Mission. Let him mark the constant increase of income which, comparing one decade of years with another since 1829, each of these great societies can report. Let him remember that each of these societies represents and expresses the voluntary confidence of that important body, the middle classes in England, and that this confidence is evidently increasing. And then let him note the huge fact that the 4000 or 5000 Evangelical congregations of the Church of England raise more money by annual voluntary contributions for their own distinctive religious societies than is raised by all the non-Evangelical congregations put together! Does this look like a decaying School, a dying body, a worn-out party, a failing cause? I think not.

6. Does it look like decay when gatherings of Evangelical Churchmen are increasing and multiplying every year in numbers, size, and importance? Fifty years ago, the well-known Islington Meeting stood almost alone, and used to assemble with ease in the Vicar's library. I need hardly say no clergyman's library in London would hold it now. Within the last thirty years the annual meetings of the West of England lay and clerical, the Midland lay and clerical, the Northern Counties lay and clerical, the Home Counties lay and clerical, the Southport lay and clerical Societies—all based on Evangelical principles—have sprung into healthy existence and been most successful. I hear of no such large meetings being held by Ritualists and Broad Churchmen. Specious and plausible as their principles are, they appear to have no power of self-propagation and vital energy like our own Evangelical views. And does this look like decay? I think not.

7. Finally, does it look like a falling cause and a decaying School of Theology when the very doctrines which are the glory of the Evangelical body, and which we are constantly accused of teaching too prominently and exclusively, are resorted to at last with avidity by members of other parties. Not a year passes over my head but I hear of such cases, and I have no doubt that my experience is that of many. I hear of people who have spent their lives and strength in the ranks of Ritualism and Broad Churchism eagerly grasping simple Evangelical truths in their last hours, and taking comfort in the very thing which they used to hold cheap and even despise. I hear of them, as they go down the valley of the shadow of death, casting aside all their old favourite tenets, and talking of nothing but the blood of Christ, the righteousness of Christ, the intercession of Christ, justification by faith, and all those precious corner-stones of our system which in former days they used to say we used to make too much of. On the other hand, I never heard of one single case of a true-hearted Evangelical Churchman forsaking our principles in his last hour for Ritualism or Broad Churchism. Oh, no! The nearer men draw to the grave, the more they find out the value of simple Evangelical truth, without subtraction or addition, and the more determined they feel not to give it up. To use the words of William Romaine, "The truths, which they held as doctrinal principles in life, they find comforting in death." And does this look like decay? Does this look as if Evangelicalism were an effete and worn-out system? I think not.

In saying all this, I hope I shall not be mistaken. I abhor even the appearance of boasting. The defects and blemishes of our School of thought are so many that we have nothing to boast of, and much cause for humiliation. I could easily put my finger on not a few blots and blanks which require our serious atten-

tion. But I refrain, and leave this point for future consideration. I have said what I have to show my readers that a calm review of our position in 1879 affords strong reasons for thankfulness and encouragement. I have said it for the special benefit of my younger brethren in the ministry. I ask them not to be moved by the taunts and gibes of our rivals in other Schools, but to look at plain facts, and see what a tale those facts tell. To appreciate facts and depreciate talk is one mark of a wise man. I ask them, in short, to believe that the Evangelical party, with all its faults, shows no symptoms of decay, and is as strong as any School of thought within the Church of England, if not stronger. We are not a sinking ship. We are not worn out yet. We are not dead, but alive. Yes! by the help of God we continue unto this day, and by the same help I believe we shall continue and hold our own for many a long day, in spite of ridicule, contempt, and persecution. "We shall live and not die," as Wycliffe said to the Friars, and be a thorn in the side of the Pope and the infidel, and all their satellites and allies. We shall live and not die if we are only true to our old principles, if we will only work, and watch, and pray, and read, and understand the times.

But I repeat emphatically, we must be true to our old principles—the principles revived by Henry Venn, Romaine, Berridge, and Grimshawe, kept alive by Newton, Scott, Milner, and Cecil, handed down to us by Simeon, Daniel Wilson, Legh Richmond, and Bickersteth, kind and courteous to everybody, but stiff as steel in our adhesion to the old lines. We must steadily refuse to exalt things indifferent and secondary to the same level with the primary verities and weightier matters of the Gospel. We must beware of trimming, compromising, and conceding, under the vain hope of conciliating our rivals and catching them by guile, or keeping our young people from adopting what we disapprove. It is wretched policy to try to out-manœuvre our opponents by borrowing their uniform and imitating their drill. It is a policy which gains over no enemy and disgusts many friends. Saul's armour will not fit David. It is useless to go down to Egypt for chariots and horses. We cannot do better than stick to our sling and stones—the Word of God and prayer. We cannot improve on our old principles; then let us not lightly forsake them. We cannot make them popular; they never were and never will be. Let us put up with unpopularity if conscience tells us that Christ and truth are on our side.

I am no prophet, and in a changing world I dare not conjecture where the Evangelical party will be when another fifty years have passed over the Church of England. The drying-up of the Turkish Empire, the prevalence of Popery, infidelity, lawlessness, are dark signs of the age. It may be that sifting, trying times are before us. It may be that our numbers may be thinned, and

many may desert our cause under the pressure of incessant official frowns, persecution, ridicule, and unpopularity. But, come what may, I trust the Evangelical cause will always have a representative body in the Church of England, and a faithful remnant who can stand fire, and stand alone. If gaps are made in our ranks, I hope the cry will always be, as it was in the squares at Waterloo, "Close up, men, close up; let none give way." It was a grand saying of Lord Clyde on a memorable occasion, when some one talked of a battalion of the Guards retiring, "Sir, it would better that every man in Her Majesty's Guards should die where he stands, than that Her Majesty's Guards should turn their backs to the enemy." So say I this day to my Evangelical brethren, we have no cause for discouragement, despondency, or despair. Things are in a better condition in 1879 than they were in 1829. Then let us stand firm and fight on.

J. C. RYLE.

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ART. V.—ON SOME PRACTICAL RESULTS ARISING  
FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF A REVISION OF  
THE AUTHORISED VERSION.

THERE are sometimes periods in the history of religious thought when questions which at other times have agitated the Church have lain so long dormant that men's beliefs, while still sound dogmatically, have become, as it were, practically fossilised and lifeless. Such has been (I am speaking only of its action on the general untheological mind) the subject of the inspiration of the Word of God, its mode and its limits. Few of our ordinary lay Churchmen would be able to explain, even if they cared to think, what is the exact meaning of the term *Inspiration*. Practically, in quiet times, this may not be of much consequence. So long as the Bible is received as the voice of God speaking to man, so long as each definite statement is accepted when it comes to us under the sanction of that Book, it may be well to pass over the *mode* of inspiration, while simple faith receives the message with undoubting reverence and acceptance. A Church which had been ignorant of heresies throughout the whole period of its existence might not require the Nicæan expansion of the Apostles' Creed, and might be only bewildered and perplexed by the refinements and dogmatic niceties of the Athanasian formulary. Now, for two centuries and a half the Authorised Version has been the sole text-book of the English-reading student of the Bible. Launched without

legislative or ecclesiastical enactment, it has, by its own intrinsic merits, absolutely superseded and supplanted every predecessor, not only in the Church of England, but in every English-speaking Protestant community in the world. Not one of the many other versions can now be procured, excepting as typographical curiosities, and almost all of them at prices which no other printed books, save Shakspeare, have ever reached.

This universal acceptance of the one version has not been without its effect on the popular mind, in its impressions of the meaning of Inspiration. Familiarity for generations with the *ipsissima verba* of the Authorised Version has led to an unconscious acceptance of the English words as being themselves literally inspired. Very often the preacher who suggests an interpretation differing from the received one is half suspected of irreverent audacity, or of "free-handling." How many popular errors are founded on half-texts wrested from their context, and twisted to suit the prevalent view! The passage, "Know ye not that your bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost?" is continually appealed to as a proof of the necessity for assurance of personal salvation. In a series of lessons on Confirmation, published forty years ago, under the sanction of an eminent prelate, every passage in which the word "confirming" or "confirm" occurs in the New Testament was adduced as a proof of the Apostolic authority of the rite of Confirmation. "At the name of Jesus every knee shall bow" is appealed to as commanding an outward obeisance, in utter contradiction to the letter and spirit of the original (ἐν). It would be difficult to find a more reckless handling of the Word of God than cutting out the words "Hear the church" (Matt. xviii. 17), from the sentence of which they form a fragment, and building upon them a claim for ecclesiastical power. This scarcely falls behind the grotesque perversion in which Rowland Hill, when preaching against vanity, is said to have satirised this irreverent liberty by employing as his text the words, "Top not come down." The unfortunate use of the word "Hell," both to express Hades and Gehenna, has led to strange misconceptions in the popular mind. And who shall say how many timid souls have been troubled and repelled because the word "damnation" has come to bear a very different sense since our translators employed it to express *κόλις*? But it is needless to multiply instances, which might be adduced without limit, especially from the handbooks of popular controversial Romanism.

Now, we may reasonably anticipate that in the forthcoming Revision many archaisms will be modified, as well as mis-translations corrected, while we may well trust the learned divines, who have been so long employed on this work, not needlessly to change the form of sentences, or in any way to modernise the diction, so as to impair the dignity and noble



simplicity of the grand old English Bible. But still changes there must be. How will these affect the popular belief? To many they may prove a rude shock; but yet, I believe, a shock which will be productive of much ultimate benefit, and will establish faith upon a firmer basis. Even as it is, not the uneducated alone are apt to pin their faith to their own interpretation of the words of the Authorised Version, and even in disputed interpretations of historical records to maintain their own view as though it were a matter of orthodoxy connected with the soul's salvation. This surely is none other than an exhibition of the same spirit which persecuted Galileo. On the universality of the flood, for instance, the common belief that it covered the entire earth, founded simply on the rendering that it covered "all the high hills that were *under the whole heaven*," loses all its support from Scripture, when we find that the same Hebrew words are used elsewhere in a very limited sense, as in Deut. ii. 25, where "under the whole heaven" can only possibly mean Canaan and the nations immediately adjacent. Had the original, instead of the Authorised Version, been appealed to, the elasticity of the Hebrew expressions would, as soon as recognised, have prevented many an apparent conflict between Revelation and Science. In all these difficulties as to the interpretation of Scripture, the controversialist much needs to offer up the prayer of St. Augustine, when perplexed as to the meaning of the inspired writer, "Do Thou, O Lord, either reveal that same sense to us, or whatever other true one pleaseth Thee, that whether Thou discover the same to us, as to that Thy servant, or some other by the same words, *Tu tamen pascas nos, non error illudat.*"

Now, if the Revision had been presented to the English public at a period of stagnation, or of tacit and indifferent acceptance of religious truth, the new rendering might in the course of a generation or two have become thoroughly naturalised and familiar to all classes, and have come into general acceptance without stirring any incidental questions. We can scarcely expect such results at present. The Bible is generally and fiercely, if not indiscriminately, attacked by avowed opponents on very different grounds, all, however, converging to one point—viz., that it is *inaccurate*—whether it be in its history, its science, its moral teaching, matters not. We of the Clergy must, to meet these foes, and to meet the difficulties they will raise, while unfurling the standard of Inspiration, know very clearly what we mean by it, and we must bring the subject before our people far more prominently than many of us have heretofore done. We must enable every man to give a reason for the faith that is in him. In the first place, we must beware that Christians be not led away by the plausible but pernicious sophistry that the Bible

*contains* the Word of God. We maintain, on the contrary, that it *is* the Word of God. To hold otherwise, would be to admit the pruning-knife of every self-constituted arbiter, whose "higher criticism," "inner consciousness," or "historical theories," would lead him to excise passages, chapters, verses—aye, and whole books—and to arrange and re-arrange authorships and chronology so as to suit his preconceived theories. It would give full scope to the shallow and unscholar-like captiousness of a Colenso, and to the ingenious audacity which mutilates and transposes the prophecies—*e.g.*, of Isaiah or Daniel—and thereby changes prediction into annalistic records.

We maintain not the Inspiration of a version, and, so far as the English reader is concerned, *verbal* Inspiration is impossible, but we must maintain *plenary* Inspiration. And this can be held as much of a carefully revised version as of an original. We welcome the new version if it casts light on disputed passages, and corrects the inappropriate expressions which have been already referred to. We shall be glad that it shall not be left to each scholar, preacher, or orator, to decide, *e.g.*, whether the text be right which says, "Thou hast increased the nation, and *not* increased the joy," or the margin which reads "and hast increased its joy."

Again, there is a sense in which, I presume, few will contend for the *verbal* Inspiration of the whole original, or that a Divine Providence watched over the transcribers of MSS. and prevented a mistake of a point or a comma. The vast numbers of various readings, increased as they are by the exhumation of each newly-discovered MS., would at once render this impossible. But the *plenary* does extend to the *verbal* when the word is important to the sense, and especially to the doctrinal teaching; and in such cases when find we ever a discrepancy? I mean that in such passages as Gal. iii. 16, Inspiration has guided the word "*seed*," not "seeds."

There are three leading views of Inspiration. First, that every idea and *every* word is inspired, or directly indited by the Holy Spirit's influence. This seems scarcely tenable without hedging it with so many limitations and safeguards as to transcribe, as to render it scarcely the simplest mode of setting forth the doctrine. Second, that the ideas but not the words were inspired. This seems even more perilous, and however hedged and defined, must leave open the door to every subtle device of unbelief and false doctrine. Third, that every idea is inspired, and every sentence and word so far as to prevent anything being written which is inconsistent with truth. This last definition appears to present fewest difficulties, and to be the most easily definable—not that it is without its difficulties. The *mode* of Inspiration must ever be a difficulty and a mystery. If it were

not a mystery it would not be Inspiration, it would not be divine. In maintaining this latter view, we maintain that this inspiration is *plenary*, and that it is *superintendent*. By *plenary* we understand that the person inspired was superhumanly guided, not to lose his personal identity, as shown in his diction or his mode of thought, but to express only what the Holy Spirit dictated in words which, if his own, yet were superhumanly directed to enunciate the matter; and that the writer was so guided even when in many cases he but dimly guessed, or had no understanding at all, of the true meaning of what he wrote. (1 Peter i. 10, 11.)

By *superintendent* we understand, that when recording facts, as the story of creation, the description of battles, the records of nations or of families, the writer was so guided as to be preserved from writing anything contrary to historic truth, and that therefore historic error has no place in the narrative. That in recording speeches or letters, such as the speeches of Job's friends, of Gamaliel, of Tertullus, or the letter of Claudius Lysias, the sacred penman was both divinely directed to indite them, and was guided to indite them truly and accurately.

And if we are, as we must be, perplexed by difficulties under any view about solitary and isolated expressions which are not verbally accurate, but which convey truth—*e.g.*, "the setting of the sun"—we must remember that the Bible had, while necessarily using human language, and clothing eternal truths in the ideas current in each writer's time, to fulfil an impossible condition—impossible for man, and possible only for God—it had to belong to all generations, and to speak intelligibly to men of every stage and diversity of culture and civilisation. This it still does. It still has its lessons for rich and for poor. It still exercises the same power, whether to raise from stolid brutishness the fishing Indian of Western North America, or to resist and correct the tendency of every form of higher civilisation to exhaustion and decay.

If our new Revision brings us nearer, not only to this idea but to the correct idiom of the original, so far as Oriental phraseology can be naturalised in Occidental expression, it will be a gain to every Christian student; and among its incidental benefits not the least will be that it will compel us of the Clergy to train our flocks in clear and definite views of the meaning of Inspiration; that they may have an answer to give to him that asketh them.

H. B. TRISTRAM.

## ART. VI.—THE MOVEMENT IN MEXICO.

1. *The Work of the Church in Mexico: Timely Words from several Bishops.* New York: Whittaker, 2, Bible House.
2. *The Reformation in Mexico.* By the Right Rev. ALFRED LEE, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Delaware, U.S.
3. *The Mexican Branch of the Church, described by Eye-witnesses.* New York: Published by "The League in Aid of the Mexican Branch of the Church."

MOST of our readers, probably, have heard of the "Church of Jesus" in Mexico, and of the movement to which the founding of that Church is due. The movement is deeply interesting, and is likely, we believe, to lead to great results. Its initial stages, we have been informed, were connected with tracts bearing the honoured name of J. C. Ryle.<sup>1</sup> We are, therefore, the more inclined to regard it, in its all-important doctrinal aspects, as a thoroughly sound movement. It certainly has especial claims upon the readers of THE CHURCHMAN. It is Episcopal, Liturgical, and appeals, as does the Reformed Church of England, to the Word of God. A distinguished supporter of Missions writes to us: "I believe it to be a *doctrinal* movement; utterly unlike the Old Catholic affair. . . . The most curious point is that the movement is attacked both in front and in rear; on one side by certain High Churchmen as 'Protestant,' 'Fanatical,' and 'Low,' on the other side by Plymouthites, and, I am sorry to say, by certain Presbyterians and Methodists, as 'High,' 'Ritualistic,' &c. The truth is, however, it is doctrinally sound. . . . In reality, I regard it as the most healthy and satisfactory movement we have had since the Reformation. . . . Not the least interesting point is that they are framing their Liturgy on the lines of the old Mozarabic—ancient Spanish—Liturgy. This is wise, and will conciliate Spaniards." Time will show, we believe, that our correspondent is not unduly hopeful.

At present we are unable to do more than give a brief sketch of the history of "the Church of Jesus," with a few extracts from American documents. At the beginning of the

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<sup>1</sup> From private advices we learn that Bishop Riley has translated several of Mr. Ryle's tracts into Spanish. The tract which the converted friar Aguas calls "True Liberty" was Mr. Ryle's "Are you Free?"

present year there were six ordained Presbyters, several candidates for the ministry and a lay reader to each congregation. There were about 3500 regular members, and about as many more casual members. There were three churches in the capital; the church and chapel of St. Francis, the church of St. Joseph, and one in the ex-convent of St. Anthony. Several congregations have built a house of prayer, according to the scanty means they possess.

From a statement prepared by the Rev. H. Dyer, D.D., of the diocese of New York, soon after his return from Mexico, we quote the following:—

In 1865 there commenced in the city of Mexico a religious movement, having reference to the establishment of an independent Mexican Church. This movement was manifestly inspired by the Holy Ghost and the Word of God. For a time it was under the supervision of a former Roman Catholic Presbyter, by the name of Aguilar, and of a layman by the name of Hernandez. The Bible was freely circulated. The Rev. Dr. Riley, then in this country,<sup>1</sup> heard of this work, and had many pamphlets published in the Spanish language, and sent them to Mexico for distribution. The Liberal Government, then under the presidency of Benito Juarez, a pure Indian of the Aztec race, sympathised with this movement, and rendered it such support and protection as it could. In 1868 it had made such progress as to justify the sending of a delegate to the United States to make known to the Christians here its character and its promise. On reaching our city this delegate petitioned Dr. Riley to go himself to Mexico. Accordingly, towards the end of 1868, he left New York, and soon after was actively employed in his new field of labour. By reason of his birth and early training in a Spanish-speaking country, he had great facilities in the prosecution of his work. He was most cordially received by the lovers of a pure Gospel, and rendered very effective service. He continued his labours for a year and a quarter, during which time the movement was organised under the name of the Church of Jesus in Mexico. After this Dr. Riley spent some time in the States, making known and advocating the claims of this enterprise. In 1871 he returned to Mexico, and was soon joined by Manuel Aguas, a very distinguished Presbyter of the Roman Church. They secured and opened the large church of St. Joseph, and the chapel of the famous church of San Francisco. Under the united labours of these two earnest men the interest rapidly increased, and extended throughout the city and into the country.

Concerning the Presbyter Aguilar mentioned in the previous ex-

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Riley, a Presbyter of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, of American parentage, but of Chilian birth and education, was then ministering in the Spanish tongue to an Episcopal congregation in the city of New York. In view of the admirable fitness of the Rev. Henry C. Riley for the work in Mexico, it is no presumption to recognise the hand of God in this call.

tract, Bishop Lee gives interesting information. "When the attempt was made to seat the unfortunate Maximilian upon the throne of Mexico," writes the Bishop, "advantage was taken of the new condition of things to introduce a considerable supply of copies of the Bible in the Spanish tongue. This was especially done by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Some of the precious seed fell upon ground prepared by Divine grace for its reception. Among those thus enlightened was a priest named Francisco Aguilar."

Upon him the reading of the volume produced like effects as upon Luther in the convent of Erfurth. He not only rejoiced in the discovery which was so precious to his own soul, but he longed to extend to others the blessings he had found. By him the first Protestant congregation, for the worship of God in the Spanish tongue and the preaching of the Gospel was gathered in the city of Mexico. The thought of Aguilar was to establish a Reformed Catholic Church, evangelical in doctrine and assimilated in model and polity to the primitive Apostolic pattern. He began with a little congregation of about fifty persons, which increased steadily under his assiduous labours. But his course was a brief one. His own exertions were exhausting, and persecution, none the less malignant if restrained from actual violence, was exceedingly harassing. Within two years he succumbed, pressing, in his last moments, the Bible to his heart. Among his papers was found the translation of a little volume, in which the right and duty of every man to search the Scriptures was powerfully argued. This was published by the Rev. H. C. Riley, and proved an effective ally to his work.

Mr. Riley arrived in Mexico in 1869. He re-collected, as far as practicable, the scattered flock of Aguilar, teaching both publicly and from house to house. The Romish party, unable to crush him by violence, determined to employ argument. For this purpose they selected one of the most eminent and learned ecclesiastics of the capital, Manuel Aguas, a Dominican friar, and very popular as a preacher. He examined Mr. Riley's publications with the intention of preparing a refutation. But the Lord led him by a way that he knew not. He was himself vanquished by the power of the truth. "There fell from his eyes as it had been scales." He discovered that he had been all his life in darkness, and that the work he had undertaken to oppose was of the Lord. He sought personal conference with Mr. Riley, and after painful conflict and deep searchings of heart, he joined himself to that which he had been wont to look upon as an odious and heretical sect. A more striking conversion we hardly remember.

On the character and career of Aguas we cannot now dwell. In 1872 he rested from his labours. A most interesting letter was published in October, 1871, by Manuel Aguas, Bishop-elect

of "the Church of Jesus," and we quote a few sentences in which he refers to his conversion:—

I was in this sad state when there reached me the pamphlet called "True Liberty." I read it most carefully; and, notwithstanding that I tried to find, in the arsenal of my Romish subtleties, arguments with which to answer the clear reasoning that I found in this publication, a voice within—the voice of my conscience—told me that my answers were not satisfactory, and that perhaps I was in error. . . . I commenced to study the Bible, without paying any attention to the Romish notes and interpretations. This study, from the moment that it was accompanied by earnest prayer, led me to true happiness. I commenced to see the light. The Lord had pity on me, and enabled me to clearly understand the great truths of the Gospel.

We may add, in closing this preliminary Paper, that on June 24th, 1879, the Rev. H. C. Riley, D.D., was consecrated Bishop of the Mexican Reformed Church, in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, by six Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. According to the Boston correspondent of the *Guardian*,<sup>1</sup> the Bishop of Maryland, the seventh of the Bishops who had conducted the negotiations with the young sister Church, was prevented by his infirmities from taking part in the consecration. The form of consecration was, for the most part, that of the American Ordinal; but the solemn promise of conformity was necessarily different, and was in the following words:—

In the name of God, Amen.

I, Henry Chauncey Riley, chosen Bishop of the Mexican Branch of the Catholic Church of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Valley of Mexico, in the Republic of Mexico, do hereby promise conformity and obedience to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the said Mexican Branch of the Catholic Church of our Lord Jesus Christ, as the same are set forth in the covenant entered into between the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America and the said Mexican Church, ratified by the said Bishops in Council on the 29th day of October, in the year of our Lord, 1875, and by the Synodical authorities of the said Mexican Church on the 5th day of January, in the year of our Lord, 1876.

So help me God, through Jesus Christ.

The consecration of Dr. Holly to the Episcopate of a new and independent sister Church in Hayti, with the consecration of a Bishop for "the Church of Jesus" in Mexico, are signs of a change in the policy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

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<sup>1</sup> *Guardian*, July 23rd, 1879.

## ART. VII.—HISTORY FROM MONUMENTS.

1. *A History of Egypt under the Pharaohs, derived entirely from the Monuments.* By HENRY BRUGSCH-BEY. Translated from the German by the late HENRY DANBY SEYMOUR, F.R.G.S.; completed and edited by PHILIP SMITH, B.A. In 2 vols. London: John Murray. 1879.
2. *Ägypten und die Bücher Moses'.* Von Dr. GEORG EBERS. Leipzig. 1868.
3. *Durch Gosen zum Sinai.* Von Dr. GEORG EBERS. Leipzig. 1872.
4. *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient.* Par G. MASPERO. Paris. 1876.
5. *Études sur l'Antiquité Historique.* Par M. CHABAS. Paris. 1876.

SO recently as the year 1822 a letter of Jean François Champollion, written after long study of the three inscriptions on the so-called Rosetta Stone, foreshadowed to his correspondent, M. Dacier, the true system of interpreting the hitherto mysterious hieroglyphics of Egypt. The key thus once obtained, successive scholars have, with wonderful skill, advanced in this fascinating study, till now, in less than fifty years from Champollion's death, the author of this "History of Egypt" can put it on his title-page that it is wholly derived from the monuments.

This age has, indeed, been marked by nothing more striking than its recovery of the secrets of antiquity. Sir Henry Rawlinson has transcribed and translated the great rock inscription of Behistan, on which Darius once more speaks in his own words to us; Layard has disentombed Nineveh from the mounds of the desert; Schliemann has brought back Troy with its royal treasures, and at Mycenæ has recovered for us the golden jewels, shields, masks, and armour of Homeric kings; Dennis and others have laid bare the tombs of Etruria, with their wonders of ancient art; the Germans have unearthed priceless treasures in Olympia; Italy has been made to yield details of the household feminine life of the age of Lucretia, or earlier—its workboxes and its toilette cases, with their frail contents; the sanctuaries of Venus in Cyprus and the tombs of her worshippers have enriched our museums; and if Palestine has not been productive in works of art, it has yet yielded many of its topographical details. Ages that were remote at the birth of Christ have been quickened into a posthumous vividness for which the scholars of the past could never have hoped.



Among them all, however, Egypt holds the first place of wonder, for the valley of the Nile was the seat of high civilisation when "The Friend of God" was still wandering through it with his flocks and herds. It is, indeed, a question far from settled how far back we may place the rise of Egyptian national life and culture, but it must have been very ancient; for even Mr. Stuart Poole, one of the most moderate of Egyptian scholars in his demands, assigns it to the year B.C. 2717, or about 700 years before Abraham.

The uncertainty of Egyptian chronology is still, undoubtedly, extreme. The date of the first king, Menes, is fixed by Boeckh at B.C. 5702; by Unger at B.C. 5613; by Professor Owen at about B.C. 5000; by Mariotte Bey at B.C. 5004; by Brugsch at B.C. 4455; by Maspero at B.C. 4500; by Lanth at B.C. 4157; by Chabas at B.C. 4000; by Lepsius and Ebers at B.C. 3892; by Bunsen at B.C. 3059; by Dr. Birch at about B.C. 3000; by Stuart Poole at B.C. 2717; and by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson at B.C. 2691. Thus, between the highest and the lowest estimates there is a difference of 3011 years.

The fact is, the Egyptians, like the Hindoos, had no idea of chronology in the modern sense. Fragments of an old Egyptian history by a priest, Manetho, still remain; there is a list of sixty-five kings from Menes, on a stone known as the Table of Abydos; a worn record, known as the Turin papyrus, with another list; and a tablet, known as that of Saqqarah; but no one can tell how many of the kings named were contemporary, either as heads of separate divisions of Egypt, or on the same throne; and each reign is an independent starting-point from which the events it yielded have their date. "It is only from the beginning of the twenty-sixth dynasty (that is, from B.C. 666)," says Brugsch, "that the chronology is founded on data which leave little to be desired as to their exactitude." "Instead of growing less," he adds, "the difficulties in determining the chronological relations of Egyptian history are, on the contrary, multiplied day by day."

Nor is the proposal to assign an extreme antiquity to Egyptian civilisation from apparent evidence of other kinds more safe. Even so acute a mind as that of Ebers<sup>1</sup> relies on the discovery of fragments of pottery, &c., at great depths in the Nile mud; but other fragments of indisputably Greek origin, and hence comparatively modern, have been found at least as far down; and Robert Stephenson found a brick with Mehemet Ali's stamp on it at a greater depth than that of the supposed pre-historic fragments. No wonder that Sir Charles Lyell speaks of it as "not worth while to notice such absurdities." The

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<sup>1</sup> "*Ägypten und die Bücher Moses*," p. 22.

presence of stone tools in the Egyptian tombs was also thought to indicate their almost fabulous age, but M. Chabas has satisfactorily shown that similar tools were in use in the latest historical periods of Egypt, and are even now not uncommon in the districts outside.<sup>1</sup>

The origin of the strange people who settled in the Nile valley has been thought by many, of late years, to have been Asiatic; not, as was formerly supposed, African. Ebers, who agrees with Brugsch, tells us that "they were of Caucasian descent, and, as the table of nations in Genesis shows, wandered along with other tribes whose skin we may believe first darkened at a later time under the glowing sun—into the north-east of Africa, apparently by way of Arabia."<sup>2</sup> The skulls of mummies show Caucasian peculiarities, not African, and the Egyptian language, according to both Ebers and Brugsch, not only shows no traces of derivation from African sources, but reveals intimate connections with the Indo-Germanic and Semitic dialects. Thus, we have to recognise in the mysterious community to which we owe the pyramids a distant blood relation to ourselves. Yet the question can hardly be regarded as quite settled, for Dr. Birch still maintains that the Egyptians were derived from an African source which developed itself, under unknown conditions, to a degree to which civilisation never reached elsewhere in antiquity.<sup>3</sup>

For a vivid picture of the pre-historic times of ancient Egypt we must look rather to Ebers than to Brugsch or Maspero. The early settlement of the Delta from the north by Phœnicians; their gradual clearing away the forests of reeds with their hippopotomi, crocodiles, &c., as the forest is cleared off in Canada, and their establishment of busy trading ports on the coast, is drawn out with marvellous skill from materials which would be deemed worthless by any one less skilled in comparative philology. Settlement of the central or more southerly parts of the country proceeded side by side with this Punic invasion, agriculture and the breeding of cattle forming the staple industries. The Nile then, as now, determined the seasons of labour, but it also bore from the earliest ages a first place in the civilisation and prosperity of the land, by furnishing a highway for commerce and travel, in its main stream and greater canals, and by its inundations, and the wide irrigation of its borders by its waters. The Pharaohs themselves did not disdain to sail along the sacred river on the great festivals, in the gorgeous royal ship, or to perform mystic rites in honour of agriculture, and the priests

<sup>1</sup> See Chabas: "Etudes sur l'Antiquité Historique," *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> "Ägypten und die Bücher Moses," 53; Brugsch, i. 2.

<sup>3</sup> "Congrès International des Orientalistes de 1873," p. 66. Paris, 1876.

taught that the happiness of the future world would consist in tilling the fields of the underground paradise, in feeding and tending the cattle of the subterranean god Osiris, and navigating the breezy water of his realm in slender skiffs. Thus, the husbandman, the shepherd, and the boatman were the founders of the peaceful life which flourished in the valley of the Nile.

Life in the remote ages of this primitive race was much the same as it is with ourselves. The pictures left by them on their tombs, the inscriptions carved on stone, and the records preserved on sheets of reed-paper, show that they clung to life and rejoiced in it, as they well might, in their sunny land. The prayer that they might reach the "most perfect old age" of 110 years constantly meets us. They laughed, they sang, and made merry; roamed the marshes to hunt or fish, and made the meadows echo with their holiday sports. Even the tombs witness to their fondness for jokes and sallies of wit; to their satire on their neighbours, and their cheery way of looking at all things. The working classes had their varied callings then, as now. They toiled in the field, or tended the herd, or steered and rowed their craft on the Nile. Stone-workers abounded from the earliest ages; gold, silver, copper, and iron were wrought into jewellery, tools, and weapons; wood and leather were put to countless uses; glass-works had their sweltering populations; rope-works were busy; the basket and mat-maker drove a good trade; sculptors and painters were in honour; and the potter's wheel restlessly moulded the rich clay into vessels of every shape.

But, after all, society was rotten at the core, for the richer or ennobled classes looked with contempt on labour, and spoke of the masses as the "stinking and miserable mob." The Bible alone, in antiquity, shows respect to man as man, and addresses itself to all classes with a recognition of the essential equality of the whole race. The Egyptian king was the visible divinity, addressed and worshipped as such; the nobles lorded it in grand palaces, and were followed by trains of dependents and slaves; the priest, the scribe, and the military were privileged classes; but the toiling millions suffered only in a measure less than the wretched fellahs of to-day. The stick then, as now, settled matters between the tax-gatherer and the peasant. The names of the kings who built the two loftiest pyramids were never uttered even in the days of Herodotus, from the bitter hatred of their oppressions, burned into the heart of the nation long ages before. It was not the Hebrew only who suffered from the tyranny of taskmasters; the degraded classes of the Egyptians themselves had to bear as hard a lot. That Moses should address himself to *the people* was an utterly new era in history.

Menes himself may be a mere name, but his reign at least

serves as a starting-point for history. While he himself is the reputed founder of Memphis, we ere long find in the records of his successors notices of the construction of great public works, of the introduction of the embalmment of the dead, of great military expeditions ; of the building of the pyramid of Sakkarah ; of the introduction of animal worship ; of the sanction of female sovereigns ; and, in short, of all that marks a state in which the royal, priestly, and military constitution is elaborately defined, and the arts fully developed. Architecture, unequalled since in its massive grandeur, and involving a mastery of geometric knowledge amazing in any age, filled the mind with wonder. The hugest masses of stone could be borne down the Nile from the cataracts, transported to their required site, polished and fitted to their place, with a skill we could hardly now equal. Sculpture in the hardest materials was perfect, within the limits of conventional rules. The system of hieroglyphics, so elaborate and ingenious, had been brought to perfection. Memphis was a city of temples, and swarmed with prophets and prophetesses, priests and scribes. The vast tombs which Job describes with wonder as the "desolate places," which kings and counsellors of the earth had built for themselves, had been constructed in vast numbers. The Pharaoh had risen so high over his subjects that they worshipped him as a god, and spoke of him as "his holiness," approaching him only in lowly prostration, with their faces touching the earth. His palaces were in keeping with his majesty, and were thronged by courtiers. The ceremonial of state and of religion was alike elaborate and settled. Grades of nobility were minutely fixed with their rights and precedence. High dignitaries had, respectively, charge of the Pharaoh's wardrobe, hair, nails, and bath. Others had the care of the royal amusements, the singing, playing, and entertainments of the Court. Still others were set over the royal magazines of wheat, fruit, and oil ; the cellars, the bakeries, the shambles, and the stables. High inspectors had under them the domains, the farms, palaces, and even the lakes and canals of the crown.

Nor were the great nobles of Egypt, as Abraham saw them, less strikingly surrounded by all the refinements of an elaborate and artificial civilisation and luxury. Their estates were cultivated by slaves ; their households full of domestics. Each had around him, for his special pleasure, his own tradesmen and artificers of every kind ; the glass-blower, the gold-worker, the potter, the tailor, the barber, the baker, and the butler. The effeminate luxury in their palaces rivalled that of the palaces of Rome more than two thousand years later.<sup>1</sup> The acrobat and the

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<sup>1</sup> "Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*," 3, 87 ff.

dancer, the harpist and the singer, and many others, strove to while away his evenings. His chief glory, however, was in his farm, with its flocks and herds, his household with its throng of slaves and artisans, and in his luxurious yachts on the sacred river. The use of the horse in riding is not seen on the monuments till the eighteenth dynasty, about B.C. 1700.<sup>1</sup> As yet he contented himself with the stately Eastern ass, and he did not as yet know of wheeled conveyances, which also came later. The cat purred at his hearth, the dog ran at his side, and he amused himself with pet apes. Oxen of different kinds fed in his meadows, and he hunted the gazelle and the antelope. Veal and beef, varied by hyæna, graced his table, but he shuddered like a Jew at the idea of pork, and cared little for mutton. Ducks, geese, doves, and pigeons, wild and tame, were as common as now, but the domestic fowl had not yet been introduced to Egypt. His bread was of barley, but he varied it by biscuits and pastry. Grapes, figs, and dates furnished his desserts; and wine and beer his drink. Dressed in pure white linen, he as yet walked barefoot; but gold collars, bracelets and anklets, showed his wealth, and he carried a wand for dignity. At his feasts he reclined on elegant couches, but his pillows were only wooden head-rests. His chairs, stools, and household furniture were simple but elegant. There were no roses as yet in Egypt, but the lotus supplied him with garlands at his banquets, and he often held it in his hands.

Yet, with all his delight in life the Egyptian was unable to forget for any length of time that death and the world to come were near. Even in Abraham's day stupendous pyramids, the burial-places of kings, overlooked Memphis, and at their feet, in deep pits, the walls of which were covered with pictures and inscriptions, lay the innumerable dead. Preparation for the judgment-day, after death, was the great duty of life which included all others. A high morality was taught in the sacred books, however contradicted in practice. Affection towards wife and children, kindness to the poor and wretched, and reverence to the gods, were strongly urged, but the gods were supposed to be incarnate in the sacred animals; and the good works done to the miserable were more than outweighed by the oppression which prevailed. Then, as now, not a few led quiet and pure lives, but vice and sensuality were only too common. Egypt was a paradise for the rich, but a land of sorrow for the mass. Its religion was lofty in word, but debased and degrading in practice.

Brugsch places the immigration of Jacob into Egypt B.C. 1730, under the Hyksos, or Shepherd kings, whom he describes as

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<sup>1</sup> Brugsch, i. 295.

Syrians, with Shashu—this is Hyksos, or Shepherd Arabs—as allies, and the aid of Phœnician and other Shemitic settlers already established in Lower Egypt. A memorial stone of the time of Ramses II., the Pharaoh of the Oppression, speaks of the reign of a Hyksos king 400 years before, and as Ramses reigned about B.C. 1350, this would carry us back to B.C. 1750. Remembering, in connection with this, that Deuteronomy<sup>1</sup> speaks of the Hebrews as having spent 430 years in Egypt, to the time of the Exodus, their immigration falls under the Shepherd kings—a time which exactly accounts for their kind reception as a pastoral clan. An inscription found in one of the tombs of the date of Joseph is quoted by Brugsch for its striking corroboration of the seven years' famine of which Scripture speaks. It records a famine which lasted many years, during which the dead man tells us he issued out corn to the city "at each famine." Such successive dearths, rising from a deficiency of water in the Nile year after year, are so rare, that the Bible narrative of those in Joseph's day is the only instance known. There can be little doubt therefore that this inscription, written in Joseph's life-time, alludes to the famine to which he owed his elevation in the land.

Dr. Brugsch's illustrations of the Scripture narrative of Joseph from Egyptian sources is less full than that of Dr. Ebers, but is very interesting. The word used in Genesis for "bow the knee," Abrek, is a Shemitic one, but is still preserved in the hieroglyphics. The name Zaphnatpaneakh, given to Joseph, means "governor of the Sethroitic nome,"<sup>2</sup> a district on the north-east border of Egypt, where his brethren were settled as a frontier guard to protect the country towards Syria. The Egyptian offices, Adōn (lord) and Ab (father), which Joseph attributes to himself before his family,<sup>3</sup> though Shemitic words, were official titles under the Shepherd Pharaohs who had adopted Egyptian manners while retaining in many cases their own Shemitic words. Indeed, they are still found on the monuments. Asnat, Joseph's wife, bears a purely Egyptian name of the old and middle empire. Strange to say, the story of his trouble with the wife of Potiphar, or Putipar, "the gift of the sun," seems to have been a not uncommon one in Egypt, for we find a narrative very like his in a story preserved on a papyrus roll. Brugsch gives an extract from it, but those who wish to read it in full, will find it in the second volume of "Records of the Past."<sup>4</sup> It has been thought by some that a striking support to the Bible narrative is to be found in the fact that the Shepherd kings discountenanced the religion of Egypt, and worshipped as their Supreme Divinity the god

<sup>1</sup> xii. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Brugsch gives the meaning of the word in full as "Governor of the district of the place of life."

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xlv. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Bagster, London.

Sutekh—a god of Syria. This, it has been conjectured, was no other than Jehovah, whom the Shepherd kings had introduced in honour of Joseph. But Brugsch tells us that Sutekh was “the origin of all that is bad and perverse in the seen and unseen worlds—the opponent of what is good, and the enemy of light,<sup>1</sup> a description which leaves no room for an identification with the God of the Hebrews—the gracious and merciful Jehovah.

The monuments begin to preserve a clear record of history from the time of Joseph, after whose death the Hyksos kings were expelled, and shepherds became a “pestilence” to the Egyptians. It is curious to find that, not long after Joseph’s day, Europeans formed a corps in the Egyptian army.<sup>2</sup> The negro had not been introduced by war or otherwise, so far as the monuments show, in Abraham’s time, but from that of the next dynasty they had become a growing part of the population, especially in the south. Egypt had, besides, now made acquaintance with many other nations—European, African, and Asiatic.

The four centuries after Joseph were the most glorious period in Egyptian history. The victories of Thotmes III., the Egyptian Alexander, illustrated by contemporary documents, fill a large space in the pages of Dr. Brugsch, and are intensely interesting, from the insight they give into the condition of Palestine at that early time. His wars with the various nations then holding it reveal a wealth and civilisation among them, long before the days of Moses, for which few would be prepared. The account of the Khita, or Hittites, in the beginning of Dr. Brugsch’s second volume, will be thoroughly fresh to most readers, though Ebers has also given an intensely interesting sketch of them in his wonderful story, *Uarda*. Ramses II., the Sesostris of the Greeks, fills a long space in Dr. Brugsch’s volumes; and as he appears beyond question to have been the Pharaoh of the Oppression, it is well that it is so, for nothing can be more interesting than the numerous contemporary documents illustrating his long reign of sixty-seven years. The vast number of monuments he left all over Egypt fill up his story, indeed, with a vivid minuteness which makes one forget as he reads, that it illustrates a life ended at least 1300 years before Christ, while Moses was still an Egyptian courtier, or perhaps a fugitive in Midian. His journey to Thebes, to the feast of Amon, and his return to his great palace at Zoan-Tanis, the scene in his successor’s reign of the miracles of Moses<sup>3</sup>—his great war with the Khita, as celebrated in the contemporary epic of the poet Pentaur—his repeated campaigns in Palestine, with long details, written at the time, of the incidents of the war, and lists of the prisoners and booty taken; his

<sup>1</sup> I. 236.<sup>2</sup> Chabas, 221.<sup>3</sup> Num. xiii. 22; Ps. lxxviii. 12, 43.

negro-hunting raids in Ethiopia and Libya ; his mighty erections at Karnac and elsewhere, still the wonder of the land ; the state of Egypt under his reign, and much else, bring the whole period before the mind as if it were recent history. Nor are sidelights to the main story wanting. Dr. Brugsch believes he has discovered the name of the overseer of the Israelites in Egypt, and he gives descriptions of Zoan-Tanis, the capital, from a letter of the time ; a criticism on the literature then in fashion, from a contemporary pen ; thinks he has found out the name of the princess who rescued Moses from the Nile, and shows that the name of the great lawgiver is connected with that of an island in the Nile, in an inscription of about a hundred years after the death of Sesostris.<sup>1</sup>

Interesting notices of Zoan, the centre of the Egyptian monarchy in the time of Moses, and the scene of his struggle with Pharaoh, and of his miracles, are given by Dr. Brugsch. Its ancient names show its greatness in these times, for it was known as "The Strong Place," "The City of Ramses," and "The Great and Splendid City of Lower Egypt." The Hebrews and other tribes of Shemitic origin lived all round it, and, indeed, the city itself is everywhere represented in the inscriptions as inhabited mainly by foreigners. It was the starting-point for campaigns towards the East, and of the great roads to Palestine, and, from its position on the border, was reckoned the key of Egypt. The Shepherd kings who had originally settled the Hebrews in its neighbourhood, adorned it with many temples and monuments ; but it was left to Ramses II., the Pharaoh of the Oppression, to add so much to its glory, that it was thenceforward known as one of his "Temple—Cities ;" this being the true meaning of the name given in the Bible—not "Treasure Cities," as our version has it. Strange to say, the Egyptian records, and especially the papyri, abound in notices of the labours in stone or in brick with which the workmen were overburdened to hasten the completion of their task. "These documents," says Brugsch, "are so precise and specific on this sort of work, that it is impossible not to recognise in them the most evident connection with the "hard bondage" and "rigorous services" of the Hebrews in building certain edifices at Pithom and Ramses."<sup>2</sup>

Mineptah II., the Pharaoh of the Exodus, fills a less space in Dr. Brugsch's pages, as might have been expected from the troubles of his reign. It is striking to find that he, like Ramses II., his father, who had had a family of no fewer than fifty sons and sixty daughters—Mineptah being his thirteenth

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<sup>1</sup> The island thus mentioned is called in the inscription, T-en-Moshé, "the island," or "the river-bank," of "Moses."—Vol. ii. 112.

<sup>2</sup> II. 354.



child—lived at Zoan, and still more so, in view of the Bible narrative, to find that the end of his reign is unrecorded. His architectural works were mean compared with those of his father, and his only triumphal inscriptions are for victories over the barbarous Libyans. With the dreaded Khita of Lebanon he remained at peace, and Canaanites were employed as his messengers between Zoan and the Egyptian garrisons in their own land. Mineptah, moreover, delighted in sounding titles, and especially used that of Pirao—our Pharaoh—the “Great House” or “High Gate,” for his official name, as the Turkish Sultan uses the similar one of the Sublime Porte.

Dr. Brugsch has a new theory as to the course taken by the Israelites in their march out of Egypt. Instead of turning south, to the Red Sea, he thinks he has proof, from the names of the stations given in Exodus, that they went north to the gates of the great wall which defended the exposed north-eastern side of the country. An itinerary of an Egyptian officer which has come down to us seems to him to mark unmistakably the various marches of the fugitive Hebrews. The Red Sea he assumes to be what the Hebrew words really mean—only the “weedy sea”—and to apply with great force to the terrible Serbonian bogs which skirted the coast of the Mediterranean on the north-east of Egypt. In these, he supposes, Pharaoh and his host were engulfed, a great storm on the Mediterranean which lashed its waves at the time over the narrow line of firm land between the sea and the morasses, leading or driving the Egyptians off the right track, as happened, ages after, to a Persian army in an invasion of Egypt. Dr. Ebers, on the other hand, adheres to the traditional scene of the miracle as correct, assigning the shallow head of the Red Sea, at Suez, as the precise locality; and Dr. Birch thinks the matter far from settled in Dr. Brugsch's favour.

The reign of Shishak or Shasanq I., which is fixed as beginning in the year B.C. 966, is another point of great Biblical interest in Dr. Brugsch's narrative. It will be new to many readers to learn that this monarch was the son of an Assyrian king, Nimrod, and thus himself an Assyrian, Egypt having been conquered by his father. It was he who received Jeroboam, and gave him protection till his return to overthrow Rehoboam; and it was by him also that that weak son of Solomon was attacked, and forced to make a humiliating peace. This invasion of Judah has been handed down in outline on the wall of the temple of Amon in the Theban Api. On the south outside wall the Egyptian king is seen, in colossal size, dealing heavy blows with his victorious war-club on the captive Jews. The names of 102 Jewish towns and districts ravaged in the campaign are paraded in long rows on the vacant spaces of the wall, and this list

Dr. Brugsch has wisely inserted to aid students of sacred topography.

It is impossible in the limits of an Article to follow Dr. Brugsch in the many illustrations of the sacred narrative his History affords. But it is pleasing in these days of sifting criticism, and often flippant cavil, to put on record the testimony of one so well qualified to speak as to the striking evidence borne by the Egyptian monuments to the truth of the records on which our faith is based :—

Any one (says he) must be certainly blind who refuses to see the flood of light which the papyri and the other Egyptian monuments are throwing upon the venerable records of Holy Scripture, and, above all, there must needs be a wilful mistaking of the first laws of criticism by those who wish to discover contradictions, which really exist only in the imagination of opponents.<sup>1</sup>

The History virtually closes at the final conquest of Egypt by the Persians, though a few pages continue it briefly to the defeat of the Persians themselves by Alexander the Great. It marks a great progress in the decipherment of the monuments that such a narrative could have been written, and great praise is due to the author for the ability with which he has constructed it from materials hitherto unused.

CUNNINGHAM GEIKIE.

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ART. VIII.—FRANCES RIDLEY HAVERGAL.

GOD'S servants are immortal till their work is done. A thousand may fall at their side, and ten thousand at their right hand ; but as long as the King their Master has one more commission for them on earth, however small it be, the arrow comes not nigh them, the angel of death passes over their dwelling. It may be that the bared breast will welcome the arrow ; death may be looked for with expectant joy as the messenger summoning the loyal soul into the King's presence ; but none the less is that summons impossible while the allotted work is yet unfinished. No doubt there is a sense in which even the most laborious and the most long-lived have at last to lay them down and die with the deep consciousness that what they have done in the Master's service is but a fragment of what they might have done. Yet, while it is true that opportunities are given us which we miss, and "talents" which we fail to use, that, like King Joash, we smite thrice on the ground and stay, when the arrow of the Lord's

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 330.

deliverance in our hands might have been sharp in the hearts of His enemies,—it is also true, that there is a work appointed in the King's hidden counsels to each of His servants, and that when that particular function is fulfilled, He calls them away.

Only thus can we understand the early removal of one so manifestly used of God, and yet so apparently on the threshold of her career, as Frances Ridley Havergal. It is but a few years since her first volume of poems appeared. It is but the other day that she expressed to the present writer, in terms of almost childish glee, her thankful astonishment at the extraordinary success of "My King," the first of those little "Royal" books, as they are called, which were her chief prose works, and which have attained so wide a popularity. She was in the midst of half-finished contributions wherewith to satisfy—if that were possible—the importunity of rival editors, and of plans for "telling it out" in all directions that "the Lord is King," when, almost in a moment, the summons came. The pen—or rather the "typewriter," for she used, with enviable facility, that pretty instrument—was laid down for a day or two; but the hand for which it waited is mouldering in the tomb, while the spirit to whose bright thoughts it gave a visible existence has gone within the veil—fetched away, not, as it seems to our imperfect sight, from an incompleted task, but because the work given to do is *finished*.

Very thankfully, nevertheless, may we look back to that short but much-blessed life of service. Nor is thankfulness awakened only by looking back. For of Frances Havergal it may be said, not conventionally, but most literally, that "she, being dead, yet speaketh." We sometimes say this of those who have gone, thinking of their fragrant memory, of their far-reaching influence. We say it, for example, of a man like Lord Lawrence, and hope that his memory will, indeed, speak to his successors in the administration of the great empire he helped to build up. But a *writer* lives on in his written works as no mere man of action can do; and Frances Havergal will yet speak to many hearts in her "ministry of song," as well as in the little prose books so highly prized by the loyal subjects of the Great King.

Many writers have surpassed Miss Havergal in originality and depth of thought. To her the humbler gift was granted that she should be useful. Yet her writings have very distinct literary merits. In her poems she displays a real command of striking and felicitous language. We need but recall, as a single illustration of this, the truly beautiful "Sunset Chorus" in the cantata of "The Mountain Maidens," in which she pictures the crimson glow of the setting sun upon Mont Blanc, and the "pure and perfect whiteness" it leaves behind—

Like the calm and blessed sleeping  
Of the saints in Christ's own keeping.

The same power of choosing appropriate words is manifest in her simpler pieces, and even in those few in which she gave rein to her bright humour, as in "London-super-Mare."

We have just used the term "picture" of one of her poems. But, in truth, they are less word-*painting* than word-*music*. Frances Havergal was a musician, like her accomplished father, and her musical inspiration found vent in her poetry.

Another marked feature of her verse—indeed, of her writings generally—is the sunshine that pervades them. Far removed is their spirit from that morbid melancholy which is so characteristic of modern poets. In truth, there is a reason for the difference. There can be little joyousness if, while men feel they cannot help but write about Christ, they can only write about Him as in that most melodious but most melancholy of stanzas, to which the name of Matthew Arnold is attached:—

Now he is dead, far hence he lies  
In the lone Syrian town;  
And on his grave, with shining eyes,  
The Syrian stars look down.

What would Frances Havergal's verse have been, if she had believed *that*? Truly, "if Christ be not risen, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins."

In her prose writings the same clear, felicitous thought and language are conspicuous. You see it in "My King," and you see it in such stray magazine papers as that exquisite parable, "Our Swiss Guide" (*Sunday Magazine*, October, 1874), in which, from the functions of a mountaineering guide, are drawn a series of most striking analogies illustrative of the work of Christ. There is a directness, too, and reality about all she says. She does not write for writing's sake. She evidently means every word. A good example is seen in the most recent of her post-humous contributions, the chapter of "Marching Orders" in the *Church Missionary Gleaner* for September. The "marching order" for the month is, "Talk ye of all His wondrous works."

I wonder how many of us have observed this among our marching orders? and how many of us have been obeying it? Think of the last month, for instance, with its thirty-one days; on how many of those days did we talk of all His wondrous works? and if we did so at all, how much less did we talk about them than about other things? . . . Only suppose that for every time each English Christian had talked about the day's news of the kingdoms of this world, he had spent the same breath in telling the last news of the kingdom of Jesus Christ to his friends and casual acquaintances! Why, how it would have outrun all the reports and magazines, and saved the expense of deputations, and set people wondering and inquiring, and stopped the prate of ignorant reviewers who "never heard of any converts in

India," and gagged the mouths of the adversaries with hard facts, and removed missionary results and successes from the list of "things not generally known!" . . . .

"They shall speak of the glory of Thy kingdom, and talk of Thy power." Is this among the things that we ought to have done and have left undone? Are we not verily guilty as to this command? "Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep *this law!*"

Perhaps we say we have kept it; we have had sweet converse with dear Christian friends about the Lord's kingdom and doings, and surely that is enough! No, read further; there is not even a full stop after "talk of Thy power." It goes on to say why and to whom: "To make known to the sons of men His mighty acts, and the glorious minded friends, exchanging a little information may be, but talking *with purpose*, talking so as to make known what great things our God is doing, not gently alluding to them, but *making* the sons of men majesty of His kingdom." . . . . Some very intelligent and well-educated "sons of men" do not seem to know that there is such a thing as "His kingdom" at all; and whose fault is that? They do not and will not read about it, but they could not help the "true report" of it reaching their ears if every one of us simply obeyed orders and *talked*, right and left, "of the glory of Thy kingdom," instead of using our tongues to tell what we have just seen in the *Times*.

A memorial fund is being raised by Miss Havergal's friends, to be committed to the administration of the Church Missionary Society, for the purpose of employing native Bible women in India, and of translating some of her books into the Indian languages. The idea is a happy one. Frances Havergal's heart was in missionary work, and only a few months back she said, "If I were strong, I must and would go even now to India." We are persuaded that many who have enjoyed her writings will gladly seize the opportunity of helping to perpetuate her name in connection with the noblest of Christian enterprises.

E. S.



#### ART. IX.—THE FIFTY-SIXTH PSALM.

WITH the devout, the Psalter has always been a particularly precious portion of God's Word. It has been valued for meditation, thanksgiving, and prayer. The early Christians, as Luther mentions in his preface to the Psalter, diligent in reading Scripture, were specially fond of the Psalms. And in every age, no doubt, among Christians generally, the feeling has been the same. The Church of England, for nearly all her Services, has appointed a Psalm or Psalms; and of our private devotions words or thoughts from the Psalter form no small portion. To

those who are meditating on the sea-shore or in the harvest-fields, to busy workers and to lonely sufferers, to travellers in strange lands shut off from the pleasures of the sanctuary, and to worshippers who chant the ever-fresh prelude to common prayer, "*O come, let us sing unto the Lord,*" the Psalms are equally welcome.

Why is the Psalter so precious? How is it that the Psalms are so suitable for private and for public use among Christians of every class?

The main answer, surely, is this: The language of the Psalms is the language of *experience*. What believers have felt concerning their own weakness and their strength in the Lord; what they have wished for, been glad about, been afraid of, been troubled about; their lyrics of praise, and their *de profundis* . . . . prayers, this is the language of the Psalms.

One feature in such experience is brought before us in the Fifty-sixth Psalm—namely, *Conflict*. "What time I am afraid," says David, "I will trust in Thee."<sup>1</sup> Herein we realise the communion of saints. To say "I am afraid," is common human experience; and this is a tie of nature. To say, "I am afraid, but I trust in God," is religious experience; and this is a tie of grace. David's voice, therefore, is our own; we have the same comfort in conflict, the same confidence: "In God I have put my trust; I will not fear what flesh can do unto me."

The notes of the Fifty-sixth Psalm are Trial, Trust, and Thanksgiving. In verse 1, *Be merciful unto (Have pity on) me, O God; man fighting daily oppresseth me*. In verse 4, *I have put my trust*. In the closing verses, *I will render praises unto Thee; Thou hast delivered*. Thus, the life of faith is a life of conflict, of varied experiences, of mingled feelings. Its songs are sometimes sad; its sadness often smiles. But the minor of timidity generally, through trust, swells into thanksgiving.

The state of mind revealed in verse 3 is complex. David saw perils, and he was afraid; with his fear, however, side by side, there was trust. It is, indeed, a triumphant trust; for in the next verse he sings "the holy boast,"<sup>2</sup> *I will not fear*. Nevertheless, for many believers, in times of trial, the revelation, in verse 3, of feelings contrary to each other is very helpful. The afflicted Christian perceives the perils which encompass him; he knows the weakness and waywardness of his own will; he is afraid—partly, perhaps, from physical weak-

<sup>1</sup> "Nevertheless, though I am sometime afraid, yet put I my trust in Thee."—*Prayer Book*. Literally, "In the day that I fear . . . ."

<sup>2</sup> Calvin. "This confidence is no proof that he was rid of all fear. . . . He was so far from yielding to fear that he rose victoriously above it."

ness—and he is not ashamed to confess his fears; he is no callous Stoic; he remembers the comforting prediction of Christ, “the flesh is weak;” and he says with David, “Have pity on me, O God;” *I trust, but I am afraid.*<sup>1</sup>

Many of the most eminent Christians have gone through such experiences. Cowper, for instance, greatly feared and greatly trusted. Gerhardt, whose hymns, like Cowper’s, are full of faith, —Gerhardt who sang—

Give to the winds thy fears;  
Hope, and be undismayed;  
God hears thy sighs and counts thy tears—  
He shall lift up thy head—

had written for his epitaph—“Here lies a theologian sifted by Satan.” And to very many Christians, probably, in some or other “visitation,” such language as Psalm lv. 2-6 has come home with peculiar power. “Fearfulness and dread are come upon me, and horror hath overwhelmed me.” With the healthy soul, no doubt, such complainings are brief as well as rare. The gloom quickly lifts; and the voice of Jesus, “Why are ye so fearful?” brings quietness, if not joy. The one great matter, in a time of need, is to realise His Presence.

Beautifully is this brought before believers by John Bunyan. In the closing scene of *Pilgrim’s Progress*, we read:—

Then I saw in my dream that Christian was as in a muse a while. To whom also Hopeful added this word, Be of good cheer; Jesus Christ maketh thee whole: and with that Christian brake out with a loud voice, Oh! I see Him again! and He tells me, When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers they shall not overflow thee.—Isa. xliii. 2. Then they both took courage, and the enemy was after that as still as a stone, until they were gone over.

To realise the Presence of Christ, according to the Fifty-sixth Psalm, is to have rest. For what, here, is the Psalmist’s notion of *trust*? It is to *cling confidently* to a Person. Of David’s words, for “trust,” one is *finding refuge in* (as in Psalm vii. 1), and another is *clinging trustfully to*.<sup>2</sup> The latter part of the third verse, therefore, literally translated, is, *I cling confidently to Thee*.

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<sup>1</sup> As to fear and trust in the soul, a German commentator has taken some exception to verse 3. But this only illustrates the fact that learning is not always accompanied by common sense. A very general human experience is the conflict of fear and hope, confidence and concern. Peter was afraid, but he trusted, when he cried “Lord, save me!” The women ran from the empty sepulchre, St. Matthew records, when the angel appeared. “with fear and great joy.”

<sup>2</sup> Delitzsch.

In conclusion. This Psalm, as a whole, shows the believer's Perils, his Praise, and God's Presence.<sup>1</sup> The felt Presence is our peace in the midst of perils, and the spring of our praise.

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GENESIS XXVIII 10-22.

*Tune, No. 330, in St. Alban's Tune Book.*

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|---|---|
| <p>1.<br/>WEARY worn and lonely,<br/>With my rude staff only,<br/>Through the desert thorny,<br/>Went I on my journey.</p>    | <p>6.<br/>Saying, "Child, I love thee;<br/>Loving, I will prove thee:<br/>But will leave thee never:<br/>Thou art mine for ever."</p> |
| <p>2.<br/>But night fell, and danger<br/>Compass'd me a stranger:<br/>So to sleep I laid me,<br/>Kept by Him who made me.</p> | <p>7.<br/>So I woke; and morning<br/>Was the East adorning,<br/>And that spot most lowly<br/>Seem'd a temple holy.</p>                |
| <p>3.<br/>Then Heaven's gate unfolding,<br/>I with awe beholding,<br/>Open'd scenes of glory<br/>Passing human story.</p>     | <p>8.<br/>Henceforth true and tender<br/>Be my heart's surrender;<br/>With His Presence o'er me,<br/>Be what may before me.</p>       |
| <p>4.<br/>Lo, in tiers unending,<br/>Steps of light ascending,<br/>Trodden by the angels<br/>On their glad evangels;</p>      | <p>9.<br/>Be the pathway dreary,<br/>Be my footsteps weary,<br/>Be no friend assistant,<br/>Be my bourn far distant;</p>              |
| <p>5.<br/>And above, in vision<br/>Of supreme fruition,<br/>Saw, or heard I rather,<br/>God, my God and Father,</p>           | <p>10.<br/>Raiment, bread provided,<br/>Home to glory guided,<br/>With my Father only,<br/>I no more am lonely.</p>                   |

1879.

E. H. BICKERSTETH.

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<sup>1</sup> "David knows that each day of his wandering, each nook in which he has found shelter, each step that he has taken . . . all have been numbered by his Heavenly Keeper. Yea, no tear that he has shed . . . in prayer" has fallen unnoticed.—*Perowne*.



## Reviews.

*Reminiscences of Many Years, 1796-1873.* By Lord TEIGNMOUTH.  
2 vols. Edinburgh: D. Douglas.

LORD TEIGNMOUTH bears an honoured name as the eldest son of Sir John Shore, a Bengal civilian whose merits recommended him for the high office of Governor-General of India, near the end of the last century. But it was Lord Teignmouth's highest distinction to have been the first President of the British and Foreign Bible Society. His eldest son was born in Calcutta in 1796, and was two years old when he quitted India. His father purchased a large mansion at Clapham Common, which had belonged to Mr. John Thornton, the friend of Newton and Cowper, who devoted so large a portion of his great wealth to objects of Christian philanthropy, and particularly to the purchase of livings, for Evangelical clergymen. He may, in point of fact, be regarded as the originator of what is now called, 'The Simeon Trust.'

"Clapham," says Lord Teignmouth, "was at this time the scene of an unsuccessful experiment." A considerable number of young negroes, the children of African chiefs, had been brought from Sierra Leone by the then Governor of that colony, Mr. Zachary Macaulay, at the charges of a gentleman, who had undertaken to have them educated in Scotland, and sent back to Africa, in the hope that some of them might, under God's blessing, be fitted for Christian missions. This plan was changed, and their education was placed under the supervision of the leaders of "The Clapham Sect." A Yorkshire schoolmaster, Mr. William Greaves, was selected by Mr. Wilberforce; but our inauspicious climate proved as fatal to many of the young Africans as their own climate had proved fatal to British missionaries. The African school was, therefore, given up, or rather converted into another establishment, where, in company with six surviving negroes for their companions, the future Lord Teignmouth received the elements of scholastic education, along with the sons of Wilberforce, H. Thornton, Macaulay, Stephen, and others of the Clapham residents. The future Lord Macaulay was one of their younger trio when the number of the school had reached thirty.

Lord Teignmouth having left Clapham in 1808, his son was placed with the Rev. Mr. Jerram, the curate of Chobham, of which parish the Rev. Richard Cecil, of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, was then incumbent.

In 1815 he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, as a nobleman, which entitled him to a degree without examination, and he had thus a better opportunity of "studying character" than mathematics. In 1815 the Evangelical Dr. Milner, the President of Queen's College, and younger brother of Joseph Milner, of Hull, towered far above most of the other Dons of Cambridge. But indolence was his great drawback, after the Senior Wrangler had attained his great University position, and finally his deanery. "Dr. Milner's conversation was easy, rapid, and embracing by its ever-ready versatility scientific or more general subjects. He possessed in a marvellous degree the faculty of bringing abstruse subjects within the reach of ordinary and youthful comprehension."—P. 62.

The chief of the other Evangelicals at Cambridge, when Lord Teignmouth went up to Trinity, were Charles Simeon and Professor Farish; but at that time Evangelical religion was at a heavy discount, although just beginning to emerge into life. The low estimate in which it was then held is strikingly exhibited in the description of Mr. Simeon's cha-

racter, published after his death, by his cotemporary and schoolfellow at Eton, Bishop Bethell. The Bishop exaggerates all his foibles, dwelling especially on his natural vanity and egotism, besides depreciating all his hallowed labours and abounding excellencies. In the following sketch Lord Teignmouth exhibits the verification in Mr. Simeon's character of the inspired truth—"them that honour Me I will honour."

Charles Simeon, Incumbent of Trinity parish, had worked and fought his way from the commencement of the century, through good and evil report, opposition, scorn, and contumely, to a position from which he could not be dialogued. A few years previously he had been so unused to encouragement that the sight of a Trinity fellow-commoner (John Thornton) at his church drew tears from his eyes. Now he could reckon on a large number of listeners and adherents, and on some of the most distinguished men in the University as his warm supporters. On revisiting Cambridge, in 1823, I found that attendance at Simeon's church had become fashionable, and that the designation of Simeonite was no longer used as a term of reproach. In 1836, at the installation of the Marquis Camden as Chancellor, it was very gratifying to observe the cordial respect evinced towards Simeon, when, as senior fellow, he held a levée on the lawn of his college, welcoming the guests invited to a dinner at King's—among whom were members of either House of Parliament—or discharging with dignity and urbanity the duties of chairman. In the same year the whole University assembled to pay the last tribute to his memory when his remains were consigned to the college chapel. That Simeon should have presented to the world two different aspects may be readily conceived by any one aware of the intensity of feeling excited by the religious controversy in which he took a prominent part, and the peculiarities of his personal deportment. He derived much advantage from the zeal and energy of his predecessors, Venn and Newton and Scott (the only time I ever saw and heard the externally unpolished commentator was in Simeon's pulpit), who had in a manner smoothed the way for his success. Simeon, wherever he went, was encircled by friends, admirers, and followers. Providence had bestowed upon him means of influence possessed by few, if any, of his brother clergy, supplied by family connection and wealth. He consequently rode the best horses, stocked his cellars with the choicest wines, exercised ample hospitality, and practised boundless munificence.

We may remark on the last sentences in Lord Teignmouth's sketch, that considering how Mr. Simeon was "encircled by friends, admirers, and flatterers," it is a signal token of the grace bestowed on him, that a man of his natural temperament was not more spoiled by admiration. Like Bishop Bethell, Lord Teignmouth, although in a more kindly spirit, glances on "his horses" and "his cellars of choicest wines;" but in regard to these things there is much exaggeration, as well as in what is said of his "wealth." In the "Life of Mr. Simeon," Canon Carus has published Mr. Simeon's own memorandum, where he shows that in 1816 his chief dependence was on the income derived from his college, and that, on the death of his brother Edward, he had accepted a legacy of 15,000*l.* only to fill up the gap that would otherwise have been made in his gifts for the Lord's service and for the poor by the loss of 700*l.* or 800*l.* which for many years his brother had supplied up to the time of his death. At an earlier period Canon Carus states that Mr. Simeon's whole income in 1780, the second year of his residence in college, was only 125*l.*; and after gradually increasing for fourteen years, it became, in 1793, 300*l.* per annum, and it is added, "it seems to have been his plan regularly to dispose of *one-third* of his income in charity."

Lord Teignmouth says of Mr. Simeon in the pulpit:—"In preaching his manner was earnest and forcible, impressive but eccentric. His gesticulation was grotesque, and listeners unaccustomed to his delivery could scarcely repress a smile." Lord Teignmouth's honorary degree of M.A. was granted in 1815, in time to allow him to make a visit to

Lord Hill's head-quarters in the Netherlands, in company with his family connection, Sir Francis Hill, just before the battle of Waterloo. In his letters he mentions his having been at the Duchess of Richmond's celebrated ball on the eve of the battle of Quatre Bras; and he also tells of the panic that visited Brussels on the evening of the great day of Waterloo. Lord Teignmouth, writing immediately after the victory, says: "You know the details of the action better than I do." Lord Teignmouth had seen Lord Hill in military command in Belgium. He next saw him "resuming his place as a younger son under the roof of his venerable sire, Sir John Hill, at Hawkstone, in Shropshire." Mr. Wilberforce characterised the humours of the house as "Hillism." A pleasant picture is given of the piety, zeal, and intrepidity of Lord Hill's uncle, Rowland Hill, as well as of his dignified but kindly bearing and irrepressible drollery.

The winter of 1818-19 was spent by Lord Teignmouth at the Castle of Dublin, with Mr. Charles Grant, the Chief Secretary, afterwards Lord Glenelg. He saw many distinguished characters at the Castle, and also accompanied his host on a visit to the late Earl of Roden, then Viscount Jocelyn. The following is Lord Teignmouth's photograph of this eminent nobleman:—

**THE EARL OF RODEN.**—Morally, no less than physically, he was one of the noblest among many noble specimens of the Irish aristocracy; his lofty stature, stalwart frame, and countenance beaming with honesty, courage, and generosity, marking him out for influential if not commanding power. A "travelled Thane," he now discharged the duties of several important posts, whether representing his own county, Louth, in Parliament, or taking his place as a courtier in the Royal household, or in command of his local regiment. But nowhere was he more at home (for both he and his lady had become very religious) than when presiding at his chapel and teaching in his Sunday-school. . . . Fearlessly did Lord Jocelyn maintain as a staunch Protestant his position in the neighbourhood deeply infected by religious discord. Striking proof of our host's beneficence not being confined to members of his own denomination, was given by the fact of his carrying on his own shoulders to the hospital a poor, fever-stricken Roman Catholic whom none else dared to approach.—P. 176.

We regret that we cannot afford space for the description of old Mr. Grant, the father, to whom India probably owes more than to any other human instrument in the hands of God. It was through Mr. Grant that Mr. Simeon was enabled to send out so many Evangelical chaplains to India, and amongst the rest Dr. Claudius Buchanan, Henry Montjoy Thomason, Browne, Gover, and Dealtry. Lord Teignmouth thus describes the termination of old Mr. Grant's invaluable life:—"His great object had been the promotion of Christianity in India; and 'full of years and honours and of the remembrance,' in all Christian humility, of services far beyond the scope of any human record, rendered to God and his fellow-creatures, Mr. Grant survived till 1823, when, at the age of seventy-eight, he literally died in harness sitting at his writing-desk, yielding up his spirit to his Maker as he sat working at his desk. To borrow the words of his son Robert, 'he was not, because God took him.'"

We must pass over many interesting sketches, but we must not omit the following:—

**REMINISCENCES OF WILBERFORCE.**—My reminiscences of him recall the great and unceasing kindness which I received from him, and the help of all kinds to the discharge of private and public duties. I remember when a child first seeing him at Broomfield, on Clapham Common, and, ere I went to his school, his giving me a seven-shilling piece, which led to my father prohibiting me accepting pecuniary presents from any one but himself. In person Mr. Wilberforce was slightly deformed; his profile, his shoulders being thrown back,

exhibiting, notwithstanding the stoop of his head, the convexity of a bent bow, a defect aggravated perhaps by the weight of books and papers with which his capacious pockets were stuffed.

Mr. Wilberforce usually carried an inkstand in his waistcoat-pocket, applying to it so vigorously on one occasion in the House of Commons, that he jerked it over the nankeen trousers of my informant, Sir Thomas Baring, who sat beside him. On perceiving his misfortune, Mr. Wilberforce started up, and in his distress cut such capers on the floor of the House as to attract universal observation and provoked a roar of laughter, amidst which Sir Thomas walked forth to change his dress. Against such casualties Mr. Wilberforce was proof, as he invariably wore black clothes, sometimes till they had become quite dingy, for he ignored his outer man, never, as his valet intimated, when he dressed at our house, making use of a glass. At Highwood Hill I saw him garnish before breakfast every button-hole of his coat with flowers, whose freshness sorted ill with the faded hue of his almost threadbare garment, till the heat of a summer day had produced assimilation no less singular than the previous contrast.

The latter part of the first volume is occupied with travels in France, Ireland, and Scotland. In the second volume there are also interesting reminiscences of Norway and Sweden.

In 1834, at the installation of the Duke of Wellington as Chancellor of Oxford, Lord Teignmouth, who had then recently succeeded to his father's peerage, received an honorary D.C.L. We are informed that—

The Duke entered Oxford in an open carriage, accompanied only by Mr. Croker, who informed us at the Exeter College dinner that the Duke, on approaching Magdalen College, asked its name. "That is Magdalen," was the reply, "against which King James broke his head; and should any one venture to infringe on the rights and liberties of the University, he would find a Hough in every college." When the Duke made his appearance on the floor of the theatre, the tumult of applause was rapturous. His white head shook vividly with emotion, and whilst there was a simultaneous inclination of the heads of the vast assembly towards the object of their homage, the scene reminded me of some of the pictorial representations of the stoning of Stephen. By his side sat or stood the Duke of Cumberland, to whom, notwithstanding his staunch Toryism and impassioned opposition to Catholic Emancipation, the University refused a degree, looking, whilst his martial figure was set off by a splendid hussar uniform, grimly defiant. The individuals who received degrees were cheered by the good-humoured assemblage, and none more heartily than Lord Winchilsea, who, whilst the public orator, Phillimore, pronounced his eulogy, stood forth, massive and erect, face to face with the Duke, by the friendly grasp of whose hand he was about to be welcomed.

The Duke was unfortunate in his quantities on this occasion, pronouncing *Carolus Jacobus*, *Carólus Jacóbus*. But his Latin was said to be very fair, having been furnished by his physician.

In a review in the *Record* the name of the Duke's Peninsular physician, Dr. Hume, was mentioned as probably the physician alluded to; but this statement was corrected in the following short but interesting paragraph:—"We learn on high authority that the physician alluded to was Sir Henry Halford, the uncle of Dean Vaughan, the Master of the Temple. Our informant writes:—'The Duke of Wellington's Latin secretary was not Dr. Hume, whom I knew well, and who I feel assured had forgotten every syllable of the classics; but it was Sir Henry Halford, who wrote Latin verse as often as he wrote prescriptions, and who would repeat his lines to me by a dozen at a time.'"

Lord Teignmouth also recalls Bishop Barrington, of Durham. We quote a paragraph, as follows:—

At his London dinners he was scrupulously observant of early hours. As he was on very friendly terms (says Lord Teignmouth) with my father and his zealous coadjutor in support of the Bible Society, I shared his invitations. Aware of his extreme punctuality I endeavoured to make a point of arriving in due time on my first dining with him, but most unexpectedly found myself ushered into the

dining room, where all the other guests were assembled standing round the table in their appointed places waiting till the clock struck five, when we sat down.—P. 178.

This worthy prelate died in 1826, in the ninety-first year of his age, attributing his longevity in part to the regular exercise—walking and riding—which he never failed to take until long after his eightieth year, and in part to his always rising from table with an appetite.

In 1836 Lord Teignmouth was the guest of Canon Sumner, of Durham, who had then been also for eight years Bishop of Chester, and was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. He found him to be, as he always continued, affable and kind. Adverting to later days, he says—

I found him on one occasion in a railway carriage bound for Crewe on episcopal duty. He intended walking from the station, bag containing his canonical habiliments in hand, some miles to his destination, and returning the same day to Chester. Much did he commend the facility of diocesan visitations afforded to bishops by the railway, contrasting with his own trifling expenses the cost of his predecessor, Dr. Law (father of the present Dean of Gloucester), who travelled for the same purpose in his carriage, drawn by four horses—the post-boys clad in his livery—and was obliged to pass a night away from home. The Bishop induced me to accompany him so far as Crewe, whence, having introduced me to the noble owner, he trudged forward on his solitary pilgrimage.—P. 183.

Lord Teignmouth naturally cherishes with much satisfaction the reminiscences of his election for Marylebone, in 1838, one of the few Conservative triumphs in the metropolitan boroughs. He recalls many of the leading notables then in Parliament, and some who had passed away. We can only notice a few.

Of Lord Palmerston he says that he reminded him of one of our magnificent steamers, composed of so many different compartments, that should one or more spring a leak, the rest would sustain the gallant ship elate and buoyant wherever winds might waft or waters roll.

Of Lord Ashley, before he became Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Teignmouth observes:—"Lord Ashley, though seemingly pledged by previous and prospective tenure of office to a high official career, never compromised the independence which better suited his spirit and temperament. It would be difficult to conceive a public man, eminently qualified though he was for the transaction of business, less disposed to submit to the trammels of subordinate official routine. Already a far wider and less frequented field of enterprise had opened on his view, and as he realised its growing expansiveness, he was ready bravely to endure and triumphantly to overcome the opposition, scorn, and obloquy to which his early philanthropic effort exposed him. The prestige which he derived from his exalted social position no doubt materially promoted his success, more especially as he consecrated to the loftiest purposes any advantages accruing to him."—P. 245. Lord Teignmouth adds—

If there was somewhat of stage effect, there was much of practical wisdom in the assignment of the respective parts of mover and seconder of the resolutions annually brought forward on behalf of factory reform to Lord Ashley and Mr. Feilden; the one the refined and dignified representative of an old, historic, noble family; the other the plain, honest, and unpretending self-raised burgher; the one the *beau-ideal* of aristocratic, the other of plebeian worth.—P. 246.

We may observe that although Lord Shaftesbury's social position as "the dignified representative of an old, historic, noble family," was one of the gifts providentially bestowed on him which could not fail to aid the wonderful success of the energetic and persistent efforts with which he consecrated all his talents to the loftiest purposes; yet it was not for the sake of "stage effect" that Mr. Feilden's name was coupled with

Lord Ashley's. The real purpose was to show to the public that it was not a landed representative and future proprietor of the soil, who undertook the work alone; but that Lord Ashley was supported by a man who was then "the largest mill-owner and most extensive cotton-spinner in the whole world."

Of that distinguished and Christian statesman, Sir George Grey, we are told that even when in a subordinate position, not being in the Cabinet, he was a main prop of the Government. Estimable in the private relations of life, distinguished at his University, professionally trained as a lawyer, and having enjoyed considerable Parliamentary experience, he would probably have been elevated, had there been an opportunity, to the post for which he would have been fitted, not only by such qualifications, but by his universal popularity—that of Speaker. Persevering in his official career, to which he had been early introduced, he discharged the duties of Home Secretary during a longer period than any of his predecessors in that office. His personal appearance and deportment, together with family connections, were much in his favour. The effect of his vigorous eloquence was occasionally "diminished by the surpassing concatenation of his long sentences and almost breathless rapidity of his delivery, seemingly indicative of want of self-confidence and of overweening, and in his case uncalled-for, anxiety respecting the attention of his audience."

Connected with Sir George Grey we should have liked to see a notice of his venerable parent, the late well-known Dowager Lady Grey. Her position as the wife of the Hon. Sir George Grey, for many years Chief Commissioner of the Portsmouth Dockyard, gave to that gifted lady an opportunity of exercising in the Navy an influence for good that can hardly be exaggerated. Lady Grey's name might well be enrolled amongst those honourable women to whom the Apostle Paul alluded as "the beloved Persis, who laboured much in the Lord," or those "other women whose names are in the Book of Life."

There was one distinguished naval officer who was wont to acknowledge his deep spiritual obligations to the honoured and venerable lady, who so long laboured at Portsmouth Dockyard for the welfare of British sailors—we mean the late Captain J. E. Gordon, of whose success in the House of Commons Lord Teignmouth makes honourable mention. After noticing Captain Gordon's zeal for pronounced Protestantism as a member of the Hibernian Society, "Captain J. E. Gordon," writes his Lordship, "the rough-and-ready champion of an uncompromising cause, a genuine Salt, found ample scope for his combativeness in the cause of the Reformation Society, which he founded, and in the Irish Missions, which he supported; and more especially in the mission to Ireland with Baptist Noel, the one the Luther and the other—the gentler colleague—the Melancthon of a second Reformation. The late George Finch, of Burleigh-on-the-hill, M.P., who married a daughter of the pious Duchess of Beaufort, accompanied them on this mission, and conveyed them in his carriage from place to place on their itinerating tours."

There are many other interesting reminiscences which we are obliged to omit; but we cannot but thank Lord Teignmouth for recalling to notice such a number of the eminent men with whom he has been brought in contact during his prolonged life. It is pleasant to observe how lightly he carries the weight of fourscore years and three.

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*Movements in Religious Thought.* I. Romanism; II. Protestantism; III. Agnosticism. Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge in the Lent Term, 1879. By E. H. PLUMPTRE, D.D. Macmillan & Co.

DR. PLUMPTRE, Professor of Divinity in King's College, London, is known as a writer of ability, independence, and scholarship. His recent *University Sermons*, the volume before us, with an attractive title, promised, as we thought, reading of some interest and value. We must confess, however, that, taking them as Sermons rather than Essays, we have been disappointed; and, further, we have been compelled to consider certain passages, both in the preached language and in the added notes, likely to do much mischief. The opening words, indeed, disappointed us. The text was Eccles. vii. 10—"Say not thou, What is the cause that the former days were better than these. . . ." And the Preacher proceeds to suggest that Ecclesiastes was written when men were "drifting away, under the pressure of new problems and new thoughts, from the moorings of their ancient faith." Whether the Book "represents the conflict in the mind of the historical Son of David, from whom it purports to proceed, between the traditional faith which he had inherited from his fathers, and the largeness of heart which came from contact with other systems of belief and worship; or belongs, as some have thought, to a far later period in the history of Semitic culture, when the teachers of the Garden and the Porch had brought before the mind of some restless thinker other thoughts of God and life, and the chief end of life, than those which had sustained the souls of an earlier generation," Dr. Plumptre does not stay to "inquire." The question of the authorship of Ecclesiastes, however, is not left, in this Book, with a mere passing reference, for in a foot-note Dr. Plumptre remarks:—

The dates that have been assigned to the Book take a sufficiently wide range from circ. B.C. 992, on the assumption of Solomonic authorship, still maintained by many critics, to B.C. 200, as fixed on independent ground by Hitzig and Mr. Tylor.

Now, without discussing the date of Ecclesiastes, about which, however we have a decided conviction, we must express our deep dissatisfaction with Dr. Plumptre's treatment of this question. He tells his readers, on page 3, that Mr. Tennyson's poem, "The Two Voices," with his "Palace of Art," is, "practically, the best commentary on Ecclesiastes;" and we are inclined to think that some, at all events, of his undergraduates may be encouraged in their disinclination to study distinctly Christian commentaries on that Scripture by his language concerning "Semitic culture." "We learn," to quote Dr. Plumptre's own words page 6, alluding to the drift of what is termed modern thought, "We learn to talk of Semitic tendencies where before we accepted a revelation from the Lord." A Preacher of the Gospel who speaks of the "din uncertainties" of the future (page 8) can hardly be successful, surely, in seeking to convey to "individual souls" the assurance of faith, when, at the same time, in expounding a verse of Holy Scripture, he speaks of "Semitic culture."

Dr. Plumptre's protest against Romanism is, in some respects, satisfactory. "We protest," he says, "against errors of doctrine, and corrupt worship, and unfounded claims, and unscrupulous intrigue." At the same time, however, he objects to such Protestant "phrases" of our Prayer Book as "Idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians" . . . "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." Further, in referring to the "so-called Catholic revival of the last fifty years," he observes that it has led men "to feel that the ministry of souls involves something more than sermons, however earnest, and calls for the personal contact of

mind with mind and heart with heart, for the outpouring of the confession of the sin-burdened soul, and the words of comfort and counsel that bring home to the penitent the assurance of pardon and absolution." The language is loose; and we hardly know what it is meant to imply, especially as in a foot-note Dr. Plumptre observes that he looks upon ("Confession and Absolution") "this element in the work of the ministry as belonging to its prophetic rather than its priestly character." To ourselves, however, the Preacher appears to confuse the Auricular Confession of Romanism and of Ritualism, with that opening of grief recommended, in special cases, by the Reformed Church of England. In regard also to "personal contact" between a Pastor and his people, and visiting from house to house, to "Mission-work at home and in far-off lands," and other matters, Dr. Plumptre might well have been expected to refer to Evangelical Churchmen rather than to so-called Catholics. We are not surprised, however, at his reference to Ritualistic teaching in regard to the "wider hope than our fathers dared to cherish" concerning those who have passed away impenitent. He mentions Dr. Farrar's unhappy work, with others, on this subject; and, no doubt, such "Broad" doctrines tend in the same direction as Rome's doctrine of purgatory and Ritualistic teaching concerning prayers for the dead. We will add only, upon the question of lawless semi-Romanism, that Professor Plumptre, evidently referring to the Church Association, looks with "a half sad, half contemptuous wonder on the organised action of an Association which exists *only for the purpose of promoting prosecutions about the 'mint, anise, and cummin', of obscure and obsolete rubrics.*"<sup>1</sup>

The following passage in the Sermon on Protestantism we quote with pleasure:—

Are we to condemn as schismatic those who have been alienated from us at least as much by the frowardness of our fathers, as by the perverseness of others? Are we to confine our sympathies and efforts at reunion to the far-off Churches of the East, or the corrupt communion of the Latin Church, while we shrink from contact and co-operation with the more energetic and evangelic life of the Reformed Churches of Western Europe, or with the communities to which it would be hard, on any new test principles, to deny the name of Churches that exist among ourselves? We, as Churchmen, need not shrink from following Cosin in holding communion with "the Protestant and best Reformed Churches" of France and Germany by recognising the validity of their ordinations, in declaring that "in what part of the world soever any Churches are extant, bearing the name of Christ, and professing the true Catholic Faith, and worshipping and calling upon God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, with one heart and voice, if anywhere we be now hindered actually to be joined with them, either by distance of countries or variance amongst men, or by any hindrance whatsoever, yet always in our mind and affection we should join and unite with them." We may well be content to walk in the steps of Sancroft in urging on the clergy "that they have a very tender regard to our brethren, the Protestant Dissenters . . . persuading them, if it may be, to a full compliance with our Church, or, at least, that 'whereto we have already attained, we may all walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing;' praying for the universal blessed union of all Reformed Churches, both at home and abroad, against our common enemies."

Such remarks, as we have said, we quote with pleasure.<sup>2</sup> We are here thoroughly at one with Dr. Plumptre; but when he proceeds to refer to "the Communion in Westminster Abbey, in June, 1870" (of the Revision Companies), and declares that the act "witnesses of a higher unity than that which is *limited by outward uniformity in dogma* or in

<sup>1</sup> Foot-note, p. 52. The italics, of course, are our own.

<sup>2</sup> The Convocations of the Church of England have often accorded to non-episcopal communities the name of Churches.



ritual" (the italics are ours), we must decline to follow him. And, further, we must confess our inability to understand what he means, in connection with a declared and determined Unitarian, by the words "an outward uniformity in dogma."

*Within the Precincts.* By Mrs. OLIPHANT, Authoress of "The Chronicles of Carlingford," &c. &c. In 3 vols. Smith, Elder & Co. 1879.

HUMAN life was never intended to be monotonous. The changeful face of Nature, the alternation of day and night, the varieties of the seasons, even the vicissitudes of the weather, provide against the stagnation which is alike morally and physically unhealthful. It is not often noticed, but it is not the less true, that the only people who ever had a Divine legislator were enjoined to take change of air and scene, involving much exhilarating social intercourse, three times in every year. For the Feasts of the Lord, though pre-eminently religious services, were always celebrated with mirth and gladness; and as the long processions of friends and neighbours wound through the glades of Galilee, threaded the flowery passes of the hill country, came up from the thickets of Jordan, or crossed the rolling plain of Esdraelon, converging from every direction to the city beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, they unconsciously drunk in all the subordinate temporal benefits to mind and body, intellect and heart, which were mixed up with their obedience to the command to appear before the Lord in Zion. We need have no question, therefore, that He who knows what is in man sanctions the desire for recreation which is so deeply seated in our nature—a desire, however, which in our fallen state opens the door to many dangers and temptations.

Indiscriminate and inordinate indulgence in the perusal of works of fiction is, no doubt, one of these. But the occasions are many when they may afford seasonable change and refreshment which are not otherwise attainable. Life was not meant to be monotonous, but it often is so. Poverty, sickness, the overgrown cities in which multitudes are compelled to pass almost their whole existence, increase the evil, and a pleasant book which, without putting a strain on faculties already unduly taxed, refreshes the mind with a new current of thought, is a boon to be received, like our daily bread, with thankfulness to Him who gives us all things richly to enjoy. The power to produce such books is a responsible talent in the present day. The land is flooded with light literature, and the demand increases with the supply. Happily we are not without distinctly Christian writers who recognise that this is a field of labour where such as are "wise-hearted" may weave threads of imagination and present mirrors to life and fact which will not be useless, even for the service of the sanctuary. One of these, whose gifted pen is gradually acquiring fresh power and facility, is Mrs. Marshall, of whom it has been truly said, that her illustrations of the effect of Divine love upon the characters of her stories are drawn with delicate discrimination without recourse to homilies and reflections, but, as it should be in a story, by means of straightforward narrative and natural and graceful dialogue.

Mrs. Oliphant's new work, "Within the Precincts," does not witness to such high aspirations. It shows the hopeless involutions of the labyrinth of life rather than the clue by which they may be threaded; the forlornness of the tempest-tossed bark rather than the means of weathering the storm in safety; the hollowness of the world, the disappointments of "Society," the derelictions of the Church, rather than the ways of pleasantness and the paths of peace into which the door stands open.

But there are plenty of suggestions to be gathered from the book, and, on

the whole, as a work of art it maintains Mrs. Oliphant's reputation. For while there are no sensational passages, the interest never pauses; not a scene is included but conduces to the progress of events; and the story, if it does not exactly end well, at least leaves the heroine in sight of a haven, which the reader, all along better instructed than herself concerning the unsubstantial foundation of her dreams of happiness, is glad to persuade himself she eventually enters. Yet, however true to nature, and however skilfully inwrought into the fabric of the plot, are the episodes connected with the heroine's vulgar stepmother, they awaken in the reader's mind, like the details of many a Dutch interior, a sense of wonder that it was ever considered worth while to introduce such specimens of the grotesque and unattractive.

There are two ideals which ought to be fulfilled by a Cathedral or Abbey Church with its caputular body. The first is the perpetual celebration of the Service of Song, in which prayer and supplication rise into praise and worship. And this has not been lost sight of. All down the tumult and turmoil of the ages, the long-drawn aisles of these quiet sanctuaries have echoed to the sweet melody of the Psalms of David, to the visions of rapt Isaiah, to the angelic strains of glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, and goodwill towards men. The second ideal seems to suggest a fortress and garrison of the Church militant, whence supplies and ammunition should continually be available for the use of the whole line; where the defenders of the faith should be ever forging new weapons against its assailants, whence assistance should be given in emergencies to the needs of overgrown parishes, as well as where rest and refreshment should be provided for the declining years of those who have well borne the heat and burden of the day. This ideal has not been realised as it might have been, though we may hope that "Within the Precincts" gives us a picture of its failure, not often to be matched.

The Dean of Mrs. Oliphant's story "was of a great family, and belonged not only to the nobility, but, higher still, to the most select circles of fashion, and had a noble wife, and such a position in society as many a Bishop envied; and among his canons were men not only of family, but possessed of some mild connection with the worlds of learning and scholarship. The minor canons were of humbler degree; they formed the link between gods and men, so to speak, between the Olympus of the chapter and the common secular sphere below." But Mrs. Oliphant does not cover her canvas as Mr. Trollope has done, with descriptions of clerical life. We may remark in passing, it is distressing that so keen an observer as he is, seems never in his whole life to have come across one worthy specimen of the order of men whose portraits he has so frequently drawn. "To no such distinction," pursues our authoress, "can these humble pages aspire: our office is of a lowlier kind. On Olympus the doings are all splendid, if not, as old chronicles tell, much wiser than beneath, amid the humbler haunts of men. All that we can do is to tell how these higher circles looked to eyes gazing keenly upon them from the mullioned windows which gave a subdued light to the little rooms of the Chevaliers' lodges on the southern side of St. Michael's Hill."

These Chevaliers are a supplementary order of pensioners, consisting of elderly half-pay officers in the army, among whom Captain Despard, the father of the beautiful heroine of the tale, has obtained admission when not much more than fifty years of age.

The story of this girl, during the eventful months on which her future career depends, is, as we have intimated, powerfully told. She has a magnificent but untrained voice, and the organist urges her to cultivate it in order to adopt singing as a profession. From this suggestion she revolts, and when the proposal is first made to her, replies with indignation, "I don't suppose that you mean to insult me; but you forget that

I am a gentleman's daughter." Her father is, however, a very disreputable sort of gentleman; her half-educated brother is incapable of passing any competitive examination, and at last she seems to recognise the necessity under which she is thought to be placed. But she has never heard an opera, and the music which kindles her genius is always Handel's. When she was first induced to try her own power to render in the Dean's drawing-room, "I know that my Redeemer liveth," "she sang she could not tell how, forgetting everything, though she saw and felt everything, penetrated through and through by the music and the poetry and the sacredness. Oh, how did she dare to sing it, how could those commonplace walls enclose it, those men stand and listen, as if it was *her* they were listening to?" Among her auditors was a young gentleman, an Earl's younger son, who, having failed in all other enterprises, wished to set up a new opera company, and thought he had found his prima donna in Lottie Despard, she, poor girl, believing all the while his devotion was paid to herself, not only to her voice. As she sang, "by-and-by the Dean laid down his paper. Rollo [the pseudo-lover who afterwards broke her heart], gazing on her at first, in pale anxiety, then with vexed disapproval (for what did he want with Handel?), came nearer and nearer, his face catching some reflection of hers as she went on. And when Lottie ended, in a rapture she could not explain or understand, they all came pressing round her, dim and blurred figures in her confused eyes. . . . When she came to herself, she would not sing any more. A mixture of guilt and exultation was in her mind! 'I ought not to have sung it! I am not good enough to sing it. I never thought what it meant till now.'"

We have quoted this passage because it awakens sympathy for the living, breathing women, of whom this songstress of fiction is the representative.

There is another class of workers, young dressmakers, to whom Mrs. Oliphant introduces us. The idle brother of the heroine is supposed to enliven their toil and quicken their diligence, with the connivance of a forewoman who had her own ends to serve, by reading romances aloud to them. Does not this incident supply a hint to the managers of Christian Young Women's Associations? Would it be impossible to obtain permission from right-minded employers to allow the visits of lady readers to their work-rooms, at proper times and under proper regulations?

We have been led to notice the work before us as a specimen of the literature of the day; not with any intention to recommend it as worthy to be accounted one of the books of refreshment to which those who, with Bishop Butler, have learned to look on the world as God's world, would desire to give a place in their libraries.

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*Impressions of Theophrastus Such.* By GEORGE ELIOT. Second edition. W. Blackwood & Sons.

NOT a novel, but a collection of note-book sketches, some portions of which, apparently, were intended to be set in a novel, "Theophrastus Such" will be praised by a large number of persons, probably, as a readable book, while from not a few readers it is likely to receive much higher praise. And if we ourselves could consider it from what is termed a strictly literary point of view, we should join in the chorus of commendation. The book abounds in epigrammatic, sparkling sentences; and its literary power is not unworthy of "Scenes of Clerical Life" and "Adam Bede." Some sentences in the essay on the destiny of the Jews—the argumentative portion of the work—are, in a religious point of view, truly remarkable; they follow out the line of thought in "Daniel Deronda" as to the tenacity of the Hebrew race. If, however, we regard

the book, as a whole, in relation to revealed religion, it seems melancholy and perplexing. Concerning the "ethics of George Eliot's" writings, we observe, there has been lately some discussion; and the *Nonconformist* reviews a work which actually commended her books as teaching the "doctrine of the Cross." The *Nonconformist*, however, observes:—

If we have read her at all aright from the side of Positive teaching, nothing is more certain than that the high inducement she holds forth for self-sacrifice is not rooted in any idea either of a personal Saviour or of a personal immortality.

The drift, at all events, of the teaching, so far as her works afford "religious" suggestions, will generally be admitted to be humanistic. Certainly, the self-sacrifice inculcated in them is not the self-sacrifice taught in the Word of God; it is not "the doctrine of the Cross." On the contrary, it looks extremely like, to say the least, a Positivist merging the individual in some "ideal whole" ("Theophrastus Such," p. 340). The truth is, one finds it difficult to understand the religious teaching of several writers in these days; they take New Testament ideas and common religious expressions, but they do not apply the ideas of Scripture upon Scriptural truths, the great facts through which religious principles have power. Hence, much of their language is perplexing to the last degree.

Oh may I join the choir invisible

sounds like a Christian prayer; but what must be said of such verses as the following:—

Oh may I join the choir invisible  
Of those immortal dead who live again  
In lives made better by their presence. So  
To live is Heaven. . . . .  
To make undying music in the world  
Breathing us beauteous order, that controls  
With growing sway the growing life of man.  
So we inherit that sweet purity  
For which we struggled, groaned, and agonized  
With widening retrospect that bred despair.  
. . . . . This is life to come  
Which martyred men have made more glorious  
For us to strive to follow. May I reach  
That purest heaven, and be to other souls  
That cup of strength in some great agony.

Such verses must be dismissed as worthless rhapsody. What is meant we cannot tell. But assuredly here is no echo of a Christian hope. "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord: their works do follow them." This is the promise, the fact, of Holy Scripture. "The love of Christ constraineth us" to a life of holy usefulness, a life of hope, a life of sure reward. For this, Comtist talk about the enthusiasm of humanity and the instincts of "sociology" is, indeed, a miserable substitute.

## Short Notices.

*The Student's Commentary on the Holy Bible: founded on the Speaker's Commentary.* Abridged and edited by J. M. FULLER, M.A., Vicar of Bexley. Vol. II. Murray.

It is truly said that "the Speaker's Commentary" has won for itself a recognised place as the foremost work of its class available to English readers. The "Abridgment," in six volumes, of which the second volume is before us, will, no doubt, be similarly successful. It acquaints the reader with the conclusion of learned investigations, and supplies him with

satisfactory answers to several misinterpretations. Mr. Fuller has done his work well. The volumes, with a neat cloth cover, are handy as to size and printed in clear type.

*Carthage and the Carthaginians.* By R. BOSWORTH SMITH, M.A.  
Second edition. Longmans.

This is undoubtedly an able work of high interest for historical students. The author justly observes that the first Punic war throws more light on the energies and character of the Carthaginians than the second. Further, we have the guidance of Polybius throughout the history of the first war. Dr. Arnold, however, gave only one chapter of his noble history to that war. Mr. Bosworth Smith treats it at considerable length.

*Spent in the Service. A Memoir of the Very Rev. Achilles Daunt, D.D., Dean of Cork.* By the Rev. F. R. WYNN, M.A., Incumbent of St. Matthias's, Dublin. Hodder & Stoughton.

A valuable biography. Dean Daunt was a man "of special singleness of mind and heavenliness of character," esteemed on all sides as emphatically "a good man"—faithful, lovable, lowly-hearted. The memorial of such a Christian Minister has a value of its own.

*Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.* By F. A. PHILIPPI, Doctor and Professor of Theology at Bostock. 2 vols. T. & T. Clark.

A translation from the third edition of Professor Philippi's Commentary on the great Epistle can hardly fail to win its way among English theological students. Sound, scholarly, and, if we may use such a word, *sensible*—not loaded with details—the work is really helpful. With "Haldane on the Romans," in its own way unrivalled, setting forth the Apostle's argument with logical lucidity, and Philippi's work, of present-day tone, with classical references, many students of the original will find all that they require.

*The Unsafe Anchor; or, "Eternal Hope" a False Hope.* Strictures on Canon Farrar's Westminster Abbey Sermons. By C. F. CHILDE, M.A., Rector of Holbrook. Fifth edition. W. Hunt & Co.

We are by no means surprised to read, in a brief preface, that "repeated applications have been made for the issue of a cheaper edition of this little work," "The Unsafe Anchor." Not a formal treatise upon the subject of Eternal Punishment, nor containing a complete answer to all the arguments in Canon Farrar's "Eternal Hope," it is what it professes to be, a review of that book. The style is clear and vigorous; and the argument, ably set forth, runs on sound lines. Mr. Childe's rule is to "prove all things" by the standard of God's Word, and to "hold fast" that alone which is "written therein, or may be proved thereby."

*Travels with a Donkey in the Cevennes.* By R. L. STEVENSON.  
C. Kegan Paul & Co.

The journey which this cleverly-written little book describes was, we can understand, "very agreeable." THE CHURCHMAN, however, having in view the social circle, is bound to take exception to certain expressions in the book neither witty nor wise; and, further, its religious descriptions, though here and there, from a certain *naïveté*, not without attractiveness, are by no means satisfactory. In a visit to the Trappist monastery of "Our Lady of the Snows," the author met with a monk who prayed daily, night and morning, for Dr. Pusey, who was, he believed, "very near the truth."

*Short Sketches of Wild Sports and Natural History of the Highlands.*

By CHARLES ST. JOHN. New edition. Murray.

A new, cheap edition of a well-known work, now forming portion of "Murray's Home and Colonial Library," will form an amusing companion in a Scottish tour. Of Highland lakes, of salmon and seals, wild cats and tame owls, dogs of many kinds, weasels, stags, ptarmigan and eagles, and so forth, this Highland Selborne writes with zest and skill. Anecdotes abound. We quote one of a shepherd's dog. To prove his dog's quickness, the shepherd said to a friend before the kitchen fire, in the middle of a sentence about something else—"I am thinking the cow is in the potatoes." The dog, apparently asleep, was up in a moment and on the roof, where he could see the potato field; but as the cow was not there he ran to the byre, where she was "all right." The dog came back to the fire. After a short time the shepherd said the same words, and the collie repeated his look out. But when the false alarm was given the third time, the dog simply got up, and wagged his tail, and when the men laughed, he laid down, slightly growling, to show he was offended.

*The Song of Solomon, arranged for Sunday Reading. With Meditations on each Portion.* By the Very Rev. HENRY LAW, M.A., Dean of Gloucester. Hamilton, Adams & Co.

We heartily recommend this suggestive work, bright with Christian cheerfulness, firm, and faithful. The little book is tastefully got up, and is most suitable for a present. In a polished dedication to Lord Shaftesbury, the venerated Dean remarks that on all occasions the noble Earl's "adherence to the grand principles of the Reformation has been clear as the light, and high above the duplicities of compromise."

*The Holy Bible, with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary.* Edited by C. F. COOK, M.A., Canon of Exeter. New Testament, vol. 1. Murray.

The first portion of the Speaker's Commentary, New Testament, has been before the public some time, and we do not therefore review it. But purposing to review the forthcoming volumes, and express our opinion on the work as a whole, we gladly call attention to the volume before us, the Commentary on the Synoptical Gospels. The introduction by the Archbishop of York is masterly.

*The Church Missionary Atlas. Containing an Account of the various countries in which the Church Missionary Society labours, and of its Missionary operations.* New edition (the sixth). With thirty-one Maps, a Chronological Chart, &c. C. M. House, Salisbury Square.

An admirably executed volume. Originally planned by the Rev. W. Knight, the first edition of the Atlas appeared in 1857. The fifth edition, brought out by the late General Lake, in 1873, was considerably enlarged, and contained ten new maps. After the retirement of that devoted servant of God, he set himself to collect materials for an improved edition, and a memorandum was left among his Atlas papers, signed by himself in May, 1877, exactly a week before his lamented death, mentioning many friends who had rendered him assistance. The delays which have occurred in bringing out the present (the sixth) edition, have at least conduced to the completeness of the work. It is now one of singular interest and value. The maps are truly excellent. An *ad Clerum*, with the signature W. K., deserves especial praise.

*Anglo-American Bible Revision.* By Members of the American Revision Committee. Nisbet & Co.

This little book, containing twenty essays by American divines, has a peculiar interest at the present moment. In an introduction by Dr. Schaff the revision principles are unfolded; and it is added:—"If these principles are faithfully carried out (as they have been thus far), the people need not apprehend any dangerous innovations. No article of faith, no moral precept, will be disturbed, no sectarian views will be introduced. The revision will so nearly resemble the present version, that the mass of readers and hearers will scarcely perceive the difference; while a careful comparison will show slight improvements in every chapter and almost in every verse.

*Some Remarks upon a Letter to the Rev. C. J. Elliott, M.A., by the Rev. E. King, D.D., Regius Professor of Theology, Oxford.* By the Rev. C. J. ELLIOTT. Murray.

We had intended to call the attention of our readers to this important brochure in our present Number, but our review is unavoidably postponed. Mr. Elliott shows the real character of the *Communicant's Manual* and other ultra-Church works in this reply to Professor King's recent "Letter." *Iustus causæ facilis est defensio.*

*Unsearchable Riches. What do the Times Require?* By the Rev. J. C. RYLE, M.A. William Hunt & Co.

We notice these sermons for a two-fold reason. In the first place, they are exceptionally good. In the second place, the doctrines vigorously and clearly set forth in them are the doctrines which will be maintained in this Magazine. They are the doctrines, we believe, of the Reformed Church of England, the Liturgy and Articles being fairly construed, and further, the doctrines set forth in the Primitive Church and in the New Testament. The Preacher *speaks out*, according to his wont (*Quicquid fecit valdè fecit*;) and his words run smoothly along the good old lines.

*Ancient Monuments and Holy Writ.* By W. PAKENHAM WALSH, D.D., Bishop of Ossory. Fifth edition. Dublin: George Herbert.

An interesting pamphlet, and truly valuable.

*Kept for the Master's Use.* By FRANCES RIDLEY HAVERGAL. Twentieth Thousand. Nisbet & Co.

The proofs of this little book were revised by Miss Havergal shortly before her death, on Whit-Sunday last. Not a word of commendation is necessary.

*The Way Home.* By the Rev. CHARLES BULLOCK, B.D., "Hand and Heart" Publishing Office.

A new edition of a well-known book; it has a very pretty cover.

*A Voyage in the "Sunbeam," our Home on the Ocean for Eleven Months.*

With Sixty-six Illustrations. By Mrs. BRASSEY. Longmans.

A really charming book; chatty, animated, with much information.

*The Odyssey of Homer rendered into English Verse.* Books I. to XII.

By G. A. SCHOMBERG, C.B., General. Murray.

A work of no small merit. We have read many pages with care, and the rendering seems to us, on the whole, exceedingly good.

*A Nook in the Apennines; or, a Summer Beneath the Chestnuts.* By L. SCOTT. With Twenty-seven Illustrations. O. Kegan Paul & Co.

If only this well-written, tasteful book had a Protestant tone we should gladly recommend it.

## ART. XII.—THE SESSION.

THE Parliamentary Session of 1879 was, in many respects, disappointing, and it was unusually barren of results. Much time was consumed in debates on Turkey, Afghanistan, and South Africa; and Indian affairs, happily, had a large share of attention. Lord Shaftesbury's appeal in the House of Lords for the protection of women and children in the cotton factories of India was not made in vain. The Ministerial majority remains unimpaired; and the divisions on the Liberal side of the House of Commons have been patent. That several useful measures were sacrificed is due, in no small degree, to the obstructive tactics of the Home Rulers. The Army Discipline Bill occupied the attention of the Lower House for two hundred hours. At the close of the Session, the Irish University Bill was passed, almost without opposition. Mr. Gladstone, and several ex-Ministers, had voted with Mr. Shaw, the Home Rule leader, on his denominational amendment, but "a strong contingent of the independent members of the Opposition" supported the Government. Another "grievance" was redressed. For the teachers of the Irish National Schools aid was provided in the way of pensions from the surplus funds of the Church of Ireland. Mr. Marten's Burials Act is, at all events, a step in the right direction. It proceeds on the lines of Mr. Home Secretary Cross's practical speech, and it is not unlikely to become widely useful. The circular of the Local Government Board, explaining the provisions of the Act, with other information, is published as a pamphlet by the Church Defence Institution. The chief official of the so-called "Liberation Society" has displayed a concern for the fees of the clergy which is rather amusing.

The proceedings in the Convocation of Canterbury, in the Upper House, at least, were both interesting and important. The Ornaments Rubric was the main point of debate. On June 25th the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol brought before the House a new rubric, as follows:—

The minister at all times of his ministration shall wear a surplice with a stole or scarf, and the hood of his degree, until it shall be otherwise ordered by a canon of the Church, lawfully enacted, promulgated, and executed; provided always that this rubric shall not be understood to repeal the 24th and 58th of the canons of the year 1604.

This rubric, the Archbishop stated, had been carried in the Committee by the majority of from 10 to 5. Priests and deacons are by it expressly precluded from any other vesture than the surplice in their *ministrations*. Preaching, obviously, was not



understood to be included. After considerable discussion this rubric, slightly changed, was carried *nem. dis.* The Lower House, however, by "a triumphant majority," 68 to 13, rejected it. After further discussion, there was a Conference of the two Houses; and finally another rubric was agreed upon, allowing surplice, stole or scarf, hood, and gown, but providing that "no other ornament" shall be used *contrary to the monition of the Bishop*. The Lower House phrase had been, "*without the consent of the Bishop*." Practically, between the two phrases, there is little difference. The compromise unquestionably sanctions the introduction and use of Eucharistic vestments when the Bishop does not interpose a veto. The new rubric is objectionable also in regard to the existing "Ornaments Rubric." Letters from Canons Ryle and Clayton, Professor Birks, Dean Close, and other representative Churchmen, were published at the time protesting against the new rubric. The venerable Dean wrote (*Record*, July 28th) in the following terms:—

Aiming at an apparent reconciliation of contending parties, it not only misses its mark, but if carried into law would intensify every existing dissension. With Canon Ryle I believe that such an act of frivolous and mischievous legislation never could pass successfully through those "convocations" of English common sense and British independence, the noble Houses of Lords and Commons. My hope for the Established Church, as far as human support is concerned, has long rested only on its lay element, and the experience of each recurring act from other quarters confirms the truth of my impressions.

So far as concerns the Convocation of the Northern Province the matter is left in *statu quo*. The speeches of the Bishop of Durham on Ritual and on the Athanasian Creed were worthy of the reputation of that profound scholar. In the York Convocation, the importance of which is increasing yearly, Dr. Lightfoot will do good service.

The anti-Intemperance Movement is evidently making progress. Many signs, here and there, throughout the country, show clearly that the Church of England Temperance Society has been gaining influence. The Coffee House movement has been aided by the speeches of the Lord Chancellor and other distinguished personages.

To Sunday Schools attention has been recently drawn, in several ways; and their importance is becoming more and more recognised. The action of the Birmingham School Board concerning the teaching of morality has tended in no small degree to show the necessity of religious teaching in day-schools.

# THE CHURCHMAN

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NOVEMBER, 1879.

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## ART. I.—UNITY AMONG CHURCHMEN.

I SHALL not waste the time of my readers with trite common-places about the priceless value of unity in a visible Church. We are all agreed, I presume, that in every Christian communion Unity is one grand secret of strength, usefulness, and comfortable working. We are equally agreed, I am afraid, that there is a sad want of practical Unity in the Church of England just now. Our parishes are often like islands in some parts of the Pacific Ocean, almost within sight of one another, but inhabited by distinct tribes, variously coloured and dressed, ruled by ever-quarrelling chiefs, and with a deep sea rolling between. The result of this state of things is not merely a degree of weakness in the Church, wholly disproportioned to our numbers, but something far more serious. The Holy Spirit is grieved, and the blessing of God is withheld!

I give notice at the outset that I shall spend no words on the idea of unity between loyal Churchmen and those within our pale who are striving to bring back Romish doctrines, practices, and ceremonial amongst us, and openly avow their dislike to the principles of the Reformation. Unity built on an amalgamation of Lambeth and the Vatican, so long as Rome is what she is, is the "baseless fabric of a dream." Protestantism is the backbone of the Church of England; and any attempt to procure unity by removing or weakening Protestantism endangers the life of the Church. Peace between the Anglican and Roman Churches, unless Rome first makes peace with Christ and the Bible, I hold, with Bishops Jewell and Hall, to be objectionable and impossible. The parties were rightly divorced three centuries ago, and cannot be reunited. I, for one, shall never cease to forbid the banns.

Nor yet shall I waste words on the wild theories of those who

wish to do away with all Articles and written terms of communion, and to make a vague "earnestness" a substitute for faith and sound doctrine. A house must have a foundation, and a Church must have a Creed. Unity purchased at the expense of distinctive truth, and built on the ruins of creeds and doctrines, is a miserable, cold, worthless unity. I, for one, want none of it.

The unity whose possibilities I desire to consider in this Paper is unity among "loyal Churchmen"—Churchmen who, while they occupy different standpoints, are honestly agreed on certain common fundamental principles. They love the Church of England; they love her Articles; they love her Prayer-book. They do not want her to be un-Protestantised, or to give up her Confession of faith. On these points they are at one. There are hundreds of such men, I am persuaded, at this moment, in each of the great schools of thought—men who have a common belief in the Trinity, the Atonement, and the Inspiration of Scripture; men reading the same Bible and using the same Liturgy—and yet men sadly estranged and separated from one another. And the one subject to which I propose to confine myself is this: "Can a greater degree of unity be obtained among these Churchmen?" I shall simply offer a few practical suggestions.

One preliminary remark I must make in order to clear my way. It is this. If any reader has imbibed the favourite modern theory, that unity would be attained if all clergymen would abstain from handling all disputable and controversial subjects in the pulpit, I do entreat him to give up the theory for ever.

No doubt you might have an appearance of perfect oneness among the trees of a forest, if you lopped off all their bark; but you would see nothing but bare dead sticks left behind. No doubt a British army would look one homogeneous body, if you took away the horses from the cavalry, the guns from the artillery, the rifles from the infantry, and made all the troops strip to their shirts; but you would find your army was nothing but a naked, helpless mob.

Unity obtained in this crude fashion, by prohibiting all disputed subjects, and enjoining on the clergy a kind of doctrinal teetotalism, is simply worthless and absurd. A living dog is better than a dead lion. Better a thousand times for clergymen to disagree and be alive, than to exhibit a dumb show of unity and be dead and cold. Common sense might tell us that to muffle the mouths of a choir in order to prevent false and discordant notes is foolishness. It is the device of Rome to forbid free speech: *Silentium jubet: unitatem appellat*. I dismiss such theories as unworthy of Christians. The unity I want to promote is the unity of bold outspoken witnesses and not of tongue-tied serfs. To promote such unity among loyal Churchmen I now offer four suggestions.

I. My first suggestion is this :—If we want to obtain more unity among Churchmen, we *must cultivate the habit of recognising the grace of God and love to Christ, wherever that grace and love are to be found.*

Admission of this principle lies at the root of the whole subject. That real saving grace in the heart is perfectly compatible with much error in the head, is a matter of fact which no well-informed Christian can ever think of denying. It is a phenomenon which it is hard to explain thoroughly. To what length of false doctrine a man may go and yet be a true child of God, and to what height of orthodoxy a man may attain and yet be inwardly unconverted, are two of the deepest practical mysteries in theology. But the proofs that a Christian may be very wrong in doctrine while thoroughly right in heart, are clear, plain, and unmistakable.

Think of the instance of the Apostles before our Lord's resurrection. Who can fail to see that their knowledge was most imperfect and their views of Christ's Atonement very obscure? Yet they were all good men.—Consider the case of Apollos, in the Acts. Here was a man who was "fervent in spirit, and spoke and taught diligently the things of the Lord." But he only knew the baptism of John, and needed to be "taught the way of God more perfectly." Yet he was a good man. There is many an Apollos, I believe, in England.—Look at Martin Luther, and the whole company of his fellow-labourers in Germany. They all held stoutly the unscriptural doctrine of Consubstantiation. Yet they were good men.—Examine the history of our own English Reformers. How dim and indistinct were their perceptions of the Lord's Supper in the days of Henry the Eighth! Yet they were good men.—Ponder well, above all, the records of the Church of Rome. Remember the names of such men as Ferus, Jansenius, Pascal, and Quesnel. They erred on many points, no doubt; yet who will dare to say they were not good men?—He that wants to see this point well worked out by a master mind, should study Hooker's first sermon.

Facts such as these teach a lesson which must not be overlooked. They show us that many Churchmen with whom we now disagree, may be real Christians in spite of all their errors. Their hearts may be right in the sight of God, though their heads are very wrong. However erroneous we may consider their views, we must charitably hope that they are in the way of life and travelling towards heaven, and shall be saved by the grace of God, even as ourselves. Acts xv. 11.

What good will the admission of this principle do to the cause of unity? some one will ask. I answer unhesitatingly, Much every way! It will teach us the habit of *respecting* many

Churchmen of other schools of thought, even while we disagree with them. How can we refuse to respect those whom we admit we shall meet in heaven, and dwell with for evermore? Thank God there will be no imperfect knowledge there! As good old Berridge said, "God washes all our hearts on earth, and in heaven He will also wash our brains." Surely to have arrived at this stage of feeling is an immense gain. It is not unity itself, I freely grant; but it is one step towards it.

II. My second suggestion is this:—If we want to promote unity among Churchmen, *we must cultivate the habit of tolerating courteously diversities of opinion and practice about the non-necessaria of religion.*

We all allow that there are things which are not necessary to salvation, in the outer courts of Christianity—things which are wisely left open by the Church of England—things about which no hard and fast line has been drawn either by articles, rubrics, or canons—things about which men may be allowed to differ—things, in short, which are neither essential to salvation, nor to loyal Churchmanship—things about which we may hold as strong opinions as we please, but about which we have no right to anathematise and excommunicate our brethren.

The list of these "things indifferent," and the items it includes, will vary greatly according to the standpoint and school of the man who draws it up. My own list would include such points as the Calvinistic controversy, the precise meaning of certain phrases in the Baptismal Service, the voluntary religious Societies we support, the quantity of singing to be used in public worship, the use of the surplice or black gown in the pulpit, and the like. On all these points, you will understand, I have a very decided opinion, and I act accordingly. But they are all points which I have long regarded as non-essential, and I feel I have no right to condemn my neighbours who disagree with me about them.

Now what I am contending for is the immense importance of disagreeing courteously and goodnaturedly, about such things as these. Nothing, I am convinced, divides and keeps Churchmen apart so much as the common habit of getting hot, and calling names, and throwing mud, and casting dust in the air about non-essentials. About things essential I hope I am as ready to contend for the faith as any one. I am prepared, for example, to gird up my loins and fight to the bitter end against any attempt to throw away the doctrine of the Trinity or the Atonement, or to un-Protestantise the Church of England, and reintroduce the Mass and the Confessional. But I do protest against the common practice of ramping and raging and using violent language about matters which neither exclude a man from heaven nor from the Church of England.

If, for instance, a High Church neighbour, of the school of

Andrews and the late Archbishop Longley, is denounced as a papist, because he preaches in a surplice, and has the Psalms chanted, and turns to the East in repeating the creed, and has daily services, I think he is unfairly used. I do not agree with him. But he is a Churchman, and I consider he has a right to feel aggrieved.

If, on the other hand, a Broad Churchman, of the school of Burnet and the late Archbishop Whately, is dubbed a sceptic because he does not think that St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews, and dislikes the Church Association, and tries to see some good in all denominations, I think again he is harshly treated. I do not agree with him. But he is a Churchman, and I consider he has a right to feel aggrieved.

If, once more, an Evangelical, of the school of Usher or the late Archbishop Sumner, is sneered at as dishonest and no Churchman at all, because he agrees with Canon Mozley about the baptismal controversy, and is ready to meet Nonconformists on the platform of the Bible Society, I think again he is dealt with most unjustly. He is a Churchman, and has a right to feel aggrieved.

For Christ's sake let us all try to give up this wretched, narrow, illiberal, practice of savagely condemning, anathematising, and even excommunicating, our brethren about things indifferent. Let us try to disagree pleasantly, civilly, and like Christian gentlemen. Let us each believe, if you please, that we have more light than others. But why cannot we have "sweetness" as well as "light?" By all means let us be honest, and stick to our own opinions, like limpets to a rock. But if we want to promote internal unity, let us draw a broad line between things essential and things non-essential in religion, and judge one another accordingly.

III. My third suggestion is this:—If we want to obtain more unity among Churchmen, we should *cultivate opportunities of meeting men of other schools on neutral ground.*

Prejudice, or unreasoning dislike of others, is probably one of the most mischievous causes of division in the present day. Nothing is more common than to find one Churchman disliking another, without ever having seen his face, heard his voice, or read one line of his writings! To dispel prejudices, the best plan is to get men together, and let them look at each other face to face. They say in the City that when they want a business matter pushed they seek an interview, and that one interview will do more than a score of letters. I can quite believe it. I suspect if some of us could have a quiet walk, or spend a quiet evening in the company of some Churchman we now dislike, we should be surprised, when we got up next morning, to find what a different feeling we had about him. We should perhaps say, "I like that man, though I do not agree with him." Great is

the power of the face, the manner, the voice, and the eye. Seeing is believing.

At present, many of the clergy seldom or never see each other, except at ruri-decanal synods and visitations; and then, I often think, we look at one another with as much curiosity as if we were looking at the last new beast in the Zoological Gardens. The natural consequence is an immense amount of floating mis-construction and misunderstanding. Far be it from me to say that meeting one another will put an extinguisher on our divisions, melt down all our differences, and make us, like the fabled Corinthian brass, a body of one homogeneous consistency. I expect nothing of the kind. The prismatic colours of our Church's theological rainbow will never fade away and vanish in the cloudy atmosphere of this world. Nothing is colourless but perfect light, and the day of perfect light will never arrive until the Lord comes. I believe there will be High and Low and Broad schools in the Church of England as long as the world stands. But yet there is room for much more approximation; and surely we might lessen the distance that now divides us, and get within hail of one another.

How we are to get opportunities of meeting men of other schools on neutral ground is a point of detail on which every one must judge for himself. But I may be allowed to say that to my mind here lies one use of Congresses and Diocesan Conferences, and one reason why we should attend them. They enable men of different schools to see one another; and if they do nothing else, they help to rub off corners and lessen prejudices.

IV. My fourth and last suggestion is this:—If we would obtain more unity with Churchmen of other schools of thought, *we must co-operate with them whenever we can.*

Co-operation for objects of a temporal or semi-temporal kind is clearly a possibility. For the relief of poverty and distress,—for giving aid to sufferers from war, pestilence, or famine,—for supporting the maintenance of a Scriptural system of education against a secular system,—for maintaining the union of Church and State,—for promoting measures of Church reform,—for all these ends I see no reason why loyal Churchmen of all schools should not heartily work together. I go further. I think they *ought* to work together. It would smooth down many asperities, narrow breaches, heal wounds, and induce a kind and genial feeling between men. Nothing so unites as real work. I should be ashamed of myself if I would not help to launch a life-boat to rescue shipwrecked sailors, or to work a fire-engine when lives were in peril, because I did not like my fellow-helpers. And I should be ashamed if I refused to assist works of mercy, charity, patriotism, or philanthropy, unless on condition that all who co-operated with me were Evangelical Churchmen.

But co-operation for *direct spiritual work*, for teaching religion, for direct dealing with souls, appears to me a very different matter indeed. Here, I must honestly say, co-operation with Churchmen who differ from you seems open to grave objections. It may be my dullness and stupidity that at present I am unable to see the answer to these objections. But it is my deliberate conviction that if High, Broad, and Low Churchmen are sincere, outspoken, hearty, and earnest in their several views, it is difficult for them to work comfortably together in direct dealings with souls.

Can they preach in one another's pulpits, except on rare occasions, with comfort and profit? That is the best and most practical way of putting the subject. A young, enthusiastic, and unreflecting mind may fancy that they can. I contend, on the contrary, that, as things are at present, they cannot. What decided High Churchman would like a decided Evangelical to occupy his pulpit and pour out his soul about regeneration? And what Evangelical clergyman would like a High Churchman to address his congregation, and say all he thought about the sacraments? And where is the preacher, in such a case, whatever might be his desire for unity, who would not feel himself fettered and muzzled, and hampered, and unable to speak freely and fully, for fear of giving offence? And where is the English congregation that would not feel perplexed and annoyed by hearing conflicting doctrines and arguments to which it was entirely unaccustomed? It is easy for shallow thinkers to sneer at the divisions of the English clergy, as "divisions about trifles," and to ask us why we cannot all unite in trying to "evangelise" the neglected populations of our large towns! But what do such men mean when they talk of *evangelising*? What do they suppose an evangelizer ought to say and teach? Why, here is precisely one of the very questions on which "schools of thought" are opposed to one another! What one calls evangelising, another does not. What one would think wholesome milk, another perhaps would think little better than poison. In short, co-operation of schools for direct spiritual work seems to me impracticable at present. It may come some time; but the Church is not ripe for it yet. Bishops may sigh for it, and newspaper writers may talk glibly of it as the easiest thing in the world; but it is not easy. If preachers of different schools, following each other in one pulpit, were to throw heart and soul into their sermons, the result would be a Babel of confusion—a diminution, not an increase of unity—quarrelling and not harmony—strife and not peace. If we love unity and want more of it, I am quite certain that at present in direct spiritual work each school of Churchmen must be content, as a general rule, to work on alone. The acids and alkalis must be kept separate, lest there be effe-



vescences and explosions, and a general blow up. Better days may be in store for us, but they have not come yet.

Some of our Bishops, I observe, are very anxious that the various schools of thought should co-operate in the work of Foreign Missions. "Surely," men say, "you might all agree to work together about the poor heathen." A beautiful theory, no doubt! A very pleasing vision! But I take leave to say that the idea is utterly chimerical and unpractical, and the thing is impossible. It looks very fair at a distance, and sounds very grand in Charges and platform speeches. But when you begin to look coolly at it, you find it will not work.

How are missions to the heathen to be carried on unless the managing Committees are agreed about the men they ought to send out, and the doctrines those men are to preach? Where is the likelihood of a Board of Missions consisting of High, Low, and Broad Churchmen, agreeing harmoniously about points like these? Is it likely that men who cannot agree about curates will agree about missionaries? Can we imagine such a Board getting over its difficulty by resolving to ask no questions of its missionaries, and to send out anybody and everybody who is an "earnest" man? The very idea is monstrous. If there is any Minister who must have distinct views of doctrine it is the Missionary. The whole scheme in my judgment is preposterous and unworkable. The difficulties of missionary work under any conditions are immense, as all who give their attention to it know well. But I can imagine no scheme so sure to fail as the scheme of uniting all schools of thought in a kind of joint-stock board to carry it on. The certain consequence would be either a helpless feebleness or a scandalous quarrelling, and the whole result a disastrous breakdown of the movement. Co-operation in Missions, whatever our Bishops may think, is, in my humble judgment, an impossibility. There is no wiser course, if we love peace, than to let each School work on in its own way.

This is a humbling conclusion, I grant. The theory of exhibiting the unity of all zealous Churchmen by co-operation is a beautiful one, no doubt; but it is useless to ignore facts. It is a simple fact, which nobody is able to deny, that no clergyman of any school, as a general rule, ever dreams of engaging a curate who does not agree with him. And why? Simply because there cannot be complete and entire co-operation without complete agreement. Why, then, ignore facts in the Church which you admit in the parish? There is a gradient beyond which no locomotive engine will draw a load: its wheels turn round on the rails, and the train comes to a standstill. We must remember this in our zeal for unity among Churchmen. We must strive to co-operate with one

another where we can ; but we must not attempt to do it when we cannot, lest we damage our cause.

Suffer me now to conclude my suggestions with two words of caution. They are, I venture to think, cautions for the times.

(1) For one thing, let us all take care that we do *not under-rate the importance of unity* because of the apparent difficulty of obtaining it. This would indeed be a fatal mistake. Our want of unity is one great cause of weakness in the Church of England. It weakens our influence generally with our fellow-countrymen. Our internal disunion is the stock argument against vital Christianity among the masses. If we were more at one the world would be more disposed to believe.—It weakens us in the House of Commons. In every debate about Church matters our watchful rivals and foes parade our divisions before the world, and talk of us as “a house divided against itself.”—It weakens us in the country. Thousands of educated laymen are annoyed and disgusted, and cannot understand what it all means.—It weakens us among the rising generation of young men in the Universities. Scores of them are kept out of the Ministry entirely by the existence of such distinct parties amongst us. They see zeal and earnestness side by side with division, and are so puzzled and perplexed by the sight that they turn away to some other profession, instead of taking orders.—And all this goes on at a period in the world’s history when closed ranks and united counsels are more than ever needed in the Church of England. Common sense points out that this is a most dangerous state of things.

If disestablishment ever comes (and come it will, many say), the Church of England will probably go to pieces, unless the great schools of thought can get together and understand one another more than they do now. “A house divided against itself cannot stand.” A self-governing Church, unchecked by the State, with free and full synodical action, divided as much as ours is now, will very likely split into sections and perish, unless tribulation and persecution bring us together as they united Hooper and Ridley in Queen Mary’s times. To avoid such a consummation as this, for the sake of the world, for the sake of our children, for the sake of our beloved country, Churchmen ought to strain every nerve, deny themselves much, and make every sacrifice, except that of principle, to obtain more internal unity.

(2) Finally, let us all remember that, however much we may value unity, *we must beware of the temptation to sacrifice truth on the altar of peace.* We may buy gold too dear; and we shall make an enormous mistake if we barter away one jot of the Gospel for a mess of pottage under the name of unity.

By all means let us long for unity, work for unity, make many

sacrifices for unity with all loyal Churchmen. But never let our thirst for unity tempt us to forsake the great foundation principles of the Bible and the Church of England. The more faithful we are to these principles, the more good men of other schools will respect us, even while they disagree with our views. Trimmers and compromisers are never respected, and carry no weight with them. John Bunyan's "Mr. Anything" in the "Holy War," was kicked by both sides. Boldness and honesty are always respected, and especially when they are combined with courtesy and love. Then let us strive so to live, so to preach, so to work, and so to love, that if other Churchmen cannot see with our eyes, they may, at any rate, *respect* us. Above all, let us never forget to pray, in the words of our Liturgy, that "all who profess and call themselves" Churchmen, as well as "Christians, may hold the faith in the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life." Prayer for unity is prayer according to the mind of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

J. C. RYLE

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## ART. II.—THE IRISH UNIVERSITY BILL.

### II.

IN the gracious speech from the Throne at the close of last Session, the Queen expressed a hope that the Bill which had been passed by Parliament for University education in Ireland would "supply what is needed for the advancement of learning in its higher branches" in that country. These words appropriately represent the object of Parliament and the desire of the country; but, as we observed last month, the success of the scheme is still problematical. We shall all rejoice with the Queen, if the hopes to which Her Majesty has given expression be realised, and none the less, if the success of the measure evidence some abatement of the more extravagant claims of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. This, however, we dare not anticipate. It cannot be too often repeated that it was not with any expectation of conciliating the Ultramontanes, but from a desire to do that which is right, fair, and reasonable, that Protestant politicians supported the Irish University Bill.

Our Protestant principles constrain us to concede the utmost freedom of opinion and of action consistent with the general

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<sup>1</sup> This Paper is Mr. Ryle's Swansea Congress Paper; it contains some important passages which want of time made it impossible to read on that occasion.—ED.

welfare of the people ; but such concessions are not made by way of compromise, and they are certainly not met in a conciliatory spirit. It is the proud boast of the Church of Rome that its principles are immutable, and we have abundant evidence that this boast of *semper eadem*, though contradicted by the doctrine of development, and falsified by the Vatican decrees, is still true—too true—as regards the spirit and temper which direct the policy of Rome. It is a spirit which cannot endure opposition—a temper which will accept no compromise. It is a policy which contemplates the absolute supremacy of the Latin Church—a policy which has been the cause of very much of the difficulty attending English rule in Ireland ; which has entirely created the difficulties of the Irish University question, and now renders the success of the present scheme doubtful.

Bearing all this in mind, we have to forecast the probable future working of the recent Act, and, after a careful review of that which has been done, to consider that which remains to be done.

The Act which has received the royal assent empowers the Queen to found a University in Ireland by charter, and provides for its constitution as a corporation, for its chief officers, its senate, and its convocation. The charter will vest in the University the power to confer degrees, except degrees in theology, and in the senate the general government of the University. The senate will prescribe the conditions, as to his subsequent education, with which a matriculated student is to comply, and the examinations which he is to pass, but may not require residence in any college, nor attendance at lectures or any other course of instruction, except for a degree in medicine. The senate is also to prepare a scheme to be laid before Parliament for the better advancement of University education in Ireland by the provision of buildings, including examination-rooms and a library, in connection with the University to be founded, and by the establishment of exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships, and other prizes, or any of such matters, subject to the following conditions :—The prizes shall be (1) awarded for proficiency in secular subjects only, (2) open to all students of the University, and awarded in respect of either relative or absolute proficiency, and subject to such conditions as to age, &c., as the senate shall impose, (3) regulated as to value and number so as not to affect injuriously the University of Dublin and Trinity College, (4) subject to abatement in the case of students holding prizes of a similar character in any other University or College. The Act provides also for the dissolution of the Queen's University, with a saving clause as to the Queen's Colleges and the University officers.

This is what Parliament has done. The more important part

of the work yet remains to be done. First, Parliament has to sanction the scheme which is to be prepared by the senate. It is to be hoped that a thoroughly capable senate will be appointed to do the work intrusted to it. Upon this will depend, to a great extent, the success of the undertaking. If a satisfactory scheme come before Parliament, well digested, carefully adapted to the circumstances of the case, and in conformity with the pledges of the Government, and with the spirit as well as the letter of the Act, the progress of affairs will be greatly facilitated. But the scheme will demand most careful consideration at the hands of the Legislature, so that the conditions imposed may be strictly exacted. Nothing of the nature of religious tests or of denominational endowments can be sanctioned, and special attention will be required to the conditions attached to University prizes. It will be necessary carefully to limit the ages of candidates for these prizes, whether "relative," *i.e.*, competitive, or "absolute," and to provide that whilst the standard for a pass, either for matriculation or for a degree, shall not be unreasonably high—not more severe than at Oxford or Cambridge—the absolute prizes shall be won by those students only who reach a higher standard and pass in honours—who acquit themselves with a distinction worthy of public recognition.

The object ought to be not to make honours cheap, but by offering these prizes to all students without reservation, to encourage higher education in Ireland by stimulating all alike to strive to attain the standard which they represent.

Amongst the duties imposed upon the senate, the Act empowers that body to prescribe not only conditions as to the age of candidates, but also as to "their liability to perform duty." These somewhat vague words were not noticed or explained in the course of the debate. As the University is not to be a teaching body, it is not easy to interpret them; but seeing that religious tests and religious instruction will be excluded, Parliament will certainly not permit any conditions to be attached to fellowships or scholarships which would require residence in, or connection with, a college, upon which it cannot impose a conscience clause.

In the next place, Parliament will have to deal with the attempts which may be made to impart a denominational character to the new University. That such attempts will be made may be regarded as certain. That the Cabinet, according to their solemn pledges, will steadily resist such attempts, and that Parliament will steadily support them in this particular, is, it may be hoped, equally certain. The nature of these attempts is sufficiently indicated by the amendments moved when the Bill was in Committee in the House of Commons. The desire to disendow the Queen's Colleges will probably be confined to Irish Roman

Catholic members. The proposal to charge the endowment permanently on the Consolidated Fund, or to take it from the Church surplus, so as to withdraw the votes from the annual consideration of Parliament, will probably not be seriously pressed until the new Institution has been established on a firm basis. But attempts to secure results fees for denominational institutions, to endow a Roman Catholic College, to require the winners of the lesser University prizes, as a condition inseparable from their enjoyment, to pursue their studies, for a definite period, in some seminary, and to attach to fellowships conditions requiring the possessor of them to reside and to teach in some College—attempts of this nature will be made, perseveringly made—sometimes openly, perhaps sometimes covertly—and will demand constant watchfulness and steady resistance in Parliament on the part of those who desire to see higher education in Ireland a reality, and not a sham.

It has been already observed that if a satisfactory scheme for the new University come before Parliament, the progress of affairs will be greatly facilitated; that is, the progress of affairs in Parliament will be facilitated. It remains to be considered—How will Ireland receive such a scheme?

Protestant Irishmen, whether Episcopalian or Presbyterian, are alike concerned to uphold the character and interests of Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges. Though open to all comers, without distinction of creed or race, and deprived of any exclusive sectarian character, these institutions provide for them, or may be made to provide for them, all the educational advantages which they desire, but it will be important for them to see to it that the provisions of the recent Act are strictly observed, so that these institutions shall not be injuriously affected by the scheme of the new senate; whilst the Presbyterians more especially will be also interested in the regulations imposed on matriculated students and attached to examinations for a degree. It may, however, be assumed that a scheme carefully adapted to the circumstances of the case, in strict conformity with the pledges of the Government, and with the spirit as well as the letter of the Act, will be accepted cordially alike by Irish Churchmen and Presbyterians; but they will do well to be on their guard against the introduction of any regulations or customs, within their own control, in their respective educational systems, which may countenance the idea of exclusiveness either in Dublin or Belfast; and so afford room for a plea that the Roman Catholic authorities ought to be paramount and absolute at Cork and Galway.

How the Roman Catholics will accept such a scheme, which, though it may exceed their expectation, must come short of their desires, is doubtful. It would appear that the policy of support-

ing the University Bill in the House of Commons was not generally approved by the Irish Roman Catholic members, and of course it is possible that its opponents may gain the ascendant, and that the old hostility towards the Queen's University may be displayed towards the new institution. We incline to think the new policy will prevail for some time ;—i.e., the policy of "take and agitate." So long as the Conservatives remain in office we may expect and must be prepared for an active and wearisome hostility, which will be manifested on all occasions and not least in small worries and petty obstruction, which also may not be without some danger to a thorough-going Protestant policy. But the great danger is that the Liberals, whenever they accede to power, will find that their majority is not sufficient to set the Irish party at defiance, and that a concordat with them is inevitable. It may be, this hope will for the present sustain and restrain the Roman Catholic leaders. Meanwhile it is probable that the question concerning results fees will give rise to a most severe struggle in the House of Commons. Strictly speaking, any money payment obtained by a student on examination, as a consequence of passing a certain standard, ought to be classed under the head of payment for results ; but in the common acceptance of the phrase, the accent is generally laid on the second word, and it is the fee to the teacher, dependent on the result of examination, that is regarded, rather than any payment to the pupil. Such fees, though they may be awarded in respect of secular education only, unless they are associated with a conscience clause and a right of inspection to secure its observance, do certainly, though indirectly, constitute a conditional endowment by the State of the denominational institution which receives them. The ministers of the Crown are pledged to oppose this species of endowment, and, were they disposed weakly to yield the point, so strong is the feeling entertained by many Conservatives on the subject, that the concession would undoubtedly break up the party.

In maintaining their opposition to any such proposals it is to be hoped the Government will receive the support, not only of the members of their own political party, but of all classes of Protestants throughout the United Kingdom. It will be well for all parties that it should be widely known that this will be the case. There ought to be no doubt as to the action of the Protestant party in the country on this question. Our opponents will be united. We also ought to be united not only in our principles but in policy and in action.

With the Church of Rome, as an ecclesiastical institution, we can have no sympathy ; to it, as a political party, we can make no further concessions. We are united in condemning its theology as dishonouring to the Lord Jesus Christ, the One

Mediator between God and man, and as most injurious to the human soul by the substitution of the traditions of men for the Word of God. We are united in opposing its political influence as fatal to freedom and national progress, because its principles keep men in leading strings, forbid them to think for themselves, and accustom them to lean on the judgment and direction of another. Can we entertain any doubt that where this ecclesiastical institution is allowed, in political and social affairs, free scope of action, it must prove a decided enemy of sound and liberal education? At the same time, are we not constrained to admit that history recounts numerous instances in which the men have been better than the system, and have risen far above it? Yet there are Protestants who entertain a belief that the system itself has undergone an essential change, and is no longer to be feared; and there are others who so dread the system that they would give the men no quarter. Our duty seems to lie between these two extremes. As haters of ecclesiastical despotism, and lovers of personal freedom, we are surely bound to draw a distinction between the men and the system, and to award to each the treatment which our principles enjoin upon us. We may, and do differ amongst ourselves as to the advantages of ecclesiastical establishments and the evils of purely secular education, but in this thing we ought to be agreed; that we will gladly extend to Roman Catholics, as to other classes of the Queen's subjects, the benefits of a sound education, by removing any hinderances thereto which do not involve a question of principle; yet whilst we desire to respect the freedom of individual men to teach and to learn, in subjection to the law of the land, according to the dictates of their own consciences, we will not, under the pretence of encouraging higher education in Ireland, devote public money, directly or indirectly, to the endowment of an institution which experience has proved to be a most bitter enemy of intellectual progress.

JAMES MADEN HOLT.

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### ART. III.—THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT. THE TURN OF THE TIDE.

This great battle for temperance, with its manifold organisations, its prodigious activities, its pardonable exaggerations, its sometimes morose and brusque asperities, and its unavoidable mistakes, is, perhaps, at the present time on the watershed of its career.—THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

**T**HE cause of Temperance is in a very different position now to what it was twenty years ago. The stream of Intemperance was then rolling its polluted waters along, with scarcely any



organised hindrance or check. Faithful men and women here and there upraised their voices in indignant protest against this national iniquity; total abstinence associations were established in several localities; a few British Workmen public-houses had been opened: but no hold had been taken upon the mind of the people. Now, however, the state of things has been altered very much for the better. We firmly believe that the tide has turned, and that the foul stream has begun to roll back. It cannot for a moment be asserted that any portion of the national reproach has yet been removed, or that gigantic exertions have not still to be put forth in defence of the truth and of the right in this matter; but it is a great thing calmly to contemplate the difference between the state of England now with regard to this vital question, and the state of England even twenty years ago. Now, the necessity for counter-attractions to the beer-shop and the tavern is fully recognised; coffee-taverns, cafés, cocoa-houses, British Workmen temperance stalls, kiosks, are springing up around us with magical luxuriance; the eye of the traveller, as he journeys through his native land, is refreshed by the sight of numerous temperance hotels, like green oases in the desert; scarcely a town of any size or importance is without its coffee or cocoa palace, and in the larger towns there are several; most villages have a coffee-room or other place of pleasant and profitable entertainment. The Church of England Temperance Society, with its two wide and benevolent arms outstretched to invite every comer, has a branch in innumerable parishes, and the general current of popular opinion seems to be setting strongly in the right direction. There is very much in all this, even though there is in it much want of finish and perfection, to cause encouragement and to make us rejoice.

The true key to be struck in this beneficent movement is to elicit a healthy public opinion with reference to temperance. The difference in the state of society throughout the upper classes in this country between 1779 and 1879 is due to this. In the former year it was considered gentlemanly to be drunk: in the latter it is considered ungentlemanly. The earnest, unintermitting, strenuous endeavour of all who have the welfare of their country at heart ought to be persistently turned to this one end—that the whole mass of society, especially the working men and artisans, should be fully impressed with the feeling that drunkenness is a disgrace. Not very long ago Mr. Cross stated his opinion, which he had acquired from his experience at the Home Office, that such a state of public feeling among the lower orders was being distinctly formed. Similar testimony was borne at the recent Church Congress by Lord Aberdare, who had acquired equal experience in the same important and laborious post. The tone of the animated discussion on Temperance

at the Swansea Congress was very hopeful in this respect. The deliberate conclusion come to by the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance is, that "drunkenness is less common than formerly among the more respectable portion of the working classes, and that the increase has taken place chiefly, either in the lowest grades of society, or among those whose education has not kept pace with the increase of their wages," and that "as a rule, the higher class of artisans are becoming more sober, and the apprehensions for drunkenness are becoming more and more confined to the lowest grades of the community." The manifest avidity with which the appliances for temperance, when judiciously placed within the reach of the people, are welcomed, is a further proof of the present tendency towards good. Care must, however, be taken lest, in our eagerness to elicit and to foster sound public opinion, we hinder and retard it. Like the constitution of our own dear native land, genuine feeling on such a subject as this cannot be created: it must grow. We only trust that its growth may be strong and sturdy, not like the quick and evanescent growth of tropical vegetation, but like that of the grand old English oak, its roots striking deep into the soil, and its branches, with their beautiful burden of foliage, spreading far and wide,—an emblem of loveliness and strength.

It is universally admitted that one of the best means for eliciting this desirable public opinion is the employment of counter-attractions to the alehouse and the tavern. All seem thoroughly agreed on this point. The true secret of success lies here. Exhortations against drunkenness fall powerless on the ear, when nothing is provided to tempt men away from the places where not only intoxicating liquor, but warmth, light, society, and friendly intercourse can be obtained. Most men very naturally desire these attractions. They are necessities for human nature. Men sometimes grow weary even of the happiest homes: much more do they weary of homes where comfort and happiness are very rarely found. Even in cases where men have comfortable and happy homes, change and variety and more animated social intercourse than can be obtained there are sought for after continuous labour in the field, the workshop, or the mine. Common sense has at last prevailed, and compelled us to see that houses in which society and converse, warmth and light, food and refreshment, comfort and recreation are to be obtained, without the fatal attraction of intoxicating liquors, constitute a want which has hitherto been most inadequately supplied to the working-men of England. We only marvel that this crying want has not been supplied earlier. As already stated, it is a cheering sign of the times that houses of the very kind required are springing up with delightful rapidity. Care

ought, however, to be taken by all who are bestowing their time and energies in starting them, that these places are really attractive, and are just what the men themselves desire. They will beat the public-houses hollow, if they are of the right kind; they will remain empty, and consequently useless, if they are not. Such houses ought not to be too grand, too beautiful, or too neat. The working-man will not feel at his ease in them if they are. We were particularly struck with the truth of this remark, when visiting two coffee-houses not long ago. One was very clean, tidy, even luxurious, but—empty; the other was on a rougher scale, men could lounge and smoke and enjoy themselves after their fashion, and consequently it was full. In neither were intoxicating liquors sold. The one object to be kept steadily in view is to make such houses exactly adapted to the purpose for which they are intended. What may suit one place may not suit another. They must differ according to the taste of the locality, and to the exigencies of the village or the town where they are situated. No uniform system can, of course, be adopted. At every meeting of the Company to which each house belongs, the questions must be faithfully put and honestly answered, Is it answering its object exactly? Is it a real counter-attraction to the public-houses? If not, how can it be altered to make it so?

These houses ought invariably to pay. If they do not, then they are not fulfilling their purpose, and there must be something faulty in the manner of their management. It cannot be too strongly urged that, if properly managed, they ought to be at least self-supporting, and, in most cases, remunerative. No public feeling in their favour can possibly be entertained in any town where they do not pay. This is a certain test. In the great majority of cases, public-houses are remunerative. Otherwise they would not be so numerous, and the great aim of the friends of temperance is to contend with them on their own ground, and to drive them from the field. Publicans, as a rule, do not want their customers to be intoxicated. They supply light and warmth and accommodation in order to attract people thither, and induce them to buy sufficient liquor to repay themselves, and not to bring discredit on their houses. Sordid as the sentiment may sound, the first point is to see that these new public-houses pay. If they do, other things will follow. First make them a success—"nothing succeeds like success"—and they will be admired and imitated, and crowded.

Every true Christian will heartily desire and earnestly pray that this new movement may have a decidedly religious tone and character. It must be remembered, however, that the grand object it has in view is temperance, and, so far as it is concerned, temperance only. We believe with all our heart and soul that

Christianity, with its hallowing, elevating, purifying influence, is the true temperance society. No one can be a real follower of our dear Lord who is not moderate and sober. But that is not the question in the establishment of coffee-houses. The point is, how are we to attract men into them, in order that they may become temperate and sober? It must be decided in each locality how far religious services, Bible classes, and prayer meetings are to be employed. What will be eminently useful in one place, will not do in another. For our own part, we should like to see every house thus utilised, and every meeting of every Company sanctified and sweetened by the Word of God and prayer; but this would, in many cases, scare away the very men we want to attract. While we grieve at having sometimes to relinquish our cherished desires in this respect, let us take comfort in remembering that, when men become sober, whatever be the instrumentality, they become thoughtful, reasonable, and prepared to receive Christian argument and instruction.

The voice of public opinion will soon be so clearly heard as to render legislation on this subject imperative. We have frequently heard the remark that "men cannot be made sober by Act of Parliament." We cannot imagine any one giving expression to so ridiculous a sentiment. We are perfectly aware that men cannot be made sober by Act of Parliament, any more than they can be made partakers of Divine grace, or can be rendered reasonable or thrifty. But temptations to drunkenness can be removed by legislation; and we believe that it is the bounden duty of the State to see that the number of public-houses is reduced, and the standing temptation to thousands thus removed. If no more effective remedy can be devised, the mere test of number should be taken, and only a certain number of public-houses allowed for a certain number of the population. Of course, in some places this plan would press unfairly; but the irregularities arising from it would, ere long, right themselves. The difficulty in legislating seems to arise on this point; but surely means to meet it can be devised by patriotic and practical statesmen. Delay is a still greater evil, for, while legislators are wrangling, men are being ruined daily, body and soul, by the irresistible witchery of drink. We cheerfully acknowledge the outward reformation and the social benefit of previous legislation, all imperfect as it is; but we are fully persuaded that further legislation is imperatively required to reduce the innumerable sources of temptation.

The present aspect of the temperance question is, on the whole, decidedly cheering; but we must all be up and doing. We look forward to the future with cheerfulness and hope; but we must be prepared to take advantage of every turn of events. The Christian public must urge our Houses of Legislature to act

vigorously and promptly. The very valuable Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords must not be permitted to remain a dead letter. We do not know that we altogether approve of the Gothenburg system, or of the modification of it recommended in this Report. It seems as if the municipal authorities of the town adopting it would sanction the liquor traffic, encourage it for the benefit of the place, and thus become partakers of other men's sins. On the other hand, the system has the advantage of having been a practical success in Sweden, once "the most drunken country in the world;" and the experiment ought to be tried in England. Public-houses must be closed, if not during the whole, yet during the greater part, of Sunday; the hours of sale on the week-days ought to be curtailed; grocers' licenses and other incentives to illicit drinking should be discontinued; and the most strenuous endeavours should be made to remove the temptations to drunkenness in the case of women, the increase in which is the most appalling blot in the present aspect of the question. Above all, the Church of Christ ought to be fully awake. Missions to the public-houses should be encouraged and vigorously maintained, for the good which even one City Missionary does in visiting such places is incalculable; men of God should be commissioned to follow up those who have been arrested for drunkenness, and have been released either from the police court or the gaol; a Temperance Association should be a branch of the machinery in every parish; the admirable organ of the Church Temperance Society (*The Chronicle*) should be extensively circulated, to give the best and ripest information on this all-engrossing subject; and unceasing prayer should be offered that He whose prerogative alone it is to bring good out of evil, would be pleased to give heavenly light and wisdom to those engaged in combating this gigantic evil, to strengthen the hands of the Legislature, and to create a clear and healthy public opinion, so that the reproach on the fair fame of our country may be removed, and that she may stand forth before the world beautiful in her sobriety and glorious in her strength.

HENRY MORRIS.



#### ART. IV.—EVANGELICALISM IN THE PAST AND PRESENT.

Is the increase of Evangelical profession, as compared with its condition at the beginning of the century, due to a departure from its original principles, or to a progressive conviction of their truth ?

**T**HE *fact* of such an increase is here assumed ; and indeed it cannot be doubted. We have but to read the biographies of good men, who lived at the close of the last century, and at the opening of the present, to be convinced of this. At that time, Evangelical Preachers, at least in our Church, were marked men ; they were regarded with suspicion, as men of extreme opinions, enthusiastic and dangerous. Even in the memory of those among us who can look back through thirty or forty years of adult life, a great change has taken place. No longer ago than that, in London, in our other great cities, and in country districts also, an Evangelical Ministry was comparatively rare. In many a neighbourhood one had to go far to find it.

There is a necessary relation between Ministry and general profession. That which was true of the Ministry, was true also of the general religious profession. There were then many serious and conscientious people, but comparatively few who held clear Evangelical truth. Eighty years ago, such families in a neighbourhood were *marked* families. They were considered extreme, strange, holders of “peculiar opinions.”

All know how different things are now. An Evangelical Ministry is not rare either in town or country. And even those who do not agree with them cannot now call Evangelical people *peculiar*, because they are no longer uncommon. In most neighbourhoods, it is true, they are still in the minority ; but in some, as far as regards the upper and middle classes, they form an absolute majority. I am speaking of profession only ; not of reality.

How has this change arisen ? To what source is it to be traced ?

According to the terms of the subject, the inquiry is narrowed to two alternatives—a departure from original principles, on the one hand ; on the other, a progressive conviction of their truth. But another element must, I think, be taken into consideration—the general awakening of attention to the subject of religion, the greatly increased interest in it as a whole. If we may judge by such scraps of information as have come down to us, religion

was rarely mentioned in polite society eighty or a hundred years ago. If my memory serves me aright, Miss Burney makes one of her characters in "Evelina" say of another that "she was vastly too well-bred to mention such a subject in good society."

Such is not the opinion now. In our day, religious practices and ritual, religious questions, and, with more or less of depth and earnestness, even the doctrines of religion, are everywhere talked of and written about. Every secular magazine has its religious article, newspapers discuss the religious questions of the day, and many novels give religion its place in their pages. In society, among the upper and middle classes, the favourite church, and the mode of worship preferred, are standing subjects of conversation; and this, with the young, as well as with their elders. Minds are at work, taste is exercised, feelings and preferences are engaged, on a subject once quite outside the range of general interest.

The change is great. But it is a change by no means all for good. In many persons, it is but a transition from one *fancy* to another, from this to that form of mere worldliness, from indifference to a misguided zeal, from *no* opinion to a *wrong* opinion. Yet movement is better than stagnation. And certainly, in this general movement, Evangelical religion has had its full share of profit. Other forms of activity have shown themselves, some old and some new; but *this* form has appeared in full proportion, both in the Ministry and in religious profession.

Viewing the question therefore in this light, I should reply that the increase spoken of is due to a progressive conviction of the truth of Evangelical principles. Amid the movement, or even ferment, of minds, God's Holy Spirit has wrought; and hence Scriptural teaching has revived, a cold and sapless morality has in numberless cases been replaced by a setting forth of the doctrines of grace, many hearts have truly received those doctrines, many families have been trained in Evangelical principles and practice, and the truth has gained ground by its own inherent power, which is the power of God, the effect of His Spirit. There was *no* departure from original principles, no lowering of the standard. Christ, lifted up, drew men unto Him.

But other questions arise. In the course of the eighty years that have passed since the beginning of the century, has any further change taken place? Has that increased Evangelical preaching and profession maintained its standard? Is the tone of ministry as clear, deep, decided and spiritual at the present time as it was when Evangelical Ministers were few? Does such preaching and such profession spread now? And if so, without lowering or dilution? Have we any reason to judge that what has increased in quantity has deteriorated in quality?

"A departure from its original principles," is a strong expression. There has been *no* definite giving up of principle, no marked or deliberate going back. In the main, the same Evangelical doctrines are preached, the same Evangelical profession is made. Further, in the ministry, considered as a whole, there is not less but more of power. The many, taken collectively, are not less weighty and powerful than were the few. Far from it. Nay, when we now read the Evangelical sermons of the past generation, do they not, in some cases, seem to us elementary and even commonplace? Let that impression however be corrected by the thought that doctrines with which we have long been familiar were then but newly revived, and that what may seem to us commonplace had then a freshness and originality of its own. But though *collectively* the Evangelical Ministry has gained in power rather than lost, can the same be said of it *individually*? I fear not. Each preacher among the many is not, I fear, such as was each one among the few.

An illustration may make my meaning clearer. The river *Durance*, in part of its course, runs in a deep and narrow channel; but at certain seasons the stream spreads itself over a level, pebbly bed, ten times the width of the channel, and then forms an imposing river, flowing between banks far distant from each other, but, except where the deep channel is, very shallow. In this case, there is no *loss* of volume of water; on the contrary, there is a clear gain; for the deep stream still runs, and its channel is even enlarged by degrees through these frequent overflows; but the increase is not all that it looks, for on each side is a shallow margin, much wider than the channel itself.

This illustration may serve to show the present condition, not only of the Evangelical Ministry, but also of Evangelical profession. There are as many true, decided, spiritual Christians as before; probably more; for the deep stream still flows, and is itself, it may be hoped, both deeper and wider than it was; but not in proportion to its *seeming* increase. Here, too, there is on each side a wide and shallow margin.

There are several circumstances which account for this.

Many persons are now *hereditary* professors of Evangelical principles. A generation or two has passed since first the father or grandfather of the present race was truly taught by the Spirit. In some such families, not by inheritance, for that cannot be, but by a direct blessing on Evangelical teaching and example, the like spiritual life shows itself as of old, and an honoured name is borne by no unworthy successors. But in others little but the profession remains: the tone is lowered, the light is dimmed, the life seems all but extinct.

Again, it is easier now to make a profession of Evangelical religion. The "finger of scorn" is almost a bygone thing.



There is now but little reproach attaching to serious religion, though some doubtless there will always be.

On the whole, therefore, a qualified answer must, I think, be returned to the question proposed. Amid the newly awakened attention to religion, we may thankfully recognise a real spread of Evangelical truth: yet, at the same time, we cannot shut our eyes to a partial lowering of its tone; in actual fact, in some measure; yet more, as a possible danger.

There are, among others, two things which mainly affect the condition and spread of Evangelical religion; *Ministry* and *family life*.

(1) I feel a delicacy when, a Minister myself, I touch on the details of the Ministry, lest I should seem to take on myself the office of a teacher of my brethren. I ask their forbearance. I ask them to believe that I speak humbly and respectfully. Yet, inasmuch as the Ministry has a most important bearing on the general tone of religion, and as a low-toned ministry will have a lowering influence, and, through grace, a high-toned Ministry the reverse, I venture to speak my mind.

The few Evangelical Ministers of the old times were both *students* and *preachers*. To use an old phrase, they were "*painful* ministers of the Word of God," readers and thinkers, men of study as well as of action, men of prayer and meditation, men who made much of preaching the Word. The present busy employment about a multiplicity of lesser things has, I fear, brought a change. Ministers are as diligent as ever, but not about the same things. Their activity spends itself too much on details, on machinery, on secularities. The Ministry suffers greatly from this cause; suffers especially in its most important part, the preaching of the Word. There is, in much of the preaching of our day, a want of depth and fulness and freshness. Hence, souls are unfed, and a reproach is brought on the very ordinance of preaching.

The fault lies by no means wholly with the clergy themselves. In many busy parishes, there is a great want of lay help in lay work, and chairmanships and treasurerships, and account-keeping, and things of less importance still—things not really forming part of ministerial work—occupy much precious time; time which ought to be given to study and to pastoral work.

Let me touch on another point. The taste of the day is for a showy ritual; and in many Evangelical Churches this taste is indulged to a considerable extent. An incongruous approach is made, in ritual, to those with whose principles no sympathy is felt. The difference that is perceived in the pulpit is hardly to be noticed in the rest of the service. Will not even that difference become merged in the general likeness? Is there not a

necessary connection between ritual and preaching? Will not the ministry of the Word suffer?

The plea put forward is that the service in Evangelical Churches must be made as attractive as that in other churches, or Evangelical Preaching will not be heard. The object, therefore, is to draw, to please, to retain—especially the young.

Though myself a lover of music, especially sacred music, and though delighting in beauty, both in nature and in art, I yet venture on a word of warning. Not such were the means used by our fathers—by Romaine and Berridge, by Venn and Scott and Newton, by Cecil and Robinson and Simeon. To gratify is not to save; to draw to the church is not to win to Christ; to minister to the taste is not to build up in the faith. If *such* be not still the aim—to win, to save, to edify—then indeed there is a departure from the Evangelical principles of our fathers; nay, I would add, if *such* be not the aim, not merely indirectly by such means as I have mentioned, but directly, by God's own appointed means, the preaching of the Word blest by the Spirit.

I would not keep behind the age. I would even press into the service of Evangelical religion that improvement in music, and that great revival of architectural taste, which none can deny to have occurred. But I would keep these things strictly in their proper place. I would use them as handmaids, but by no means let them become rulers or tyrants.

As an instance, I should be very sorry to restore such music and singing as the elder among us can remember in some of the country churches of our youth. Nor would I restore, or even willingly retain, the unsightly "three-decker." And yet I would speak tenderly of that ancient structure, still surviving, as it does, in many a church. I cannot forget the broadsides that have been poured from many such into the lines of the enemy of souls. I cannot forget the good service they have done in their day. I cannot forget that the pulpits of St. Ann's, Blackfriars, and Huddersfield, and Yelling, and St. Mary Woolnoth, and St. John's, Bedford Row, were of this pattern. I cannot admire, yet I must still regard with a loving interest.

There were other "three-deckers" in those days: and they too have been changed for a newer fashion. The "wooden walls of Old England" are now almost a thing of the past; the ironclad has taken their place. In this instance, the change has been from beauty to ugliness; in the other, it has been, I freely admit, from ugliness to beauty. But our ironclads are manned by English sailors of the same stamp as manned the old *Swiftsure*, and *Agamemnon*, and *Victory*; and their thunder is yet louder, and their broadsides more effective. Let us look to it that the parallel hold good throughout; that our modern pulpits be as

well manned as the old ; that the Gospel message be as full and clear ; and that, through grace, the effect be not less.

A heavy responsibility rests on Evangelical Ministers. The maintenance of Evangelical principles in their clearness and strength depends in great measure upon *them* ; upon their clear, firm, thoughtful, and spiritual preaching, and their consistent and unworldly living.

But (2) this responsibility rests on others besides Ministers. The heads of families have a large share of it. And in no respect more than as regards *separation from the world*.

There is no doubt that this separation is less marked than formerly. In a measure it must be so through the mere increase in number. If the world has become, in outward things, less unlike religion, religious people are necessarily less strange, and the difference is less strongly marked. The danger is, lest the effect should be produced by religion becoming worldly, rather than by the world becoming religious.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to lay down definite rules on such subjects as amusements, family habits, and conformity with those around us. On many points of this kind opinion will differ even in those who agree in principle. Only let it be borne in mind by all, that undue compliance quickly lowers the spiritual tone ; and that, in many families, the cause of the low spiritual tone of one generation, as compared with a former, is not far to seek : the world has crept in.

FRANCIS BOURDILLON.

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#### ART. V.—CAMBRIDGE A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

THE state of religion in this country, and particularly with respect to the Church of England, a hundred years ago, has been described in several ways, by Messrs. Abbey and Overton in their recently published volumes, "The English Church in the Eighteenth Century," an ably written work and full of information (Longmans, Green & Co.). Mr. Ryle's interesting work "The Christian Leaders of the Last Century," well-known, no doubt, to many of our readers, also contains some striking notes, social, ecclesiastical, and religious. Another work, published some thirty years ago, the late Mr. Gunning's "Reminiscences" of Cambridge,<sup>1</sup> a book which is, probably, almost unknown outside a certain circle, gives a good deal of curious in-

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<sup>1</sup> *Reminiscences of the University, Town, and County of Cambridge, from the year 1780.* By the late H. Gunning, M.A., Senior Esquire Bidell. Second Edition. Geo. Bell. 1855.

formation, and has a value and interest of its own. We quote, without comment, a few extracts.

As to the way in which country churches were "served"—the "duty" was "done"—a hundred years ago, Mr. Gunning wrote :—

For many years before he (Mr. Farmer) was elected to the Mastership, he had the curacy of Swavesey (about nine miles distant) where he made a point of attending in all weathers. He began the service punctually at the appointed time, and gave a plain practical sermon, strongly enforcing some moral duty. After service he chatted most affably with his congregation, and never failed to send some small present to such of his poor parishioners as had been kept from church through illness. After morning service he repaired to the public-house, where a mutton-chop and potatoes were soon set before him : these were quickly despatched, and immediately after the removal of the cloth, Mr. Dobson (his Churchwarden), and one or two of the principal farmers, made their appearance, to whom he invariably said, "I am going to read prayers, but shall be back by the time you have made the punch." Occasionally another farmer accompanied him from church, when pipes and tobacco were in requisition until six o'clock. *Taffy* was then led to the door, and he conveyed his master to his rooms by half-past seven ; here he found his slippers and night-cap, and taking possession of his elbow-chair, he slept till his bedmaker aroused him at nine o'clock, when resuming his wig he started for the *Parlour*, where the fellows were in the habit of assembling on a Sunday evening.

Mr. Gunning adds that an unfavourable opinion should not be formed of Mr. Farmer as a country curate. "Most of the churches within ten miles of Cambridge were served by Fellows of Colleges. In some cases the curate hastened back to dine in hall ; there were others who undertook two or three services ; so that, upon the whole, few parishes were so well satisfied with their pastor as Swavesey." Dr. Farmer was twice offered a Bishopric by the Prime Minister Pitt ; but he felt he could not discharge the duties of the Episcopacy with that dignity and decorum which the office demanded. Eventually he accepted a Residencyship of St. Paul's :—

On Sunday, in the evening a hot supper was always ready at nine, at which any friends from Cambridge, who chanced to be in town, were sure to meet with a hearty reception and pass a convivial evening, which forcibly served to remind them of the hospitalities of Emmanuel Parlour.

His residence in town rarely prevented his being present on Feast-days at his own College. I well remember his exclaiming, on entering the vestry at St. Mary's, on Ascension Day,—"I have had hard work to be with you in time, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, for at three o'clock this morning I was blowing my pipe with the worshipful Company of Pewterers !"

Under the year 1788, Mr. Gunning writes, that those who held "Low-Church doctrines" in the University were termed "*Methodists*, afterwards *Calvinists*, and then *Serious Christians*."

In the year 1795, Mr. Gunning attended the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Gates) to Burwell. The University is possessed of a considerable estate in Burwell; and it was the custom for the Vice-Chancellor to preach a sermon there on Mid-Lent Sunday and dine with the tenant. Notwithstanding a heavy fall of snow the villages of Bottesham and Swaffham were crowded with people who came to see a coach-and-four. The Marshal, who had filled his pockets with halfpence for the occasion, amused himself and his fellow dignitaries by throwing the coppers out into the snow for the villagers to scramble for them:—

At length we arrived at the Vicarage, where we stopped and had some refreshment; and then proceeded to the church, a very noble edifice, and filled almost to suffocation by persons who had come (notwithstanding the badness of the day) to see a Vice-Chancellor. After the sermon we proceeded to the old Manor House, situated about three-quarters of a mile from the church, and on the very edge of the Fens. We were conducted into a small parlour, and in a few minutes were told that dinner was on the table. The repast was of the most ample description; three huge fowls were at the top of the table; at the bottom was an enormous sirloin of beef; on one side a huge ham of excellent flavour; on the other side a pigeon-pie; and in the centre an unusually large plum-pudding. The only guests in the upper chamber consisted of the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Turner (the Vicar), myself, and Mr. Dunn, the tenant. The beer was excellent. After dinner, wine was introduced; the port was as good as ever was tasted, and the tenant circulated the bottle very briskly. I confess that I did not consider the Clerk, who came to say he was going to chime, a welcome visitor; and the Sexton, who came about a quarter of an hour afterwards, to say the bells were ringing, was, I believe, very unwelcome to us all. We got into the carriage (which was ordered to wait for us at the gate) and went to church, where the Vicar read the prayers. The excellence of the tenant's ale was apparent, not only in the red faces of the Vicar, the Clerk, and the Sexton, but also in the vigour with which two or three officials, furnished with white staves, exercised them whenever they found any of the children inattentive. Not contented with showing their authority over the younger part of the congregation, one of them inflicted so heavy a blow on the head of a young man who was sleeping, that it resounded through the church. The person thus distinguished started up, and rubbing his head, had the mortification to find all his neighbours laughing at his expense; to use a fancy phrase, "he showed fight," and I believe he was only restrained by the presence of the Vice-Chancellor (who rose to see what was the matter) from giving the peace-officer a hearty drubbing. We had rather a perilous journey back to Cambridge, being very nearly upset before we reached the high road.

In the year 1810, another Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Gretton) went to Burwell. After the usual substantial dinner, the clerk announced that the bells were ringing for the afternoon service; he was succeeded by the sexton. Nobody stirred but the Vicar, who for the last three years had preached an afternoon sermon in compliment to the Vice-Chancellor, and the Vicar, not thinking it fitting to make any suggestion, "walked on":—

After the Vicar's departure, the host observed that a sermon in the afternoon at their church was quite unusual. The Vice-Chancellor asked, "What sort of a preacher is Mr. Turner?" to which the tenant replied, "For my own part, I would not go over the threshold to hear him preach." "If that be your opinion, who have had frequent opportunities of hearing him," said Dr. Gretton, "I am of your opinion too; and we will remain and have a few more glasses of your fine old port." The horses were then taken from the carriage, and the Vicar, after waiting a considerable time for the Vice-Chancellor before he began the service, was at length obliged to proceed without him.

Mention is made of a "dissipated" Reverend Fellow of King's whose rooms were on the same staircase as Simeon's. He took a "great dislike" to Simeon, and lost no opportunity of annoying him. "Appointed to a living, he was enabled to launch again into the gay world; and the last account that reached the University of him was, that he was seen in 'the basket' at a cock-pit, the usual penalty for not paying bets." He was an adept in cock-fighting.

Concerning Simeon's great work in his earlier years, we read:—

A large portion of Simeon's congregation consisted of the peasantry from the neighbouring villages, where, with but few exceptions, the services were performed in a careless manner; the comfort and ease of the Ministers appearing to be their first consideration. If the Sunday proved wet, Dr. Drop (a cant phrase signifying there was no service) did the duty.

An anecdote is told concerning a very small parish in Lincolnshire, where service was performed only once a month:—

A clergyman who was visiting for a few days in the immediate neighbourhood, and who was a friend of the officiating Minister (residing at a distance), offered to perform service on the following Sunday. Consent was readily granted. When notice was given to the clerk, he appeared confused, and then submissively remarked, the service ought not to have come off until a week later; for, not at all expecting there would be any change from what they had been so long accustomed to, he had set a turkey in the pulpit as soon as their parson had left, and he had reckoned that by the time he came again the pulpit would have been at liberty!

The novelty of an evening service in a parish church at Cambridge attracted much attention. "It conveyed at once the

impression," said Siuneon, in 1792, "that it must be established for the advancement of true religion, or what the world would call Methodism. Hence it is not to be wondered at, that it should be regarded with jealousy by some, and with contempt by others, and that young gowmsmen, who even in their own chapels showed little more reverence for God than they would in a play-house, should often enter in to disturb our worship." "For many years (I speak from my own personal knowledge)," writes Mr. Gunning, "Trinity Church and the streets leading to it were the scenes of the most disgraceful tumults."

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#### ART. VI.—SOME RITUALISTIC MANUALS.

1. *Some Strictures on a book entitled "The Communicant's Manual," with two Prefaces by the Rev. E. King, D.D., Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology in the University of Oxford and Canon of Christ Church.* By C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., Vicar of Winkfield, Berks, and Hon. Can. of Christ Church. Third Edition. London: Murray. 1879.
2. *Some Remarks upon a Letter to the Rev. C. J. Elliott, by the Rev. E. King, D.D., together with further Strictures upon certain Devotional Works written or adapted for the use of Members of the Church of England.* By the Rev. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A. Vicar of Winkfield.

MR. ELLIOTT has done good service by drawing public attention to the subtle and insidious way in which the laity of the Church of England are being gradually imbued with teaching that is virtually identical with that of the Church of Rome in books of devotion put forth under the authority of responsible names, as he has done in the two pamphlets of which the titles are given above. It is well, also, that they are introduced to public notice by the countenance and commendation of so honoured a house as that of Mr. Murray. This of itself goes a long way to take them out of the category of mere party missives.

"It is one of the characteristic signs of the days in which we live," says the writer of the above pamphlets, "that those distinctive tenets of the Church of Rome, against which the Articles of the Reformed Church of England are specially directed, are being propagated, and more particularly amongst the young, by means of books of devotion; such books being either composed by members of the Church of Rome, and *adapted* for the use of members of the English Church, or else composed by members

of the English Church, but inculcating the tenets of the Church of Rome."

After showing how largely this is the case with "The Communicant's Manual" in manifold ways, it is not much to be wondered at that Dr. King should have felt himself moved to reply; but although he might "possibly desire to alter here and there an expression or two," he professes himself "quite prepared to abide by the general teaching" of his book, believing it to be in perfect harmony with Holy Scripture and the teaching of the Church. In fact, the charges Mr. Elliott has preferred against "The Communicant's Manual," of inculcating or sanctioning semi-Roman doctrines and practices remain unanswered, and therefore it is no just cause for surprise that the laity of the Oxford diocese are anxiously inquiring whether the teaching of Cuddesdon College is that of the English Church or that of "The Communicant's Manual," and of the books which that Manual recommends. As a specimen of this teaching, take the lines of a hymn recommended for use immediately after the Prayer of Consecration:—

Devoutly I adore Thee, Deity unseen,  
Who Thy glory hidest 'neath these shadows mean;  
Lo! to Thee surrendered, my whole heart is bowed,  
Tranced as it beholds Thee, shrined within the cloud.

or yet further the passage on p. 49 of the Manual:—

The consecration is the most solemn and central act of the service, by which the bread and wine are made, through the power of God the Holy Ghost, verily and indeed the Body and Blood of Christ, and are offered to God the Father as the Eucharistic Sacrifice.

Well may Mr. Elliott write in his second pamphlet, p. 17:—

(1) I must enter my protest against the salutations addressed to the "Most Holy Flesh of Christ," and to "the Heavenly Drink of Jesu's Blood," which follow immediately upon "the Act of Consecration," (p. 84). (2) I object to the "Acts of Adoration" after the Prayer of Consecration on p. 85: "I adore Thee, O Lord my God, whom I now behold veiled beneath these earthly forms. Prostrate I adore Thy Majesty, &c." (3) I object to the "Acts of Devotion" which I find at pp. 98 and 99, more particularly to that numbered vi., ascribed to *St. Ambrose*, in which I find the following words:—"I pray Thee for the souls of the faithful departed (especially N), that this great Sacrament of Thy Love may be to them health and salvation, joy and refreshment." (4) I object, again, to the words which I find at p. 104: "At every Altar of Thy Church, where Thy blessed Body and Blood are being offered to the Father." (5) I object once more to the "Litany of our Lord present in the Holy Eucharist" (pp. 110 and 111), more particularly to the following clauses:—"Jesu, our wonderful God, who vouchsafest to be present upon the altar when the



Priest pronounces the words of Consecration : And "Jesu, who, in this August and Venerable Mystery, art Thyself both Priest and Victim."

We think these objections perfectly valid, and believe that all true Churchmen will share them with him.

It is manifest that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is peculiarly fitted, from the position it holds in the English Offices, and notably in the teaching of those who exalt the function of the Church in the scheme of salvation, to be the means of disseminating among the young the principles advocated in "The Communicant's Manual." There is everything in the mystery of first Communion, regarded as the ultimate goal of catechetical and Confirmation instruction, to appeal to the imagination and sensitiveness of the young, and, consequently, whatever can be instilled into their minds by association with the deepest of all mysteries, stands in a position of especial favour for being zealously embraced and tenaciously held. Wisely, therefore, do they act who would seek to make the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper the vehicle of instruction in specific and definite principle for the young, the tender, and the hopeful. It is, moreover, certain that all classes of Christians generally, of whatever denomination, must agree in regarding the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper as an ordinance of unique and special importance in the Christian scheme. All who have any love for the Lord Jesus must admit the paramount significance of His last act before He suffered, and confess that what He commanded to His Apostles, with His dying breath, cannot be otherwise than essentially dear to all who desire to abide in their doctrine and fellowship. As a matter of fact, therefore, there can hardly be much divergence between the most opposite phases of Christian thought in the attention, importance, and regard that attaches and is due to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Consequently, the divergence, which also as a matter of fact could hardly be much greater than it is, must arise elsewhere than in the loving estimate of reverence with which it is regarded. Depreciation of the Sacraments is a very common charge that is brought against those who are zealous for Gospel principles by those who glory rather in their relation to, and union with, the Catholic Church. But as long as the sacraments are acknowledged as the solitary ordinances of a positive character established by Christ Himself, as all must acknowledge them to be, it is hardly possible that any Christian who gives the matter a moment's thought can intentionally depreciate these ordinances ; and, indeed, the point of divergence will be found to consist not in the dignity with which these ordinances are regarded, but in the function that is ascribed to them. They are commonly spoken of under a title which, however legitimate, is not to be found in Scripture, namely, "means of grace." The Church of Rome

advances the Sacraments as the paramount and, in some respects, as the exclusive means of grace. The Church of Rome holds that there can be no union with Christ except by and through the sacraments, and it is this function of the sacraments which is recognised and magnified by all those who boast themselves in their relation to that Church and in their collateral descent with it from the primitive Church. In this theory the sacraments are not only rites ordained by Christ, but they are also means by which alone the grace of Christ is conveyed (ordinarily) to the soul. Nor is there any one who would deny that the sacraments are lawfully to be regarded as means of grace, and that they were ordained by Christ to be so. The danger does not arise till their exclusive function in this respect is asserted, and then the way is clear for exalting that function of the sacraments which is characteristic of the Church of Rome. It must surely have struck every one who has wandered from time to time into the churches abroad, in Roman Catholic countries, and witnessed the celebration of the Mass, that the degree of likeness between the pompous and imposing ceremony there enacted and the details of the Last Supper as given in the Evangelists is reduced to a minimum, if it has not vanished altogether. Often, at such times, have we endeavoured to recall the scene in the upper chamber at the Last Supper and been unable to perceive the resemblance thereto in the stately process of the Mass. It is simply impossible to detect in it any compliance with the precept, "This do in remembrance of Me," and the reason is because the aspect of the incident which is perpetuated in the Mass is altogether different from that which is preserved to us in the narrative of the Evangelists. It is not the Lord's Supper as a feast of charity, nor even as an act of communion or a means of grace which is there repeated, but rather the enactment of the great mystery of redemption itself which that supper, while it did not cease to be a supper, was declared to represent. There is no question but that the sacrificial aspect of our Lord's last supper with His disciples is the one which predominates in the Mass, almost to the exclusion of any other, and it is this aspect which the modern developments of High Church teaching have been so careful to render prominent and effective. There can, however, be no question, even among moderate High Churchmen, but that it is this aspect which the office of the Church of England has rendered subordinate to another, if it has not actually obscured it, that other being the aspect of reunion and fellowship with Christ as He held it with His disciples in the Last Supper. Thus the Mass of the Romish Church became the Communion of the English Church, and if the Mass is the characteristic feature of the Church of Rome

the substitution of the Communion for it may be said to be the characteristic feature of the Reformed Church of England. It is not a little significant of the retrograde action of our younger Churchmen that among themselves they freely adopt the phrase of "going to Mass" as they have recently made common the innovation, for such it certainly is in the English Church, of being present at the communion without communicating. There is, however, one cause for thankfulness, that except in the most extreme development of what is called Catholic doctrine and practice in our own Church, the communion aspect of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is after all the one which is most distinctive and prominent. Whatever may have been done to emphasise the sacrificial character and meaning of it, that which may be said to be the most conspicuous and popular is the one which it presents as the special means of communion with Christ. So effectual was the work of the Reformation in the Church of England in this respect that unparalleled efforts of a counter-reformation tendency have not availed, even among extreme High Churchmen, to convert the Anglican Communion into the Romish Mass. In spite of themselves, and true to the traditions of many generations, the religious public of the Church of England do not cease to regard the communion aspect of the Eucharist as virtually and practically the most prominent and distinctive, and this is surely a valid cause for sincere thankfulness.

It is, however, on what may be called the practical and popular side of the Holy Sacrament that, as we believe, much mischievous and erroneous teaching has prevailed, for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is a means of grace, as all must be prepared to admit. In what sense is it a means of grace, and is there any sense in which it is the exclusive means? There can be no question but that the New Testament represents man's access to Christ as direct and immediate, and it knows nothing of any means of grace, still less of the Communion as such a means, whereby mediately and indirectly we may draw nigh to Christ. The invitation of Christ is "come unto *Me*," and the blessing promised is no less direct, "*I will give you rest.*" Nothing is said there of any sacrament or means, nor was this sacrament instituted till long after this invitation was given. If therefore it was possible to have access direct and immediate to Christ then, it was possible without the sacrament, nor can the sacrament be supposed to have made it more possible. Let us not be misunderstood to seem to affirm that the sacraments are superfluous, and therefore may be dispensed with. If they were superfluous our Lord would not have appointed them. That they were ordained by One who knew our needs, to strengthen, assist, and sustain faith, cannot for a moment be questioned, and any view of their

character which does not fully recognise this feature of them must be defective and false. But it is abundantly possible to recognise the Sacraments as efficient aids to faith without making them substitutes for faith. It is quite possible to regard the Sacraments in this light, and yet not to place them between Christ and the soul in such a way as to make us rest in them or to hinder us from immediate access to Christ. When the eye looks at any object through a glass, whether microscope, telescope, or what not, the object is not distinctly perceived until the medium through which it is beheld is lost. The purpose of the instrument or medium is to bring the eye, so to say, into contact with the object beheld. It is exactly so with the Sacraments—they are means whereby we are to have access to Christ. Their object is defeated unless such access is obtained. If the Sacraments are used as graduated steps by which we may approach more and more nearly to a distant Christ, who is, after all, still distant, they resemble the mysterious line which, though perpetually approaching, yet never touches the curve, rather than effectual means of grace by which the actual contact is achieved; and it is this aspect of the Lord's Supper which is to be found open to objection in the treatment of it that is advocated by works of the school of the "Communicants' Manual." It is assumed that the ultimate participation of Christ is in the Eucharist; that there is no other drawing nigh to Him which is at all comparable to this, that therefore the oftener we thus draw nigh to Him the closer our communion with Him, which is not to be experienced otherwise. Probably none will say that we have now misrepresented the high sacramental theory. But none the less are we sure that that theory is a perverted view of the Gospel and of the Sacrament itself. The Gospel uniformly represents faith as the only means by which we lay hold of Christ, and consistently therewith the Article of the English Church declares that the means whereby we partake of Christ in the Lord's Supper is faith. There is all the difference in the world therefore between coming to Christ by faith and partaking of Him in His ordinance, and coming to His ordinance with faith in *it* as the means whereby we partake of Him. There is then a necessary, though perhaps imperceptible, transference of the object of faith from Christ to the ordinance of Christ. Instead of our faith going forth towards and resting directly and personally in Christ, it goes forth towards and rests in His ordinance. The direct exercise of faith is not towards Christ but towards the ordinance of Christ. And this can hardly be otherwise so long as the ordinance of Christ is represented as the means whereby we lay hold of Christ, in the same sense as we lay hold of Him by faith. It is important that our younger Churchmen should clearly determine for themselves in what

sense faith is a means and in what sense the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is a means, and decide whether we approach to and lay hold of Christ by the one or by the other, and whether it is by faith in and through the sacrament, or whether it is by the sacrament with faith in it rather than a faith that rises through it, and does not rest till it rests in Christ. The charge that we bring against the sacramental theory, and the use of the sacraments that it implies and encourages, is just this,—that it unavoidably fosters a tendency to make the sacraments means, in the sense in which faith is the only means, and so have the effect of leading the soul away from direct and simple trust in Christ by disposing it to rely on the repetition of the act of communion, instead of entering into that communion at once and for all by the simple act of faith.

We have dwelt thus at length on what appear to us the true principles of communion, because it is not possible otherwise to understand the subtle misconception which underlies the teaching which Mr. Elliott has rightly exposed. If the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper once becomes identified with Christ in such a way as to be itself the object of faith, there is no end to the perversion and grossness which will characterise the adoration paid to it. Idolatry is a subtle error, and a misconception of the mind may be an idol as much as a carved image of wood or stone. If the true function of the sacrament of Christ's body and blood is misconceived, that will infallibly become an idol; and that its function is misconceived is an undoubted fact, as soon as faith in the sacrament is allowed in the slightest degree to obscure faith in Christ.

In his strictures on the "Communicants' Manual," Canon Elliott specifies four heads of complaint: (1) The devotional books recommended; (2) the teaching of it on Confession and Absolution; (3) its teaching about Christ's presence in the Eucharist; and (4) the invocations contained in it to the soul, body, and blood of our blessed Lord. We will confine ourselves to the third and fourth of these heads as bearing chiefly on the remarks already made. The Manual teaches that the presence of Christ in the sacrament is a localised presence "at every altar," before which presence, thus localised, the oblation of the personal self is to be made, and that "the operation of the Holy Ghost in the act of consecration is analogous to His operation in the Incarnation." Rightly is this teaching condemned by Mr. Elliott; but it seems to us that its real condemnation lies in the certain absence of spirituality betrayed. No one who truly apprehends the spirituality of God's presence can endure the travesty of that presence here spoken of as grossly localised. The spiritual freedom of the emancipated soul is chained down to the beggarly elements of an imaginary and limited presence. It is not God

that is represented as present, but an idea of God that has been substituted for Him and imagined to be present. We can only say that if, under these circumstances, the elements are not the objects of worship, at all events the idea of a sacramental presence is, which has first to be predicated as existent, but which is at least altogether unlike anything presented to our contemplation in Scripture. If it were not that the modern school of Ritualists had advanced far beyond the state of reverence for the great 17th century divines, one might confront them with the passage Mr. Elliott quotes from Bishop Bull (page 25 of his first pamphlet), and ask whether it is not as applicable in their case as in that of the Romanists to whom it immediately refers. But in point of fact our modern Ritualists are callous to all such considerations, and take refuge in the belief that had these divines lived in the 19th century instead of the 17th, they would have thought and been like them. Mr. Elliott suggests that the invocations found on page 59 of the Manual—"Soul of Christ, sanctify me!" "Body of Christ, save me!" "Blood of Christ, inspirit me!"—may be charitably construed so as to be cleared from the charge of actual idolatry. We are, for our part, less careful to decide this point, because we are sure that the ejaculations themselves, however interpreted, are utterly inconsistent with a true conception of *who* the Christ is, thus apostrophised. Any adequate thought of the presence of the Divine Being incarnate and glorified would surely raise the mind above the trivial and unworthy puerilities of a special and separate invocation to His soul, or body, or blood. The thing is branded with its own condemnation.

Space forbids us to follow Mr. Elliott in the several details of his controversy with Canon King. No unbiassed mind can hesitate for a moment as to the justice with which that controversy was raised, or as to its general merits; but we are more desirous to direct attention to the broad issue involved in it than to the technical merits of the controversy itself. It is of course to be expected that those who think with Canon King, and see the matter as he sees it, will continue to see and to think so for anything we or others may say; but for all that there will be those who will, sooner or later, become alive to the very deplorable and alarming condition of thought which is evidenced by the dissemination of doctrinal works such as Canon King's. It is not that we fear the consequences resulting from such a condition of things, and are in that sense alarmists, but that we greatly deplore and shudder at the materialism and want of spirituality of which it is the certain index. We frequently meet with supineness and indifference, with incredulity and contempt, when any apprehension is expressed at the rapid increase of Romanism and Romanising doctrine in this country; but it can

only arise from those who have not duly weighed and estimated the matter, and do not rightly apprehend its bearing. It is an obvious fact that the Church of England is permeated with a strong infusion of teaching that is virtually and intrinsically Roman. The essence of this teaching is a particular estimate of the Sacraments, and especially of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which makes it one of the indispensable elements in our approach to Christ, for that without them we cannot have access to Him, and that we cannot properly use them without truly having access to Him. The proof of this position is the authoritative putting forth by responsible persons of such books as this *Manual*. And again we profess our honest conviction that all who expose their unfaithful teaching and its pernicious tendency, as Mr. Elliott has done, deserve well of those who believe and know the truth.

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#### ART. VII.—THE NEW MISSIONS IN AFRICA.

A GLANCE at the maps of Africa current twenty years ago affords a startling revelation of the progress of modern geographical knowledge. At first sight, it seems scarcely credible that they can really belong to so recent a date. That in the days of the Indian Mutiny, of Lord Palmerston's Premiership, of Napoleon III.'s Italian campaign—the period covered by the last-published volume of the Prince Consort's Life—the now familiar names of the great Central African lakes were absolutely unknown in England, is hard to believe. But so it was. Tanganyika was discovered by Burton and Speke in 1858. The Victoria Nyanza was seen by Speke in the same year, but its vast size not guessed at till 1862. Livingstone discovered Nyassa in 1859, and Sir S. Baker the Albert Nyanza in 1864. And in each case a year later must be taken as the time when the discovery was known in this country. Since then we have had Livingstone's later journeys, and those of Cameron and Stanley, Schweinfurth, Nachtigal, Pinto, and others; and now a good map of Africa does not differ very much in general appearance from a map of Europe, if allowance be made for two or three still remaining blanks, and for the absence of railways and of defined territorial divisions.

It is sometimes said, and very truly said, that war is a great teacher of geography. The Crimea, Virginia, Lorraine, Bulgaria, Afghanistan, Zululand, are conspicuous instances. But our knowledge of Central Africa is due not to war, but, primarily,

to expeditions for the promulgation of the Gospel of peace. Livingstone's early travels in the south were but missionary journeys. The first discovery on the eastern side of the Dark Continent, which woke up the long-slumbering interest of European geographers, was that of Mount Kilimanjaro, by the missionary Rebmann, in 1848; and it was his further researches and those of his companion Krapf, that led to the first expedition of Burton and Speke in 1857.

And as missionary enterprise pointed the way for geographical exploration, so geographical exploration, in its turn, stimulated the advance of missionary operation. For a quarter of a century, down to 1876, little was heard of the evangelisation of Equatorial Africa. Krapf's grand vision of a Pilgrim Street across the Continent, in which the Prince Consort took so much interest as far back as 1850, had faded from the minds of men; and Rebmann for many years clung to Mombasa with a persistence but little appreciated at home. It is true that other African fields were not forgotten. Townsend and Hinderer and Crowther kept alive the sympathies of the Christian public for the West Coast missions. Moffat and other zealous men in the South could tell of Bechuana and Basuto native churches. Bishop Mackenzie bravely laid down his life in the attempt to plant the banner of the Cross on the Shiré; but the "Bishop of Central Africa" who succeeded him was content to view the shores of his nominal diocese from an adjacent island. At length the news of Livingstone's death aroused public interest in the scene of his heroic journeys; and when, a year and a half later, Mr. Stanley's famous letter appeared, conveying King Mtesa's invitation to Christian teachers, Central Africa leaped once more into the forefront of mission fields.

No less than nine Protestant missionary societies are now engaged, or about to engage, in the work of proclaiming Christ's kingdom in different parts of the newly-opened territories. Beginning from the south-east, the Free Church of Scotland, which was the first in the field as far as recent extensions are concerned, has established its now well-known Livingstone Mission on Lake Nyassa, and the Established Scotch Church is not far off, at Blantyre, near the Shiré. The country between the north end of Nyassa and the Zanzibar Coast has been penetrated by Bishop Steere, of the Universities' Mission—the mission which was started in 1861, under Bishop Wilberforce's auspices, during Livingstone's last visit to England, and which sent out Bishop Mackenzie. Dr. Steere, whose head-quarters are at Zanzibar, has also occupied Usambara, a country on the east coast, between Zanzibar and Mombasa, first visited by Krapf thirty years ago. Lake Tanganika has been adopted as a field of labour by the London Missionary Society, whose agents are



already stationed at Ujiji, the chief trading centre on its shores, familiar to readers of Livingstone's and Stanley's journals. The Church Missionary Society, which was the first to respond to Mtesa's invitation, naturally took the great inland sea bordered by his dominions, the Victoria Nyanza, the area of which is two-thirds the size of Ireland, and double that of Belgium. It has already a strong party in Uganda, Mtesa's kingdom, on the north-west; and the occupation of Karagú on the west, and some districts on the south side, is in contemplation. These missions in the far interior require to be linked with the coast by means of intermediate stations; and the Church Missionary Society has established such a post at Mpwapwa, in the Usagara highlands, while the London Missionary Society purposes to locate an agent at the head-quarters of Mirambo, a leading chieftain in Unyamuezi.

The Mombasa Mission of the Church Missionary Society, though primarily a kind of small Sierra Leone for the rescued victims of the East African slave trade, is also stretching out its arms to the interior. Christian communities of Wanika are rising at Kisulutini (Rebmann's old station) and Godoma; and invitations have been received from tribes further inland—even from Chaga or Jagga, at the fort of Kilimanjaro. Not far from Mombasa is one more East African mission, that of the United Free Methodists; and their experienced missionary, Mr. Wakefield, has been proposing a move forward among the Galla tribes further north.

Only one English Society—the Baptist—has chosen the West Coast as the base of its advance into the interior. The West Coast, that is, south of the Gulf of Guinea; for if we include the Guinea Coast and further northward, we come to familiar fields of the Church Missionary Society and the Wesleyans, and also of the Basle Mission. These, however, scarcely touch the newly-discovered regions of Equatorial Africa, except that the C.M.S. steamer *Henry Venn* is, while we write, exploring the Binue, the eastern branch of the Niger, the sources of which lie somewhere in that yet unknown region which is now the most conspicuous remaining blank on the map. The Baptist Mission is advancing through Portuguese Western Africa, towards the scene of Stanley's last great discoveries on the Congo, and by the last advices had reached San Salvador. In this direction the American Board of Foreign Missions is also about to move, at the instance and with the aid of that liberal Leeds gentleman, Mr. Arthington, whose gifts have started so many of these new missions. Another Transatlantic society, the American Missionary Association, has been offered money by the same generous donor to take up an entirely new field on the River Sobat, between Abyssinia and the White Nile.

In connection with this last proposal must be mentioned Colonel Gordon's suggestion to the Church Missionary Society, to plant a mission on a wholly virgin soil to the west of the Albert Nyanza. Both, however, will be impracticable for the present if the great English Pro-Consul in the Soudan retires from his magnificent work—as the *Times* lately announced that he was about to do. The prospects of those vast territories in the absence of Gordon Pasha are dark indeed ; and it is because the safety of a journey through them depended so much upon his individual presence that the Church Missionary Society, while taking advantage of his kindness to send its recent reinforcement to Uganda up the Nile, has never wavered in its advocacy of the East Coast route as the true communication with the Victoria Nyanza.

This rapid survey of the new Missions in Africa will be scarcely intelligible without a map ; but it may help those who can turn to one of recent date to follow more readily the sometimes confusing tidings from the different fields that appear from time to time in the magazines and newspapers.

Those tidings deserve to be understood. An arduous campaign against heathen ignorance and superstition and Mohammedan rapacity has, at the unmistakable call of God, and in dependence on His promised blessing, been vigorously inaugurated. Shall we follow its vicissitudes with an interest and a sympathy one whit less than that aroused by the campaign against the military despotism of Cetewayo ? Precious lives have been nobly laid down in the one cause as well as in the other. Without going back to Mackenzie and Livingstone, we have Charles New, the intrepid traveller of the United Methodist Mission, dying alone in the Wanika forests ; Dr. Black and Dr. John Smith, both from the Edinburgh Medical Mission, yielding up their young lives on the Nyassa and the Nyanza, one in the service of the Scottish Free Church, the other in that of the Church Missionary Society ; Lieutenant Shergold Smith and Thomas O'Neill, also of the C.M.S., killed on the Nyanza in the chivalrous attempt to defend a wounded Arab who had only cheated them ; Thomson, the experienced L.M.S. missionary, taken from his sorrowing comrades within a few days of their reaching Ujiji ; and now Dr. Mullens, the able Foreign Secretary of the same society, falling in the effort to aid with his personal presence the Mission he had himself planned and directed from home, and his remains lying in the Church Missionary Society's ground at Mpwapwa—fit token of the union in a common work that overleaps the bounds of Church organisation.

Nor—considering the intimate connection subsisting between missionary effort and geographical research, especially in Africa—should we forget those who have lately laid down their lives

in the attempt to explore the still unknown recesses of the continent. The Belgian expedition into the interior, fitted out under the personal superintendence of King Leopold, suffered severely at its first attempt two years ago by the death of its leaders. Subsequently it derived much help from the C.M.S. missionaries at Mpwapwa—for which the King thanked the Committee at a personal interview when he was last in London; and we may hope that the debt will indirectly be paid with interest, for the Belgians seem to have at last solved the problem of cheap and easy transport, by the success of their experiment with Indian elephants as beasts of burden—four of these animals having arrived at Mpwapwa unharmed by the tsetse fly. It may here be added that Mr. Stanley is conducting another of King Leopold's parties from the West Coast up the Congo. Then, too, we have the lamented deaths of Captain Elton and Mr. Keith-Johnston, both of them falling in the attempt to strike out new routes between the East Coast and the head of Lake Nyassa, the former on his way from the lake, the latter on his way from the coast. The loss of so promising a traveller as young Mr. Johnston, who was in command of the Royal Geographical Society's expedition, has been much lamented.

Had it not been for Isandlwana, the Zulu war would have been scarcely more noticed in England than the many previous petty conflicts which have marked the history of our South African colonies. Will not the loss of such men as have just been named deepen the interest of all Christian people in the missionary enterprises of Central Africa?

We need to enter into the spirit that marks one of the last sentences penned by Lieutenant Smith, in describing his exploration of the rivers and creeks at the south end of the Victoria Nyanza. "I knelt down," he says, "on the banks of the Ruwana, and thanked our Heavenly Father for His merciful protection of us this day. Is not this 'the day of small things'? The time is coming, and I believe not far distant, when the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ shall find its way over these mountains and plains, till these very rivers shall flow through unceasing praise."

EUGENE STOCK.



# ART. VIII.—THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND.

*The Constitution of the Church of Ireland.* Edited by  
W. G. BROOKE, M.A. Dublin: G. Herbert. 1879.

THIS work fills up a gap which must otherwise have existed in the minds of most Englishmen with regard to the condition of the sister Church. At least, we do not know of any other work which exactly supplies its place; it deserves, therefore, a warm reception at the hands of the English public, if, as we must charitably hope, they still take an interest in the well-being of the Irish Episcopal Church. It is true, indeed, that she is now no longer (as formerly) "bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh;" but the mere fact that she once belonged to us, and that she still retains the forms and doctrines of our Church, ought to endear her to us, and to make us anxious for her welfare. What her future will be, time only can decide for certain; but it is allowable to form conjecture on the subject from the data with which the work before us supplies.

And this is all that we can undertake on the present occasion.

The truth is proverbially hard to discover, and doubly so in Ireland. It is a well-known saying of Archbishop Whately's, that the information with which an Englishman is generally supplied, when he visits Ireland, about the condition of that country, is like the prospect of it when viewed from an Irish jaunting-car, differing according to the side on which you happen to sit, and of course, therefore, only a partial view.

This is, in a measure, true of most countries; the information we receive respecting their condition must more or less take its colour from the mind of the informer, however veracious he may intend to be. But in Ireland this liability is stronger, because party spirit runs so high in that country. And as regards the particular question of the Irish Church, the mortification which was felt by almost every member of it, when its disestablishment and disendowment were decided on, was so deep and so bitter, that it may fairly be doubted whether many of them are even now fair judges as to the manner in which the present system works. Besides, even supposing them to be unbiassed on the subject, in a large question like the present men are likely to form a hasty decision, founded on their own limited experience.

These considerations should make us suspend our judgment, at least for some years; and indeed in any case, even supposing

our information to be strictly correct, we cannot argue from the past as to what the future will be. At present the Church in Ireland labours under certain difficulties which time will remove. It is not in the position of a Church which has never had an establishment. It is like a child who has been used to being carried in arms, and has been only lately set to walk on its legs. It has the double disadvantage of having to learn and to unlearn. We must wait and see how things will work when these disadvantages have been removed by time. But we have ample opportunities now afforded us of making some conjectures on this subject by the work before us. The matter contained there, suggests reflections on a great many important subjects; but we content ourselves at present with noting certain points in the new code for the regulation of the Irish Church, which appear to us likely to tend very much to her advantage.

At the same time, we wish it to be distinctly understood that we are not expressing any opinion as to the expediency of disestablishment, a subject which we do not wish to discuss here. That measure, whether expedient or not, has been passed, and will never be recalled, and therefore it behoves us now to try, as far as it is possible, to look on the hopeful side of a state of things which is settled.

And there certainly are some grounds for hope. The work before us contains the complete code for the legislation of the Irish Church (except revision statutes) for the ten years from the passing of the Irish Church Act, 1869. How this code was formed the following extract from the preface will show:—"The code was prepared by a committee first appointed by the General Synod in 1877, and consisting of the Lord Bishop of Cork (R. S. Gregg, D.D.), chairman; Lord Justice Fitzgibbon, Rev. R. W. Dixon, D.D., Rev. Canon Henry C. Jellett, Rev. Canon J. G. Scott, Edward Pennefather, Q.C., and W. J. Brooke, hon. sec."

The first schedule contains a declaration of what was determined on by the general convention of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of Ireland, together with the representatives of the clergy and laity of the same. They begin by a solemn declaration that they are "the ANCIENT Catholic and Apostolic Church of Ireland." This appeal to their antiquity is important to keep in mind, for it is strictly true, and too often lost sight of. They then express their intention of securing and approving the book of the Articles of the Church of England and also of the Book of Common Prayer adhering to the use of the Church of Ireland as approved and adopted by the Synod held in A.D. 1662, only reserving to themselves the right of making such alterations as may appear fit from time to

time by the lawful authority of the Church. This last proviso is not unimportant, as it does not leave the Church in a stationary position, but introduces into the government of it an element of change, and, it is to be hoped, of reform, if such be found necessary; but there is also another element introduced which strongly deserves our notice. It is mentioned in page 5, sec. iv. We will quote the words of the schedule:—"The Church of Ireland, deriving its authority from Christ, who is head over all things to the Church, doth declare that a General Synod of the Church of Ireland, consisting of the Archbishops and Bishops and the representatives of the clergy and *laity*, shall have chief legislative power therein, and such administrative power as may be necessary for the Church and consistent with its episcopal constitution."

What we think particularly important in this declaration is, that it announces the introduction of a lay element into the government of the Church of Ireland. It is much to be wished that our English Church could imitate her in this respect. Our laity have too little regular official posts in the Church. Some people (we are aware) think that the Irish Church has gone too far in this direction. They consider that the lay element in her Synod is, proportionately, too large. This, of course, is a questionable point; but that the deliberative body in the Irish Church were right in admitting the laity officially into their deliberations on Church matters, there can be, or ought to be, no question; for such was the practice of the early Church in the apostolic ages, as any one who reads the Acts of the Apostles with moderate attention can hardly fail to see—*e.g.*, see Acts vi. 2-5. But, independently of this testimony, we may see that there are many advantages in lay co-operation. In the first place, there is generally a more decidedly Protestant feeling in the laity than there is in the clergy; in the highest classes this may not be altogether the case, but certainly it is so in the middle, as well as the lower classes, and these form the bulk of the nation. Then, again, the laity are considered (and rightly so) as, generally speaking, better men of business than the clergy; as, indeed, might antecedently be expected, for they are more trained in habits of business. Then, again, the mere fact of their having some share in the government of the Church is likely to attach them to her, and to render them less liable to go into Dissent than they would otherwise be. Indeed, the love of holding an important and responsible position in the Church to which they belong, has, in many cases, led to Dissent. This feeling, when displayed in such a manner, is perhaps an unworthy one. Still it exists in human nature, and it is well that it should be directed into a safe and useful channel. And certainly it has been said, whether truly or not

we cannot tell, that, since the disestablishment, Plymouth Brethrenism has been less on the increase in Ireland. If so, this is a confirmation of our theory.

On the whole, when we look at the state of our sister Church, we see some things for which we pity her, and others in which we might well envy her position. Certainly a regular systematic Church government is a great want in our Church, though whether disestablishment be not too heavy a price to pay for such an advantage may fairly be questioned. But the fact that such an institution has been set on foot in Ireland would seem to be a step in the right direction, if we could be sure that it would work without much let or hindrance, especially as the framers of it have not bound themselves to reject any improvements in their system which may seem reasonable. The hindrances which arise from the novelty of the thing, time is likely to cover.

There is, however, another hindrance, which appears at first sight to be less surmountable—the fact that the Irish Church (like the English, though perhaps less so than she) is composed of heterogeneous elements, which may prevent the members of it from working in harmony.

It was predicted, before the disestablishment, that this would operate as a hindrance. How far it has done so we cannot exactly say, but it seems that even this difficulty is likely to be much lessened as time goes on. The mass of the Irish nominal Protestants are in favour of what is really Protestant in doctrine and practice. Consequently, the most important clerical appointments have, as far as we know, been given to men whose opinions tended in that direction. Possibly, therefore, eventually the unanimity of sentiment in the Church of Ireland may become more universal. There is, moreover, one thing which we and all Evangelical Christians must rejoice in, and that is that the power to put down any practices which savour of Romanism is now as strong as the will. That which *we* can only effect with great labour and expense through the instrumentality of the Church Association, or Public Worship Act, can in Ireland be effected more expeditiously and more satisfactorily by means of the Synod. It will be seen, also, by Canons 34, 36, and some others, that certain ornaments and usages are now forbidden in the Church of Ireland which are allowed in our Church, but which, savouring as they do of Popery, are much better excluded.

Then, again, the system of patronage which now exists in the Irish Church is better than ours. Preferments are more likely to be impartially bestowed when patronage is in the hands, not of individuals who are naturally anxious to advance their own friends or relations, but of the members of a Synod, with whom,

of course, individual interests cannot operate so strongly, because those interests, being different, neutralise one another.

How appointments to cures of souls are made will be seen by canon 8, page 39, which we will quote:—

When a vacancy in a Cure of Souls shall occur, the Committee of Patronage of the Diocese, with the Parochial Nominators of the Cure so vacant, shall form a Board of Nomination, presided over, *ex-officio*, by the Bishop, if present, who shall have an independent vote, and also a casting vote. Provided that no person shall act, or be capable of acting, as Diocesan Nominator with respect to any parish of which he shall be at the time a Parochial Nominator. But the Bishop shall summon in his place, to act as Diocesan Nominator, for filling such vacancy, the person whose name stands first on the Supplemental List.

Such, then, are some of the advantages which lead us to be hopeful as regards the future of the Irish Church. There are, probably, to counterbalance them, disadvantages, some of them arising out of the new system there. If we were on the spot, we should perhaps have the opportunity of observing. Some disadvantages there are, also, incident to disestablishment and disendowment, and for which, of course, the Irish Synod is not responsible. Some of these we could mention, but had rather take the hopeful side of the subject, the more especially as the last-mentioned evils are irremediable. In every case, however, all true Christians in the Irish Church ought to have this topic of consolation, in that God, who works good out of evil, will certainly not desert His own people, and that the depression and adversity of their beloved Church may be the means of purifying her. Her position, in a worldly point of view, is certainly lowered by the disestablishment, and her funds by the disendowment, but her spiritual condition may eventually be raised and purified by these reverses.

We cannot conclude without bearing testimony to the able and skilful manner in which Mr. Brooke has accomplished his difficult task, by which he has rendered valuable service both to his own Church and her friends and sympathisers in England.

E. W. WHATELY.

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#### ART. IX.—THE CHILDLIKE SPIRIT.

*Thoughts suggested by St. Mark x. 13, 16.*

WE can hardly have failed to notice the touching patience which our Lord manifested in His treatment of the disciples. Stupid men these disciples were not—on the contrary, all



of them were gifted with considerable intellectual power, and one of them was certainly a man of genius ; but yet, what with ingrained prejudices that could only be gradually removed, and what with the natural slowness of the human soul to rise to any height of spiritual thought, they were perpetually misunderstanding Christ's meaning, and needing perpetual correction. Indeed, they blundered where it seems to us almost inconceivable that misapprehension could have existed at all ; and yet in the sweetest and tenderest way in the world, though sometimes, it is true, with a sort of sadness in His manner, the Divine Teacher took up the weary task of reiterated explanation when these misapprehensions occurred, and set quietly to work to put all right and straight again.

Once or twice, however, He spoke in a sterner tone ; not that His patience was exhausted, for that was inexhaustible, but because, as it seems, something more than spiritual dulness lay at the root of the mistake. There was a *wrongness* in His followers' hearts ; and He was obliged to censure it.

An instance may be found in the passage referred to at the head of the present paper. Some mothers, it appears, were pressing forward into the presence of the Saviour, anxious that He should bestow His blessing on their little ones. It was a good human feeling that prompted the attempt, though, of course, the women did not understand the true nature of the incarnate Son of God, though all that they knew was that, in some dim way, He represented to them the love and tenderness of the Father in Heaven ; and it ought to have met with more consideration from men who—some of them, at least—had wives and children of their own. But they were repulsed. The disciples stood between the Christ and them, and ordered them off. Women had no business, they said, to interrupt the grave business of the Prophet of Galilee with their weak and foolish fancies about their children. How could they, in reason, expect Him to have leisure to attend to such matters ? This we suppose they said, and probably more than this ; for, as the Evangelist tells us, they “rebuked” them. But how did Christ take their attempts to protect Him, as they thought, from annoyance ? When Jesus saw it, He was “*much displeased*.” In fact, He was indignant at the behaviour of the disciples, and addressed them with a sharpness and severity which were quite unusual to Him, and for which, we cannot doubt, they, on their part, were quite unprepared.

Now, why did He do so ?

For this reason, amongst others—because their behaviour indicated a total misapprehension of the nature of His mission upon earth, and manifested a spirit altogether at variance with His own. The disciples imagined that Christ could properly

interest Himself only in great matters, and that the little, feeble, insignificant phenomena of human existence were beneath His regard. He was too grand, they thought, to attend to such things. But what a mistake this was! What a complete misinterpretation of the object Christ had in view—of the purpose for which He came! He came to be the especial friend and patron of the weak and small and helpless; and all feebleness constituted in itself a claim to His attention and His care. The cruel spirit of heathenism would stamp the sick and the cripple out of life, as being obstructions to the well-being of the community; it would relentlessly “improve from off the face of the earth” those who, through weakness of any kind, were unable to take their part in the struggle for existence—that is, it despised the weak; but Christianity—only Christianity—cares for the crushed and maimed and withered, in body and soul; it seeks that which is lost; it rears its refuges for the houseless and aged; its shelter for the foundling; its hospitals for the sick; its asylums for the idiot; its penitentiaries for the fallen; its innumerable associations for the protection of all who are unable to protect themselves—down even to a home for those poor decayed friends of man, the race of lost and wandering dogs. Christ has a special interest in the weak; and these good but blundering disciples would have limited His mission to the encouragement and assistance and patronage of the strong.

But notice how the Saviour, so to speak, turns the tables against His disciples. They thought that the children must become like them before Christ would interest Himself about them. He tells them that they must become like children before they can enter into the Kingdom of God.

This language suggests the obvious inquiry, “*In what respects are true Christians childlike?*”

Let us endeavour to answer the question.

First, in children there is an absence of self-assertion—I suppose I ought to say “a comparative absence,” for the Self is there, only not developed into formidable proportions—and this absence of self-assertion is the primary characteristic of all true discipleship. When our first parents fell, in that beautiful garden, where nothing was denied them but absolute ownership, the bait that snared them was the promise of independence—“Ye shall be as gods.” *That* clenched the matter. The fruit was alluring enough, the scent delicious—it *was* good for food; but to be one’s own master, and to know no law but one’s own will! Ah, there lay the force of the temptation! And our blessed Master, Who came to undo, to destroy the work of the devil, aims in His Gospel as the first step to life—at the restoring of the true relation between God and man by the sacrifice of our independence. And, as a matter of fact, every true Christian

begins his career by that surrender of will to the will of One Who has a right to claim the submission, which we are accustomed to call "faith;" by accepting as the ground of confidence before God something which is altogether outside of himself; by reposing upon the strength of another. And the continuous aim of every true Christian life is to carry out in the whole of our being, in the very minutiae of our daily, hourly existence, the idea of self-consecration which follows upon the fact of self-surrender.

We may take for a second point of resemblance a feeling of self-distrust, and a consequent inclination to have recourse for help to a superior power. The child in alarm or in danger runs to its parent; the disciple in similar circumstances clings to Christ. And this *because his eyes have been opened to see the facts of the case*. A man ignorant of his real position may be bold and reckless. Show him where he is and what he is, and his feeling alters at once. And a childlike disposition is soon engendered within us when we are made acquainted with the thousand baneful influences which surround us, and with our own utter inability, through inexperience and other want of power, to protect ourselves from them in our passage from time into eternity.

Again—in simplicity, in being without those folds of character which keep something disagreeable concealed, there is a likeness between the child and the Christian disciple. A child's feelings, motives, designs, lie on the surface. His heart is transparent. Were it not so, he would be a revolting, because an unnatural, creature. He is angry or he is pleased, as the case may be; or perhaps he is greedy and selfish—and he shows it. All his petty whims and caprices and tempers, you can see through them at once; you know what he means, and what he wishes, and what he aims at. He is sincere and simple. And just so with the Christian. He is, in proportion to the strength of his Christianity, genuine and true. He affects nothing he does not mean; he wears no disguises; he is straightforward and honest; and he has no *arrière pensée*—no thought in the background, which, if you were aware of it, would give a different colour to manner or to language. I once heard it said of a lady, "She never crosses the street to shake hands with you without having a purpose to serve." The remark was intended as praise of her cleverness, and we may suppose her to have been clever; but, to my mind, it spoke very little in favour of her Christianity.

And then, in the last place, the child and the Christian resemble each other in the *freshness of enjoyment* with which they accept the bounties of God. The Lord Jesus, we venture to think, was eminently a man of simple and unvitiated tastes. The common occupations, the ordinary enjoyments of life, had

each of them a charm for Him. He took pleasure in the simple delights of the poor, in the gaiety of the rustic wedding, in the sports of children, in the observation of the flowers of the field, and of the ever-shifting beauties of the earth and the sky. And was He not in all this pre-eminently childlike? The same may be said of His disciples. Purity of heart makes simple enjoyments palatable. The glow of internal peace, the consciousness of the presence and the favour of God, casts a radiance like that of the sun upon an ordinary landscape, brightening even homely objects with a touch of the unseen glory. And may we not say that the heart of the Christian becomes more childlike in the freshness of his pleasure as well as in other respects, as his experience grows? I think so. "The oldest angels," it has been said, "are the youngest." And if a man becomes as a little child when he enters the spiritual kingdom on earth, we may depend upon it he is never more like a child in heart, than just as he is about to enter the presence of his God and Father in Heaven.

GORDON CALTHROP.

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PRAYER.

"Men ought always to pray, and not to faint." Luke xviii. 1.

Tune: "Pax tecum," No. 32 *Hymnal Companion*.

1.

Pray, always pray: the Holy Spirit pleads  
With thee and for thee: tell Him all thy needs.

2.

Pray, always pray: beneath sin's heaviest load  
Prayer sees the blood from Jesus' side that flow'd.

3.

Pray, always pray: though weary, faint, and lone,  
Prayer nestles by the Father's sheltering Throne.

4.

Pray, always pray: amid the world's turmoil  
Prayer keeps the heart at rest, and nerves for toil.

5.

Pray, always pray: if joys thy pathway throng,  
Prayer strikes the harp and sings the angels' song.

6.

Pray, always pray: if loved ones pass the veil,  
Prayer drinks with them of springs that cannot fail.

7.

All earthly things with earth shall fade away:  
Prayer grasps eternity: pray, always pray.

August, 1879.

E. H. BICKERSTETH.

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## Reviews.

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*Catharine and Craufurd Tait, Wife and Son of Archibald Campbell, Archbishop of Canterbury. A Memoir, edited, at the request of the Archbishop. By the Rev. WM. BENHAM, B.D., Vicar of Margate, and one of the Six Preachers of Canterbury Cathedral. Macmillan: 1879. Pp. 640.*

**D**ISTINGUISHED men and women are often more fully known by succeeding generations than by the mass of their own contemporaries. It is true of most of us, whatever our worldly station, that

Each in his hidden cell of joy or woe,  
Our hermit spirits dwell and range apart;

and that we are sometimes little better acquainted even with those whose intimacy we are supposed to enjoy, than with the contents of a clasped volume. A chosen few possess the key which can unlock some of our secrets, but generally speaking

An impalpable resistance  
Holds like natures at a distance ;

and there is One only of whom it can be said,—“He understandeth our thought afar off.” If this be true with respect to the members of our own circle, how much more does it apply to those whom we only see on the stage of public life? Not till they are gone does it often happen that the veil is uplifted from their private relations, and we are at length, though even then imperfectly, introduced to their real selves. But in some rare instances a great sorrow, unconsciously craving for a larger sympathy, breaks through the reserve which especially belongs to the Anglo-Saxon character, and appeals even to those who pass by, to estimate the worth of treasures awhile enjoyed, and now withdrawn.

One of these instances has made us, as a nation, acquainted with our Queen, who, in showing her illustrious husband to her people, has, at the same time, shown them herself, as we of this generation might never otherwise have seen her. And another such instance is now before us. The life-story of Catharine and Craufurd Tait makes the members of the English Church acquainted with their Primate while he is yet spared to them, as the model of an affectionate husband and father, and above all as a simple, prayerful, humble-minded Christian. But the questions of the day are not dwelt on in these Memoirs, and having been told so much, we are occasionally conscious that some things are left unsaid we might have been glad to hear. However, we are not embarking on criticism: rather we desire to weave into one whole the threefold narrative of the family history, in which Catharine and Craufurd Tait were central figures.

The following note from the Archbishop to Mr. Benham, the Editor, was written in January, 1879:—

MY DEAR BENHAM,—You wish me to send you a letter with some recollections of my wife and son for the Memoirs which you have kindly undertaken to edit. It soothes my sorrow to comply with your request.

Accordingly, the first two hundred pages of this most interesting volume are occupied by a retrospect from the Archbishop's pen, parts of which reflect a picture so fair, that we can well understand his speaking of his "bright life," though it has been once and again overshadowed with quickly-gathering clouds which have descended with the overpowering force of a thunderstorm. How is it that writers of fiction always conclude with a marriage? The marriage should rather take place in the opening chapter, and noble aims pursued and worthy deeds achieved, sorrows softened and joys enhanced by the strength of a dual existence, should form the interest of the tale.

The Archbishop gives a delightful description of Mrs. Tait's youthful home:—

It is impossible (he argues) to judge rightly of the character of my dear wife, without considering the influences which surrounded her early days. The beautiful parsonage of Elmdon, in the midst of the green fields and stately elms, from which it took its name, was the place of her birth, and in its deep retirement she lived till her marriage. The garden, the few scattered cottages which composed the parish, the hall and its inmates, the relations and the leading Evangelical clergy who came to visit the truly venerable Archdeacon Spooner, her father—these formed the world in which she grew up from childhood. She had never seen the sea till a year or two before her marriage. She had only visited her near relations and their friends, in Worcestershire and Warwickshire. The connection with the world without was kept up only by the consins at the Hall, and the brothers returning from College, sometimes bringing their friends with them, and by the accounts of those more distant visits which the father and mother and elder daughters occasionally made. (pp. 1, 2.)

When I first met my dear wife (continues the Archbishop), as she was on a visit to my sister, then living in Worcestershire, she—a girl of under seventeen—was full of zeal for the Irish clergy, oppressed and half-starved, as she supposed, by their Popish parishioners:—

Major Henry O'Brien, who finally joined the Plymouth Brethren, had much to do with the first distinct awakenings of spiritual life in Catharine's mind. It was not till some years later that the marriage of her immediate elder sister to Edward Fortescue, then a youth brimful of old Nonjuring notions, handed down to him by his father, and fauned into zeal by the teaching of Newman, at Oxford, brought a totally strange element into the family. Catharine, with all the enthusiasm of girlhood, became greatly affected by the ascetic and truly devout character of this new brother-in-law. She was often heard to say that there was a time when no life would have appeared to her more happy than that of becoming village schoolmistress in the district which this enthusiastic young priest had carved for himself out of a neglected parish in the neighbourhood of his father's home, near Stratford-upon-Avon. This castle in the air took the place of that earlier dream which she used to say made her ardently wish that she might have joined the Achill or some other mission to the benighted Papists in the West of Ireland. As life wore on she saw, and deeply deplored, the many points of divergence between her convictions and those of her brother-in-law, long before

his changed views led to his final secession to the Church of Rome; but all through her life her marked love for the ceremonial of the English Church, with which he had first indoctrinated her, continued as the outward form in which her deep piety embodied itself. For a time then, in her enthusiastic girlhood, she began to think that there was nothing like the teaching of what was called the Oxford School, and could scarcely bear that it should be opposed and spoken against. She has often told me how, when she heard that one of the four protesting tutors, who hoped to bring to a sudden close the series of the Oxford Tracts, was a candidate for the head-mastership of Rugby, she earnestly hoped that he would not be successful, and gave all her wishes in favour of Charles Wordsworth, now Bishop of St. Andrews. It was a strange turn of fate which made her open her heart next year to the very candidate whose success she had deprecated, and become the happy partner of his life at Rugby, Carlisle, Fulham, and Lambeth, sharing in all his deepest and truest interests, helping forward for thirty-five years every good work which he was called to promote, united to him in the truest fellowship of soul, while still tempering, by the associations of her early Oxford bias, whatever otherwise might have been harsh in his judgments of the good men from whom in principle he differed. (pp. 4—9.)

The following quotation is from the pen of one of her Irish cousins:—

She was—at seventeen—an extremely lovely girl, the sunshine and joy of the whole household, full of mirth, elasticity and buoyancy of spirits. Even then, young as I was, I could not help watching with wondering admiration the earnestness, thoughtfulness, and conscientiousness, which, under all the brightness, marked her daily life. We were confirmed about the same time, though in different places. I received very many letters from her on that subject, and I know that although she had always been thoughtful and earnest, her life was from that period wholly given up to God's service; and she commenced those habits of constant prayerfulness, which flowed on with ever-increasing devotion to the end. (p. 201.)

To resume the Archbishop's narrative:—

Quiet years rolled on (he tells us). The bachelor cousin, the second Lord Calthorpe, paid his annual visits to the Parsonage, bringing with him the last news from London, and Uncle Dick Spooner (afterwards Member for the county of Warwick), full of extreme Tory politics and puzzling questions of finance; and Dr. Markham and old Dr. Bridges, and Bishop Ryder, of Lichfield, and on one marked occasion Dr. Chalmers—these, with the occasional interruption of a visit from Henry Wilberforce, or some other friend of the younger members of the family, kept the quiet life from stagnating. I must not forget too the ever-welcome periodical visits of Aunt Lucia O'Brien, a hearty Evangelical in religion—the most sympathising and large-hearted of Irish maiden ladies. . . . Into this quiet life I was introduced through my friends the Sandfords of Dunchurch, in the winter of 1842, and not many weeks passed before Catharine had consented to share with me my arduous life at Rugby. (pp. 9—14.)

Of this period, Bishop Sandford, of Gibraltar, thus pleasantly writes:—

Catharine Spooner was staying with us shortly after Dr. Tait had entered upon his duties as head-master of Rugby school, and when the work of the day was over, very often would the head-master be seen galloping over to Dunchurch to spend the evening under my father's roof. We used at times,

after dinner, to read aloud Walter Scott's novels, or some other interesting book, and we all felt pleasure when Catharine Spooner took the book. On one occasion we were reading "Agathos," and she made a false quantity in pronouncing the Greek word "Agape," and was set right by the head-master. Her engagement was glad news to the home circle at the Vicarage, and especially to my father and mother, who entertained for the head-master and his betrothed an affection and reverence which in after years matured, deepened and strengthened. My father, on hearing of the engagement, wrote to the head-master that he was glad to find he had taught Catharine the right way to pronounce "Agape." (pp. 215, 226.)

We must not dwell on the delightful life at Rugby, of which we have an account from the Archbishop himself, supplemented by letters, edited by Mr. Benham, from friends and relations. One of these observes to the bereaved husband—

I remember being very much struck when I was a very little girl, I think it must have been at Rugby, that just before you and she started off to go somewhere, she asked you to kneel down to pray for a blessing on your journey. Such a thing as praying in the middle of the day had never suggested itself to my mind before.

The dangers incident to her new position all melted away before the continual habit of prayer, which she brought with her.

The real key to her character (says the Archbishop, in reference to a later period) is to be found in the depth of her Christian life. She was, above all things, given to prayer. From her earliest years she prayed habitually and constantly for guidance; secretly and in public she was ever seeking strength through prayer; hence the charm to her of the daily services of the Church, which never became to her a formality, because they were but the outward and appropriate expression of thoughts which were planted in her soul by the Spirit of God. I think one chief attraction to her of the High Church movement was the great variety of books helpful to devotion, which the writers of this school have put forth. . . . She especially prized the suggestions for a wide extension of intercessory prayer which she found in some of these manuals. Yet the use of them was no substitute for personal unpremeditated prayer, poured forth as the expression of her own and her family's and friends' peculiar wants. Moreover, she had a deep spiritual acquaintance with Holy Scripture, which she had been taught from her childhood could make her wise unto salvation. She could repeat much of it, was seldom at a loss to find any passage, and especially she knew the Psalms of David with a remarkable familiarity, with the distinctive characteristics of each. Her knowledge of Scripture helped her prayers, and her prayers her knowledge of Scripture. (pp. 84—86.)

Did space allow we might quote other interesting passages, descriptive of her Rugby life, into which she threw herself with full enjoyment, entering into all her husband's pursuits with the keenest zest, saving him all possible labour in financial matters; blessed with wonderfully good health, the mistress of a beautiful house, the dispenser of ample means, invited everywhere by her neighbours in the town and the adjoining country; worshipped by the boys, a chivalrous romantic admiration of her youth and beauty being joined to their grateful sense of her kindli-



ness and manifold acts of sympathy and affection—known by all the poor, and teaching daily in a little school of girls which she had herself established. “She carried her Christian principle into all she had to do, and did it heartily and regularly as unto the Lord.” But she was never more happy than when helping her husband to get up his history lessons, or galloping by his side in the green lanes and over the meadows.

We must indulge in another extract.

Perhaps (says the Archbishop) the brightness of the Rugby life was not unnaturally most fondly remembered, because it was there she first learned the great joy of being a mother among happy children. Her first two girls, long since in heaven (the eldest, born in the third year of her marriage), were an inexpressible delight granted before my illness. Soon after I began to recover, God gave us that dear son who was our solace in many trials, and our joy and pride till he had nearly completed his nine-and-twentieth year. Nothing could exceed in tenderness the affectionate friendship which bound the mother and the son. . . . As he grew to boyhood his attachment to her became almost romantic, like that of a lover; he consulted her in all his early troubles; he read with her in his holidays, as for example Grote’s “Greece” and “Clarendon.” . . . And when he took Holy Orders he found a great help for his ministry in the efforts she had made to imbue him from the first with a knowledge of Holy Scripture. . . . He was indeed, all through his life, her true and tender friend. No wonder that his death and the circumstances which had preceded it were too much for her, and that she joined him in the Paradise of God at the end of six months. But if this loss, and, twenty-two years before, that of her five sweet little daughters, was a trial such as flesh and blood could not bear without the spiritual grace of God the Comforter, the very intenseness of the sorrow shows how great must have been the happiness which the loss brought to a close (pp. 33—38.)

It was rheumatic fever by which the head-master’s life was put in peril before the birth of the beloved son whom he has now survived. This illness led to his removal from Rugby to Carlisle, in the year 1849. There the chief happiness of Mrs. Tait’s domestic life was in the children, who one after another were born to give brightness to “the dingy old Deanery.”

She led them from their very baptism to lead the Christian life *with her*. She prayed constantly with them as well as for them; as soon as reason dawned she associated them with herself in such acts of love to God and others as were fitting to their tender years.

Her own most touching narrative gives a beautiful picture of the nurture and admonition of the Lord in which they were trained—of their happy Sundays and their daily Scripture lessons. Among their favourite nursery books were the “Pilgrim’s Progress,” the “Infant Pilgrim’s Progress,” “Henry and his Bearer,” and “Emma and her Nurse.” The last they had in reading was “Naomi,” by Mrs. Webb. Thus writes the stricken Mother:—

My prayer for each of them ever was—O Lord, bless this dear child to-day, keep her to Thy heavenly kingdom. Prepare her for all Thou hast prepared for her; order all the circumstances of her life and death as Thou shalt see best for her; only keep her Thine for ever, and suffer her not for anything the

world can give to fall away from Thee, and give us grace and strength to bring her up for Thee.

This accustomed prayer was offered, as usual, for the little one first smitten with the disease which, assuming none of the common characteristics of scarlet fever, was for awhile supposed to be brain fever. The Mother proceeds—

I little thought that in a few hours after I was to kneel to give her up to that dear Saviour for ever; but so it was.

This child was the link between the schoolroom and nursery party, and at this time the last-born baby was only three weeks old. The little one who went next was an infant of about eighteen months. Frances, aged four, soon followed. Then the beloved eldest was smitten.

Ten years of untold happiness had been ours since first she came. She had opened to be all that our fondest wishes could desire, and what a field of promise lay still before us. It is impossible to tell the help she had been with her sisters and dear Craufurd,—how they were guided by her, and how gentle and sweet her influence was with them. Most happy and holy had all her birth-days been (p. 313).

As she was passing away, not many days after her last birthday, this sweet daughter seemed to have a vision of heavenly brightness to which she repeatedly pointed. Her almost twin-sister May was the latest laid low. She had always been a heavenly-minded child. During a walk her father had once said to her, "I should like to have a house for you out here in the country." Sweet May, looking earnestly at him, said, "Oh, but we must have the house where God has put us." Her illness was more protracted than her sister's. In the course of it she asked for the hymn called "Victory in Death," beginning—

Away! thou dying saint, away!  
Fly to the regions of the blest;  
Thy God no more requires thy stay,  
He calls thee to eternal rest.

It was one unknown to her mother, which she had found and chosen for herself. It was repeated to her when the end was near.

At length the cup of sorrow had been drained. "Early in April, the day of the funeral of the last who died," writes the Archbishop, "we fled with our new-born baby, and were followed by our dear little son, to take refuge among the hills at Moffatt."

We never slept at the Deanery again. The shock had been overpowering. But as in the quiet country home which had been lent us (on Ullswater) we cherished our dear little son and baby girl, and read together and prayed together, and bathed our spirits in the beauties that surrounded us, by God's mercy there came over us a holy calm. God was preparing both my wife and me for a great change of life, a far more extended field of work than we had before known, and fresh great blessings which for twenty years she enjoyed with the keenest sense of gratitude, tempered by the solemn thoughts which this great trial had fired deep within her heart. . . . By Christmas (1856) we were in the full swing of work in the greatest diocese in the world. My dear wife devoted herself resolutely at once to do her part (pp. 54—57).

The visitation of the cholera ten years later (continues the Archbishop), led to the crowning labour of her life. Mrs. Gladstone, Miss Marsh, and herself—"the three Catharines," as some newspaper called them—had each of them her spirit stirred to undertake the charge of some of those many orphans whom the cholera left destitute; and institutions, still vigorously at work, were the result. Mrs. Gladstone, I believe, undertook to provide for the boys. My wife hired a house at Fulham for the girls; by the aid of Mr. and Mrs. Lancaster, and the sisters of their "Home" soon established St. Peter's Orphanage, which has continued growing ever since. It cannot be doubted that the ever-present thought of her own children whom she had lost was an incentive to her care for these destitute little girls. (pp. 75-76.)

The Orphanage remained at Fulham for five years, and was then transferred to the Isle of Thanet, a Convalescent Home being added to it.

Two other daughters were born in London, as companions to the infant survivor of the desolating fever at Carlisle. And the beloved son, on whom so many hopes were fixed, had by this time passed safely through the trials of Eton, ever bearing on his heart the impression of that solemn season which took away all his sister playmates to be with Christ in heaven. He was his mother's stay and comfort, especially on the occasion of his father's alarming illness in 1869. He was then in the full swing of his studies at Oxford, and his letters of this period are full of the keenest enjoyment of life, while through them all runs a stream of genuine, unaffected, but deep piety. Some *naïve* remarks of his are recorded among other reminiscences.

One day Craufurd, when a boy, said to his mother, "Mother, I don't think you and father think always alike." Both parents laughed. "Have you found that out, my boy?" said she. And speaking of himself and his contemporaries he used playfully to say that they would form a School "more Low Church than my mother, more High Church than my father."

The Archbishop draws a delightful picture of what a young curate's life may be, suggested by what his son's life at Saltwood, as a deacon, really was. Before taking orders Mr. Craufurd Tait travelled in Egypt and Palestine, with a view of forwarding his education as a clergyman, and after being ordained priest he acted for two years as his father's chaplain. Then he paid a visit to America, where he produced a most favourable impression, especially by the modest self-possession with which he delivered a message from the English Primate to the American House of Bishops. It was remarked, on his return, that he looked pale and thin; but an unexpected opening occurred for the gratification of his desire for a post in London, and there was then no apparent reason why he should not be inducted as incumbent of St. John's, Notting Hill. But insidious illness had already seized on him, and after a few months of gradual decline, his earthly course was run. His father thus describes it:—

He received the intelligence (that his medical attendant judged he could not survive above an hour) with the utmost calmness, and set himself to use the hour, feeling that as before his business had been to live, so now it

was to die. The presence of those he loved greatly cheered and comforted him. He was the calmest of us all, and almost seemed to be helping us to bear up. He addressed kind messages to each, turned on his side like a tired child, and fell asleep in Jesus (p. 172).

Six months later the bereaved parents were settled for awhile at Addington, the sadness of their return cheered by the prospect of their second daughter's marriage in November. A Sunday came on which the wife heard her husband preach for the last time—the text “Sorrowing, yet alway rejoicing.” The wedding took place at Lambeth on the following Tuesday, November 12th, and next morning the four remaining members of the family were off by the Scotch express direct for Edinburgh, for the mother felt unequal on this occasion to the annual visit she had hitherto made to the grave at Carlisle, where her five little ones had been laid to rest. We have been unable to enter on any details of the full tide of life she had shared since then. But now it was drawing to an unexpected close. Her bodily strength is spoken of as having been much greater than falls to the lot of most women, and she was spared the trial of a protracted last illness. Having retraced some of the steps of her wedding journey, she reached her brother-in-law's house unwell; a week after leaving London. On Sunday she was worse. By midday her case was hopeless. But still for several hours she was entirely herself, and even supplied the missing words in the hymn, “Jesus, lover of my soul,” when her husband faltered in saying it to her, after having administered the Holy Communion to herself, her daughters, and the physician. About ten o'clock her breathing ceased with a gentle sigh, and she was gone.

We are told that of the many letters of affectionate sympathy and respect addressed to the Archbishop one was the last the Princess Alice ever wrote. From the others, of which extracts are afforded us, we select two specimens:—

My first remembrances of her (writes a lady very dear to English hearts, Miss Marah) are of a dream of loveliness—so fair, so soft, so gentle, with so musical a voice. We were both much in the schoolroom at that time, and until very shortly before we ceased to live within seven miles of each other, I remember the enthusiasm of her admiration for anything like high intellect or genius among the public characters of the day, both in their speeches and writings. . . . After my dearest father's removal to Leamington, in the summer of 1839, I never saw Catharine again, so far as I can recollect, until I met her as the wife of the Dean of Carlisle. At the time of her last great sorrow she wrote to say that she should like to see me before I left London. I had left, but gladly went back to secure the privilege of being allowed to sympathise with my early friend in her sorrow, and to see how sweetly she was bearing it by the grace of God.

The following letter, dated December 3rd, 1878, is from the present Dean of Carlisle:—

My dear and most reverend Archbishop,—I cannot help telling you how much and how deeply I feel for you and sympathise with you; a companion in your sorrow, your brother in adversity. We offered prayers for you this morning, which went up to heaven from this old scene of your joy and sorrow gone by for ever.

Your Heavenly Father must love you much or He would not chasten you so sorely, opening the wounds again and again. . . . May our blessed Lord support and cheer and comfort you. May you come up out of this fiery furnace burnished as fine gold. May the Son of Man be with you. Cheer up, my venerable friend; a few more weary steps, and we shall be with our happy loved ones.

Is there a reader of these lines whose heart does not respond to the petitions they so fervently breathe on behalf of our Chief Pastor, and who does not pray that he may so steer his own course to the desired haven, and so steer the vessel of the Church through the stormy seas of this troubled time, that we may thankfully recognise the answer, both as to himself and as to her?

We offer no apology for the length and abundance of our extracts. We have made them for the benefit of those who have not immediate access to these exquisitely touching Memoirs.

The clear large type, excellent paper, and simple good taste of the handsome volume which contains them, are worthy of the eminent publishers.

*Wanderings in the Western Land.* By A. PENDARVES VIVIAN, M.P., F.G.S. Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington.

IN this attractive, well-illustrated volume, we have described, "in a plain, unvarnished manner," the leading incidents of a few months' wanderings in North America, chiefly spent in hunting in the Rocky Mountains. The author endeavours to disarm adverse criticism by pleading very broken leisure for writing; but the book—taking it for what it aims to supply—is very well written, the descriptions of hunting and travelling incidents being all the better for lack of "varnish." We do not remember, for example, a better description of the process of "making camp" than that here given. Mr. Vivian seems to have been an apt pupil. It was indeed a fortunate thing for him that he was regularly instructed in the art of kindling a fire early in his camping-out life; otherwise, when afterwards "lost" in the Rocky Mountains, it would have gone hard with him. In making camp, after the tents are pitched and secured, the "floor" is covered, when procurable, with the small branches of the spruce, laid a couple of inches thick with the prickly sides downwards. "Nothing can exceed the comfort and luxurious lying of a fresh-made bed of this description. It is soft and springy, and it has about it a delicious, comforting aroma, satisfying and soothing in the extreme." Camping-out appears to give an admirable appetite; no matter how many meals are consumed—and we read once of six meat meals in a day—indigestion is unknown. Excellent bread, baked in a frying-pan on red-hot wood ashes, bacon and canned viands, game, commonly the so-called "partridges," venison of two or three kinds, sometimes trout, or delicious "blue-berries," eaten in a wonderfully pure and invigorating atmosphere by men constantly in exercise, and drinking no alcohol, such is the secret of rude health in the back-woods. In the extreme cold, we read, when the wind seemed to treat two flannel shirts and two waistcoats as if the whole was network, our traveller "did entirely without stimulants." With this, probably, the dryness of the atmosphere had something to do.

On his first night in camp our traveller did not sleep as well as he would have done in his own bed after a stiff day's walking:—

All was so strange and new. The novelty, not to say discomfort, at first, of sleeping in an unaccustomed gait; the chilliness which comes over one towards morning when camping-out in hot weather; the sense of loneliness and the absence of all sounds of life except the shrill uncanny cry of the owl—all tend at first to light sleeping and constant waking. Then the intense stillness of a Canadian forest must be felt to be understood. The howling of the many-tongued coyoté would be an actual relief to the death-like stillness of the night.

Later on, in wild and more elevated regions, with driving snow and bitter nor'easters, sleep all night through was almost impossible in tents. A log cabin, when one could be found—a rare event—gave most welcome shelter. We read, page 212, of making the best arrangement possible under unexpected circumstances:—

With my old country prejudices against sleeping on the ground, I preferred the waggon covered over with the sheet, whilst Hank—a very old campaigner—spread his blankets on the frozen ground, close to the immense pitch-pine fire; and I feel pretty sure he had the best of it; for the wind certainly did come up through the chinks and cracks of that mean old waggon, and mighty cold I was before the morning broke.

The animals which supply material for hunting adventures are the bison (or buffalo), the moose (largest of the deer tribe), the wapiti, the caribou, the black-tailed deer, the bear (black and grizzly), the puma, or "mountain lion," the lynx, the wolverine, or "skunk bear," a ferocious little animal, with formidable claws, the mountain-sheep, and the antelope. The American moose (*Alces americanus*, or *Malchis*), Mr. Vivian thinks, is identical with the elk of Northern Europe. The male is of great size, weighing frequently when "gralloched" from 600 lbs. to 700 lbs. Notwithstanding their great size, their movements are surprisingly rapid, and the pace at which they can get through the thickest growth is most astonishing. Their senses of sight, smell, and hearing are all very acute; it is a matter of the greatest difficulty to get near them. This grand deer is becoming rapidly extinct. The Legislature of Nova Scotia have, indeed, passed preserving measures, but probably they have moved too late. Large caribou, also, are getting scarce in Canada. The caribou (*Tarandus rangifer*) is the reindeer of America, as the wapiti (*Cervus canadensis*) is the red-deer. In point of size the caribou comes about third of the American deer kind; its flesh, even smoked, is very superior to salt pork and bacon.

The big grey "timber" or "buffalo" wolf (*Canis lupus occidentalis*) stands as high as a deer-hound, but is heavier in build. This wolf is a very cowardly but powerful animal; no dog, however large or fierce, has any chance in a fight with him, his jaws being immensely strong, and armed with fearful fangs. He is found in close attendance wherever buffalo-hunting is going on, ready to attack the wounded, and feed on forsaken carcasses. The coyoté or "prairie wolf" (*Canis latrans*) is not above two feet in height, and resembles the Eastern jackal. The fur of the coyoté is not so valuable as that of his cousin, the grey wolf.

The big horn (*Ovis montana*), corresponding to the *Ovis ammon* of India, and the *mouflon* of Sardinia, inhabit the rocks and ledges of elevated regions. They seem to be a sort of connecting link between deer and sheep. Their heads are furnished with horns, those of the male attaining a magnificent size. The skin is covered with a very fine deer's hair; in size they run up to a red-deer; but from their head, shape, and movements they are properly termed "mountain sheep."

The American buffalo is, strictly speaking, no buffalo at all, but a bison, one of the great distinctions being that the latter is invariably covered with a woolly hair. Of the wasteful and sinful slaughter of bison Mr. Vivian writes in strong terms.

Several passages relate to the Indians. For instance, when passing near the scene of a massacre of miners, a trapper told the following story :—

He (Herridge), with a man named Bill Wales, and another, was "packing" through the Sioux country, when two warriors of that tribe suddenly appeared galloping towards them. Herridge thought they might be the advance guard of a party, and counselled taking up a position behind some big rocks where they could defend themselves to advantage. Bill Wales, who was a sort of desperado, was, on the contrary, for fighting, and said, at any rate he meant to have some fun. Herridge and the other man having vainly endeavoured to dissuade him, ensconced themselves behind the rocks and watched the issue. Bill was an experienced hand, was well mounted and well armed with an American Henri rifle and two six-shooters. His right game was to sit still, and to await quietly the attack of the Indians, shooting them down as soon as they came within sure range. But when the critical moment arrived, his nerve apparently forsook him, and he wheeled his horse round and galloped away. The leading Sioux quickly and easily rode alongside, and shot him dead without the slightest trouble. He then scalped him and rode away with the ghastly trophy, and Wales's horse and firearms. Edd and his partner were so struck by the easy way in which the Indian overtook Bill Wales that they measured the next day the strides of the respective horses, and found that of the Sioux to be 22 ft., against 21 ft. covered by Bill Wales's, which was a remarkably fine animal.

On the Indian question, so far as regards the United States, our author gives some painfully interesting information. There is, undoubtedly, a very sore feeling on the part of the white settlers, in many districts, towards the Redskins; and although the intentions of Congress may be just and fair, there is great corruption among the officials who have to deal with the Indians. The race, he fears, is doomed. At present, there are now 320,000 Indians in the territory of the United States. In Canada, where a large number are settled, their prospects are hopeful.

From the narrative of his becoming "lost" we extract the following :—

At a very early hour G. Evans and I left camp, anxious to make our last day's hunt as long as possible. . . . About three o'clock we turned towards the place where it had been arranged that Macdonald should meet me. On coming in sight of the spot, there was the waggon with Macdonald and Edd Herridge moving slowly onwards, being then about a couple of miles away. In order to make it clear that I was on my way to join them, Griff suggested that I should fire a shot, which apparently had the desired effect, for the waggon instantly stopped. As Griff Evans was not going with me, but was to stay behind with Lee and Hank to search for the missing stock, and as my direction now was straight away from our old camp, neither he nor I thought it was of any use for him to come out of his way any further, so I sent him and my old dog "Ned" back to camp, and I then started off alone as direct as I could for the waggon.

In descending the steep hill-side after parting with Griff, the formation of the ground soon hid the waggon; but as I had got my marks I felt no uneasiness on this score. The two miles or so were quickly covered, but when I got to the spot where the waggon had been, nothing was to be seen of it or the men. I soon, however, got the track; and as the ground was undulating, I thought they must be waiting for me in one of the hollows near. At any rate, I argued, let the worst come to the worst, it is not more than fifteen miles or so to Sand Creek; I am still fresh—although I had been walking all day and had only had a "biscuit" (*Angl.*, a roll) since a very early breakfast—and I think I shall be able to "make" the distance in the three and a half hours still remaining of daylight.

On I pushed therefore, making, I thought, five miles an hour. The ground was hard and elastic, the air fine and bracing, and the track of the waggon easy enough to follow. I felt pretty comfortable as long as the light lasted, but when it began to wane—at about half-past six o'clock—my troubles commenced

in earnest. About then, too, the character of the surface of the country seemed to undergo a change, the herbage became more and more sparse, and there were large patches of light, loose sand, which under the influence of a smart breeze had partially filled up the wheel tracks, making them very difficult to follow. Then came the quickly fleeting twilight of those regions, and with what regrets I saw the dear old sun go down that evening perhaps few have experienced. The difficulty of keeping the track increased every minute, until at last I spent most of the time on my hands and knees, groping for the very shallow ruts. A quarter of an hour or so more, and this failed me, and I found myself off the track, and *lost*!

It soon got pitch dark, so dark that I could not recover a white handkerchief which I had laid down close to me as a mark, around which I might grope on hands and knees for the lost wheel ruts.

What was now to be done?

Fearful stories of freezing to death and of the accompanying agonies came across me; amongst others, of a poor young trapper who, meeting with an accident whilst hunting last year in this vicinity, was no longer able to endure his sufferings from freezing, and took the strychnine which he had in his pocket for the wolves. Then I thought that possibly, and even probably, starvation awaited me. Truly, at first I had as much as I could do to keep my head; I felt inclined to give it up and lie down; if I did this I knew my fate was sealed, and that probably I should never wake again. I realised fully that my life depended on keeping my head, and I prayed for help to do so. And it was granted to me throughout that fearful night.

It was now a little past seven o'clock; I knew the moon would rise about half-past nine, and that possibly I might be able to recover the track in the bright moonlight, if I could only stay here till then. But a cutting wind was driving down from the snow-covered mountains, and *I soon began to freeze!* I had no extra clothes, only those which I had walked in all day, and there was no possibility of building a fire, for there was no fuel, not even a sage-bush as big as a cabbage, anywhere within reach. I attempted walking about, but I soon felt that in the darkness I was getting further away from where the track lay. If I remained here, freezing stared me in the face. What then could I do? The only other course open to me was to try and make my old camp on the "Sweet-water," which I thought would be about twenty miles from here.

He began his journey:—

At last I was all but "played out," and for other reasons, too, felt that I must have rest and a fire. Fuel was now a necessity, and I therefore made for the mountains, on the side of which there would most likely be some trees or shrubs. Mercifully, I soon came across a dead pitch-pine tree, and having matches in my pocket, and having luckily learnt the art of building a fire, I soon had a blazing one. I sat down before it, and had my first real rest since early morning. It was now past midnight; all was strange and weird around me; the very trees and rocks took uncanny forms; the only noises which broke the silence of the night were the wild howlings of the prairie wolves and the sighing of the wind through the pine-trees. I could not rest long here; I began to be uneasy about the Arrapahoe Indians, who, I knew, were encamped not far below our old camp on the Sweet-water, and I did not know how near I might be getting to them.

He set out again:—

By three o'clock my strength was again failing me; I had had nothing to eat, except the one biscuit, since the early breakfast of the previous day, and I had been walking hard almost ever since. I was forced again to rest, and Indians or no Indians, I *must* have a fire. To add to my uneasiness, I felt too I might be going further and further away from all my known haunts and landmarks.

Here I sat with my rifle across my knees—not daring to let myself fall asleep—until the first streak of early dawn appeared in the east, a little before seven o'clock. How rejoiced I was to see it, an end at last to that miserable night, if not to my difficulties. With the daylight I hoped to be able to make out some known landmark, and with this object I toiled up the steep hill



immediately behind the spot where I had been resting. Broad daylight soon reigned; but not an outline, not a feature, in the whole landscape, could I recognise!

Broken down, disheartened, exhausted physically and mentally, I again almost gave up; but I had mercifully got through the awful night, and I felt I must hold on.

Pulling myself together, I started at once in the supposed direction of the rock, and at last reached it about eleven o'clock. I need not be ashamed to confess that I was completely exhausted. I had eaten hardly anything since early the previous morning, and had walked since parting with Evans over sixty miles—at least so said one of Macdonald's ranchemen, who the next day happened to pass over a portion of my track—and this, too, after a long day's hunting.

The distance from the hill, from which I had taken my last survey, to the rock was fourteen miles in an "air line."

Of Mr. Vivian's journey to the far-famed Yosemite valley,

Per invias rupes, fera per juga,  
Clivosque præruptos, sonantes  
Inter aquas, nemorumque noctem,

the description is well written. Some of the mining narratives, again, are interesting. A shrewd Irishman was asked about a gentleman who was in the habit of holding forth learnedly on mining matters, "Mr. — knows a good deal about mines, doesn't he?" "Ah, faith, he knows just enough to lose his money," was the brief but telling response. In nearly all the mining districts of the Western States, we regret to read, "there is no observance of the Sabbath." Here are fields for Missionary work. Many of the miners come from Cornwall and other parts of England; they find no places of worship, and many of their fellow-workmen are hardened in profanity.

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*Agamemnon.* Translated from Æschylus by the Earl of CARNARVON.  
London: Murray. 1879.

OF all the Greek dramatists, none felt as deeply as Æschylus felt that the dramatist was a minister of religion, that the drama was a holy ceremony and a sanctified service, and that the theatre was a temple consecrated to the teaching of the highest religious duty and the purest morality. It is only as seen in this light that the dramas of Æschylus cease to be dark mysterious problems, and their plots become at once simple and intelligible; and the poet "the vates" in its double sense, is thus revealed to us as the prophet as well as the poet of Grecian antiquity. Every act throughout the dramas of Æschylus has a reference, direct or indirect, to the providence of God as the moral Governor of the world He has created, thus teaching that the divine retribution, which executes the righteous indignation of Heaven, cannot be averted by soft and easy ritual of forms and sacrifices. When to all this we add the awful significance assigned by Æschylus to a father's blessing and a child's curse, and to the virtue of humility in prosperity, and the magisterial authority of conscience, speaking as if with the voice of God within men, we can the more fully understand that the dramatic spirit of Æschylus is of all ancient dramatists most congenial and similar to the spirit of true religion. No poetry has reached a higher exaltation than is attained in this poet's conception of Prometheus, which shadows forth, albeit in a legendary form, that sacrifice of a suffering God for mankind which reaches through all time, and fills all thought. Surely in the Prometheus of Æschylus, as the Divine Self-Sacrificer, the Divine

Deliverer, and the Divine Avenger of Man, we come upon the most Scriptural of all conceptions of Grecian genius,—a conception beyond which it has never since passed, and to which it never again returned.

Meanwhile the glory man attains in me  
 Seeing true love wrought out in martyrdom.  
 Here on this crag, as on an altar, I  
 Midway between the Heaven and the earth  
 In the great gaze of nature, am stretched out  
 An unconsumed sacrifice, and plead  
 Through centuries, the cause of truth and love,  
 Ever embodying in my human part  
 The heavenward instincts of the race of man,  
 And his sublimest longing after God.

What, too, does Æschylus preach in the *Agamemnon* but unwavering trust in Divine Providence? In Æschylus, as in Holy Writ, the dealings of God in the natural world are made to illustrate his dealings in the moral, as in the following passages from Lord Carnarvon's beautiful version of the *Agamemnon* :—

So when the nest has lost its young,  
 The parent vultures rend the air ;  
 And borne on pinions fierce and strong  
 Circle above the plundered lair.  
 But far away and far above,  
 Touch'd with compassion's greatest love,  
 Jove or Pan or just Apollo  
 Harkens to their wailing cry  
 For these outcasts of the sky,  
 And sends the avenging fate ;  
 Which, however slow or late,  
 Fails not upon guilt to follow.

So Jove, the sovereign guardian of the household hearth and shrine,  
 Hath sent the two Atreidæ upon guilty Paris' line,  
 And many a knee shall dusty be in the struggle and the strife,  
 And many a spear shall shivered be for that unfaithful wife.

The very plot of the *Agamemnon* carries back the imagination at once to the terrible crimes of kingly houses, and their terrible punishment as recorded in Holy Writ. Thyestes, the uncle of Agamemnon, had in the previous generation seduced the wife of his brother Atreus, the father of Agamemnon, who banished him for a season, but soon recalled him, to inflict upon her the horrible retribution of eating at a banquet the flesh of his own children. In revenge for this anti-natural cruelty perpetrated on his father, Ægistheus, the cousin of Agamemnon, seduced his wife Clytemnestra, during his ten years' absence at the famous siege of Troy, and murders him by his own hand on his return to Argos. It is this divine retribution which thus overtakes the double sin of murder and adultery in the kingly house of Argos that reminds us of the avenging anger of Jehovah which fell so swiftly on the double sin of King David, when he murdered Uriah the Hittite with the sword, and seduced his wife Bathsheba. In both cases sin was punished by like sin, murder by murder, adultery by adultery.

Lord Carnarvon's view of this magnificent and sublime tragedy, which we have some right to call moral in its spirit and tendency, can be best estimated by a comparison with the work of rival translators. He has not combined all the excellencies and avoided all the faults of his predecessors, such as Symonds, Dean Milman, Professor Plumptre, and, the latest of all, the poet, Mr. Robert Browning ; but of all translations his is certainly the closest approach to the spirit of the original, and most worthy

of the great original, and reads rather like an original than a translation. Let us compare his with Mr. Browning in the speech of Cassandra.

## LORD CARNARVON.

Woe's me! Once more the spirit of my art,  
My true and dreadful art, comes over me,  
And racks and rends me as I strive to speak.  
Lo! where they crouch, like phantoms of a dream,  
The forms of children foully done to death  
By their own kindred, holding in their hands  
Their own flesh and their entrails—piteous sight—  
On which their sire himself must feast anon.  
And now in retribution for these deeds,  
There plotteth one against my master's life—  
My master? Yes, for am I not a slave?  
There plotteth, wallowing in another's lair,  
A treacherous craven lion in the house;  
And little dreams the conqueror of Troy,  
The ruler of the fleet, how she forsooth,  
With tongue of hateful dog, and fawning mien,  
Like some sad secret Destiny, shall bring  
These woeful fortunes to their fatal end.  
She dares it all—the woman dares to be  
The slayer of the man. But how shall I  
Rightly declare her? Amphibæna dire?  
As some rock-hunting Scylla, fatal curse  
Of mariner? or raging dam of hell,  
Breathing fierce war on kith and kin and friends?  
Hark! how she shouted o'er him as men shout  
When turns the battle! Yet she feigns to feel  
Joy in his safe return!

These lines are a powerful presentation of the original, full of its vigour, dignity, and spirit. We miss, however, any equivalent for *δυσφελές δάκος* "*the unwelcome monster*;" nor can we accept "*fierce war*" as in any sense an equivalent for *ἀσπονδὸν ἄραν*, "*the inexpiable curse*." It is this curse on enacted crime—that no sacrifices, bloody or unbloody, can expiate—which is the very key-note of the whole play, and comes again and again before us, opening the door to every chamber of horror revealed to our sight. As a safe rule, too, it will be found that the literal interpretation of words is by far truest to the mind and meaning of the poet,

## MR. BROWNING.

Halloo, Halloo, all evils!  
Again, straightforward foresight's fearful labour  
Whirls me, distracting with prelusive last lays!  
Behold ye those there, in the household seated,—  
Young ones,—of dreams approaching to the figures?  
Children, as if they died by their beloveds—  
Hands they have filled with flesh, the meal domestic.  
Entrails and vitals both, most piteous burthen,  
Plain they are holding!—which their father tasted!  
For this, I say, plans punishment a certain  
Lion ignoble, on the bed that wallows  
House guard (ah, me!) to the returning master.  
—Mine, since to bear the slavish yoke behoves me!  
The ships' commander, Ilion's desolator,  
Knows not what things the tongue of the lewd she-dog  
Speaking, outspreading, strong-souled, in fashion  
Of Atë hid, will reach to, by ill-fortune!  
Such things she dares—the female, the male's slayer!  
She is . . . how calling her the hateful bite-beast

May I hit the mark? Some Amphibians—Skulls  
Housing in rocks, of mariners the mischief,  
Revelling Hades' mother—curse, no truce with,  
Breathing at friends! How piously she shouted,  
The all-courageous, as at turn of battle!  
She seems to joy at the back-bringing safety!

Few can read this rendering of Mr. Browning without feeling that it is hideous in its naked literalness. It is everywhere true to etymology and collocation of the literal words, but everywhere false to the mind and meaning of the poet, and to the spirit embodied in his words, and which shining through the embodiment gives them their splendour, their power, and their dramatic significance. The rendering of *δακός* by "*bite-beast*" may be taken fairly as typical of hundreds of cases in which Mr. Browning falls into error as the victim of his own etymological basis of translation. Throughout assuming that *δακός* is derived from *δακνω*, "to bite," and most unwarrantably assuming that Æschylus meant the biting of the beast here to be a prominent notion, Mr. Browning does a double violence to the original—first, by rendering a *simple* word as a *compound*; secondly, by giving it a connotation *not countenanced* by Æschylus, who actually uses *δακός* in this very play of the *Wooden Trojan Horse*—which certainly had not either the will or power "to bite."

Before bringing these remarks to a close, we must notice the extremely difficult line which has puzzled all commentaries at the ending of the picturesque account of the Fire-Signals. Here Lord Carnarvon renders

And the first and last is deemed victorious,

and Mr. Browning renders by

He beats that's first and also last in running,

where Dr. Kennedy has

And the first winneth, though hindmost in the race,

Professor Plumptre renders it

But here the winner is both first and last;

or alternatively,

He wins who is first in, though starting last.

May not the sense here be, he conquers, as having run ahead from first to last—i.e., *all through* the race; not like the runners in the games, who succeeded each other?

To this we have something of a parallel passage in Shakspeare's *Macbeth*—

At first, and last, the hearty welcome,

—i.e., *all through* the banquet.

We venture to think that Dr. Kennedy's rendering reminds us of the story told of the Irishman, who, after winning the race, exclaimed—

Well, I am first at last, but I was behind before.

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*The Mystery of Miracles.* By the Author of "The Supernatural in Nature." London: O. Kegan Paul & Co.

THAT Truth is great and will prevail is held as an article of common faith; and that it is thus held is good; but it is also profitable to see and own that error has often, for a time, an advantage, in that the false can be presented so as to look truer than truth, just as plated ware

can outshine solid silver. What may be termed electro-plate scientism has had a start among the half-educated, and, by the aid of much crying-up, has succeeded in passing for genuine, not many being able to tell, at once, the counterfeit from the real. But, though the Birmingham articles may be never so well got up, a little rubbing on well-chosen spots, and a drop or two of acid, will expose the base metal; and a corresponding process is now making manifest to those who have been too long deceived by teachers of Materialism the spurious nature of statements, assumptions, and claims, which have been audaciously asserted, and credulously accepted, as science and philosophy.

It is astonishing and humiliating to see how little even men of good average intelligence are able to discern between facts and fancies, allowing themselves to be almost persuaded that what the wisest and best of mankind have built upon is fog-bank, and that the ever-changing clouds afford the only sure foundation. Meanwhile, both Religion and Science suffer, and numberless unstable minds are perverted from the matter and from the method of sound knowledge.

This year's President of the British Association has given a much-needed and very valuable check to the pretensions of quasi-scientific teachers by showing that it is altogether unreasonable to attempt an explanation of things mental and moral in the terms proper to physical phenomena.

The author of the book before us is doing good service, even as he has already done in a former work, by his reasoning on the great subjects indicated by the words Nature, Supernatural, Mystery, Miracles. His purpose and main proposition may be easily gathered from his own words:—

I respectfully present these Thoughts as helpful towards the scientific and philosophical solution of a problem which has long perplexed many minds. I endeavour to show that mystery and miracle are the source and foundation of nature, underlie all science, are everywhere, and interpenetrate all things; that the abnormal and eccentric are not only possible but probable and actual, having counterparts in marvels of human consciousness, being represented by many natural symbols, and exhibited day by day in the interactions, co-operations, and counteractions of cosmic energies.

The author has taken, and will keep, a front-rank place with those minds at once reverent and reasonable, devout and scientific, who refuse to allow any facts of nature, and particularly of human nature, to be kept out of court; who fear nothing so much as that narrowness of mind which, seeing only a part, insists on that part being treated as the whole. He is one who cannot be pushed aside as unfit to argue with men of the laboratory and the class-room, he makes good his right to speak, and proves himself at home in many and various subjects which require deep thought. His matter is well ordered; the style is clear, lively, and even entertaining by its freshness. The following may be taken as a fair sample:—

It is really too bad that Necessarians, Positivists, Materialists, who cannot write down with proof the scientific expression of any three different laws continuously at work from point to point, from moment to moment, in the universe, should disgust us with their sickening pretences to universality of knowledge. We will not say with Thomas Penington Kirkman that their variety of expressions and decorations of sophisms move in "a donkey's circle;" but we adopt his words as to the theories—"They are merely the rays that hang, not sweetly, on the shivering flanks of ignorance." . . . The natural is, indeed, a continual miracle, but being prolonged hides its supernaturalism from the common observer. It represents the truth—God is so wise that He can make all things; and, much wiser than that, He enables all things to make themselves. Supernaturalism—as opposed to atheistic naturalism, maintains that

even the atoms march in tune—as if the music had been set, and that the commonest substances in nature, moving to the music of law, are a miracle of beauty by some Wonder Worker.

One who has read Joseph Cook's lectures will notice much that reminds of them, but put in a more concise form, as, for instance, the following :—

Take the germs of life. They are all the same, whether of Newton, or his dog Diamond; of the great whale, or tiny moss. First invisible, always mysterious, and in their early visible stages without structure or characteristic difference. Out of that invisibility, of that nothingness as to difference, of that death, God raises manifold life, marvellous intelligence, sacred emotion, glorious beings, with everlasting splendour for destiny. . . . Two cells are alike to human eye, and to the microscope reveal no inequality, yet one contains the life of John, beloved of Christ; the other of Judas, who became a devil.

In many forms the one great argument is presented again and again that miracle and mystery surround us, that the Materialist hypotheses offer no escape from them, that the path of wisdom and of safety is to be found in that fuller knowledge of the universe and of man which Revelation gives, and which true science confirms, while the facts of consciousness illustrate by example the truth of that Divinely-given knowledge. Like Butler and Mansel our author rests on the foundations of consciousness, the primary facts of our nature, lower than which no mind can go, and apart from which no structure of reasoning can be raised. If this ground is of small surface, it is sure, it is indisputable, it is acknowledged, and beyond its limits man's wisdom will be to say, "We do not know." Unhappily for their own and for other minds there are some who desire to know at once too little and too much, who scorn the narrowness of the certain, and, venturing too far, lose themselves in the wilderness. It is refreshing to turn from such to the pages before us, and there we find the feet firmly planted on what is known, and carefully restrained from the slippery verge of that which is beyond. With a wide outlook, the author sees all that his opponents see, and sees many things, and much better worth looking on, which they do not allow themselves to see. He writes as one who breathes fresh air, he fills his lungs with it, and utters words of freedom and hope; reading has made him full, writing and controversy have made him wary, and the Gospel has made him joyful.

Exception might be taken at some passages, and in arguing that in nature all is miraculous, he has not taken care enough to maintain that in another sense, equally true, a miracle is supernatural; but we would rather acknowledge the merits and motives of the book as a whole.

The new comes back to the old, the first thought of an inquiring mind is that God is in all things, that His glory shines through all His works; no finer examples of this can be found than in the Psalms, which express faith and science in the language of poetry. Then came a second thought in which we see the mind over-weighted with details, perceiving orderly sequences and calling them laws, looking down at matter so long that the inner eyes become short-sighted, and cannot see Him who sitteth on high. But now comes the third thought which is, in essence, a return to the first, yet enriched with more knowledge of particulars, steadied and erect under the weight of the added collection of facts, combining faith, information, reason, poetry, awe, and gladness, and seeing, as those older men saw, that God hideth Himself, yet so as to be seen through the veil of creation. The book we have here reviewed will, we hope, be of real service to many minds who have been too ready to think that they cannot be both religious and scientific; it may, by the Divine blessing, enlarge

their conceptions of knowledge and of liberty, and help them to use as the expression of their own feelings the words—"Whither shall I go from Thy Spirit? or whither shall I flee from Thy presence? How precious also are Thy thoughts unto me, O God! How great is the sum of them!"

### Short Notices.

*The Ecclesiastical Crisis in the Church of England.* An Examination of an Address by the Hon. C. L. Wood, President of the E.C.U., with References and Appendices. By the Rev. WILLIAM ANDERSON, M.A., formerly Rector of Upper Cumber and Prebendary of Derry, Minister of the Octagon Chapel, Bath. Pp. 116. Hatchards.

THE President of the English Church Union delivered an Address in Bath on the 29th of February, 1879, explaining and defending the principles and the policy of the Union. The Bishop of Bath and Wells in his Charge on May 1st referred to this Address. The English Church Union, his Lordship said, "had seen fit to select Bath, one of the chief cities of the diocese, for a great demonstration, and for the enunciation by its President of sentiments utterly subversive to the Church of England as by law established, and no less destructive to the episcopal government in the Church." The Bishop further pointed out certain "fallacies and errors," "and the extreme peril to the Church and religion which resulted from them." In the publication before us, which we gladly recommend, Mr. Anderson gives an able examination of Mr. Wood's Address. It is very telling and very timely. The second chapter, which treats of the legal aspects of the important questions at issue, is contributed by Mr. Valpy.

*Lady Sybil's Choice.* A Tale of the Crusades. By EMILY SARAH HOLT, author of "Mistress Margery," &c. Pp. 342. John F. Shaw & Co.

Miss Holt has done well in choosing the Crusade period for her new story. The interesting series of historical tales for which we are indebted to her is greatly valued in a wide circle, and takes a high rank on literary as well as on religious grounds. "The Maiden's Lodge," a Tale of the Reign of Queen Anne, "Clare Avery," a Story of the Spanish Armada, "Imogen," a Story of the Mission of Augustine, with a fifteenth-century Tale of the Court of Scotland, and a Tale of the Marian Persecution, are well known as among the best books of the kind. In some respects, indeed, Miss Holt's stories are unrivalled. The present volume will not diminish, to say the least, her richly merited reputation; it is a high-class, carefully-written work, with an interest of its own. We are inclined to agree with the remark of the gifted authoress that scant justice has been done in modern times to Guy de Lusignan and Sybil his wife. We may add that the book before us, like other volumes of this series, is got up with great taste, and will make an attractive as well as an instructive prize or present.

*Pictures from Bible Lands, drawn with Pen and Pencil.* Edited by SAMUEL G. GREEN, D.D. The Illustrations from Whymper and other eminent artists, principally from photographs. Pp. 200. Religious Tract Society.

The series of "pen and pencil" pictures published by the Religious Tract Society is well known. Among the most pleasing and most valued illustrated volumes on our shelves are "Spanish Pictures," "Swiss Pictures," "American and English," "The Land of the Pharaohs," and

"Those Holy Fields." All these are truly admirable; they are sumptuous gift-books; as to letterpress illustrations, type, paper, and binding, deserving highest praise. The volume before us is also excellent. Dr. Green has done his work well, devoutly, with skill and cultured judgment. There is not a dull or dry page anywhere, while of the engravings we cannot speak too warmly.

*The Englishman's Critical and Expository Bible Cyclopædia.* Compiled and written by the Rev. A. R. FAUSSET, M.A., Rector of St. Cuthbert's, York. Illustrated by some hundred woodcuts. Pp. 750. Hodder & Stoughton.

We have not space for a notice of this work proportionate to its merits. We must content ourselves with remarking, while cordially commending it, that all the articles which we have examined are carefully compiled, accurate, comprehensive, and clear, and that the volume is cheap, well printed, and well bound. Mr. Fausset is known as a scholar and divine of no mean order. His "Studies in the Psalms," for instance, is remarkable for thought and power. His "Bible Cyclopædia" will prove, we trust, a great success.

*The Boys' Own Annual.* An Illustrated Volume of Pure and Entertaining Reading. Edited by JAMES MACAULAY, M.A., M.D. "Leisure Hour" Office, Pp. 590.

Happy the boy who gets this "Annual!" The cover is splendid, the coloured frontispiece charming, the illustrations are plentiful, the stories—and there is a bountiful supply—are just what boys like, the very odds and ends will be voted "first-rate," the natural history bits are piquant, and the pages, which at first sight seem dry, are really "not a bit" so. A more attractive, and, we may add, a better, book for boys we never expect to see. As to the religious tone of the book its pure and instructive character, it is enough to remark that it is edited by Dr. Macaulay, the experienced and able Editor of *The Leisure Hour*—one of the greatest literary successes of these times. We have been pleased but by no means surprised to hear that the "Boys' Own Paper," weekly and monthly issue, has an immense circulation. We heartily recommend the "Annual."

*A Few Notes of Facts on the Sunday Question.* By B. A. HEYWOOD, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. Seeleys.

A fourteen-page tract; timely and telling; *multum in parvo*. The opening sentence runs thus:—"On the 3rd of May, 1879, Lord Thurlow and fifty-eight other Peers voted that it is advisable to open the Metropolitan Museums, &c., on Sunday afternoons as an alternative to the public-houses; but they must have forgotten that the latter places are closed between the hours of three P.M. and six P.M. on Sundays, or they would not have stultified themselves by proposing to set up counter-attractions to closed institutions."

*Ritualism Uncatholic.* No. 1. By HELY SMITH. Bemrose and Sons.

The Rev. Hely Smith, well known as the author of that vigorous little book, "High Church," has done well to publish a series of pamphlets on the Romanising movement. His first Number gives good promise.

*Philosophy of the Waverley Novels.* By the Hon. ALBERT S. G. CANNING. Smith, Elder & Co.

A clever and interesting book, undoubtedly; but, viewed from the standpoint of decidedly Christian "philosophy," not satisfactory. Mr. Canning utterly fails, we think, in one point. He labours to establish that one of the chief objects of Scott's historical novels was to explain the conduct of influential fanatical enthusiasts.



*Ritualism and Romanism.* By the Very Rev. EDWARD B. MOERAN, D.D., Dean of Down. Dublin: Geo. Herbert.

An interesting, well-written pamphlet of forty pages, with many suggestive statements. With regard to revision in the Church of Ireland, Dr. Moeran says that their real work, so far as Rome is concerned, was not uselessly to repeal protests against doctrines long ago set aside, "but in the wiser procedure of dealing with insidious approximations to them. With this object in view, we removed the Ornaments Rubric from our Prayer-Book; we added a new question and answer to that part of our Catechism relating to the Holy Communion; we dealt with Confession to, and Absolution thereon, by a priest, and left our mark upon them; we rejected what is termed 'Sacerdotalism,' by equalising 'Presbyter' with 'Priest;' we dealt with the mode of conducting Divine Service, not only by positive, but also by negative enactments, declaring both what was to be observed and what was to be avoided, and so on." The Dean adds:—"I believe we may all allow that in these our precautionary measures we have not erred by defect."

*Parables from the Realms of Nature.* Parables of Plant Life. By the Rev. JAMES NEIL, M.A., author of "Palestine Repeopled." Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co.

An attractive volume. Mr. Neil follows Mr. Macmillan's "Bible Teachings in Nature," but his "parables" are short and simple, as well as suggestive. There are many woodcuts, and the coloured "Floral Dial" is very pretty. Mrs. Hemans writes:—

'Twas a lovely thought to mark the hours,  
As they floated in light away,  
By their opening and their folding flowers,  
That laugh to the summer day.

At three o'clock in the morning awakes the yellow goats-beard, at four o'clock the brilliant azure wild succory, at five the yellow nipple-wort, at six the buttercup; at seven o'clock the white water-lily—

To the light  
Its chalice rears of silver bright;

and so, hour by hour, on during the day.

*Edie's Letter; or, Talks with the Little Folks.* By the Rev. GEORGE EVERARD, M.A., Vicar of St. Mark's, Wolverhampton. Pp. 172. W. Hunt & Co.

Mr. Everard is well known as the author of useful little books of a devotional character; earnest, simple, thoroughly Evangelical. The book before us, with an attractive cover, is well printed and illustrated.

*The Migration from Shinar.* The Earliest Links between the Old and New Continents. By Captain GEO. PALMER, R.N., F.R.G.S., author of "Scripture Facts and Scientific Doubts," "Kidnapping in the South Seas," &c. Pp. 250. Hodder & Stoughton.

An interesting work. The migration of the human race, the laws that regulate the ocean currents, as well as those of the atmosphere, and the wants of the human race, are the subjects mainly dwelt upon. Profound reverence for the Scriptures is a chief characteristic.

*Within the Palace Gates.* By the Rev. C. BULLOCK, B.D. Pp. 76. Office of "Hand and Heart."

"A tribute to the memory of one of the noblest and truest-hearted and most loyal of the King's servants." A tasteful little book.

*Common Praise.* Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, for use in the Church of England. Pp. 620. The Christian Book Society, 11, Adam Street, Strand.

"This book of Common Praise will be found both comprehensive and exclusive. It contains a large number of the best classical and popular compositions, expressing the spiritual teaching of the Reformed Church of England. Whatever was not in accordance with this has been excluded." We quote from the preface to this new Hymnal, in compiling which "the Editors have set before themselves, as a model, the Book of Common Prayer," desiring that their "Common Praise" should exhibit the "spirituality and purity," "fulness and suitableness," "moderation and candour" which Simeon loved as the excellences of our Liturgy. Without attempting any critical examination of the work at present, we heartily recommend it as deserving, at all events, careful and candid consideration. It contains 822 hymns. In publishing it, the excellent "Christian Book" Society has done good service.

*Lectures on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.* By S. EDALJI, Vicar of Great Wyrley. Pp. 110. Elliot Stock.

The keynote of these Lectures is—"Christ's Gospel is not a ceremonial law (as much of Moses' law was), but it is a religion to serve God . . . in the freedom of the Spirit," a Prayer-Book principle often ignored.

*Hand and Heart.* An Illustrated Weekly Journal. Conducted by the Rev. CHARLES BULLOCK, B.D. Vol. IV.

We heartily recommend this volume. It contains a large number of illustrations; it is well printed, handsomely bound, and cheap; the articles, as a rule, are lively, interesting, and really good, admirably suited for the classes specially regarded. Mr. Bullock has been doing earnest service, in this way, for a considerable time; and he deserves to be supported by all who appreciate the importance of sound wholesome literature. We should be pleased to know that a copy of the *Hand and Heart* volume is placed in every parish library.

*George Moore: Merchant and Philanthropist.* By SAMUEL SMILES, LL.D. Pp. 460. George Routledge & Sons.

A new, cheap edition of a deeply interesting biography, well and widely known, needs but few words of commendation. It is a pleasure to us, however, to express our high opinion of this book, and warmly recommend it, at the same time endorsing, from personal knowledge, the strongest *In Memoriam* testimonies contained in it to the true-hearted, large-hearted Christian, George Moore.

*Chimes from Bygone Years.* Thoughts for Daily Reading. By CHARLOTTE BICKERSTETH WHEELER, author of "Gleams through the Mist," &c. With a Preface by the Lord Bishop of Ripon. Pp. 366. Elliot Stock.

This volume, writes the Bishop of Ripon, in heartily recommending it, is a collection of many valuable thoughts variously expressed, in word or writing, by devoted servants of Christ, eminent for practical wisdom and personal holiness. "Many of them are suggestive; all have some degree of value." The readings, not too long, are evidently the result of devout study. The book is well printed in clear type on good paper.

*Through the Church Porch.* By E. WARDEN. Pp. 100. W. Poole.

Verses showing a tender thankful spirit, and, withal, poetical. An attractive little volume. It is dedicated, by permission, to the Archbishop of York.

## ART. XII.—THE MONTH.—THE CHURCH CONGRESS.

IN Foreign Affairs, the outlook is, perhaps, more bright. King Cetewayo is a prisoner in Capetown, and Zululand is quiet; but Sir Garnet Wolseley has still much to do. The home speeches of distinguished soldiers tend, to a great extent, to clear Sir Bartle Frere. The English flag waves over Cabul; the mountaineers and rebel regiments have been routed; and Yakooob Khan, whose conduct seems mysterious, has resigned. As to Cabul, the Indian Viceroy has now to solve the question of Lord Lytton's novel, "What will he do with it?" The warnings of that sagacious statesman, Lord Lawrence, in regard to Afghanistan, it is impossible not to recall at the present moment.

The increased friendliness between Germany and Austria has caused, of late, considerable comment. Turkey seems unhappily inclined to refuse reforms; but even in the face of a Mahometan *non possumus* Russia will not be allowed to carry out its long cherished designs on Constantinople. According to Dr. Busch's recent *résumé* of Prince Bismarck's views, Germany and Austro-Hungary are banded together "to secure a general peace."

Sir William Harcourt's brilliant rhetoric has, to some extent, possibly, served the interests of the Liberal party; but the reported change in the attitude of Lord Derby will seem to the Conservatives of Lancashire a serious matter. The Marquis of Salisbury, however, has been received in Manchester with remarkable enthusiasm. A complaint of the Vicar of Hughtenden's Ritualism was recently addressed to the Premier on the part of Lancashire working men, who announced that though Conservatives they would show their dislike to Ritualism at the next election, if they believed that Lord Beaconsfield was a supporter of the Ritualists.

The Home Secretary's action in regard to the Brighton Aquarium has called forth many protests from supporters of the Government. Mr. Cross may consider that he has brought about a satisfactory compromise; but a door has unquestionably been opened for a quasi-continental Sunday. An admirable circular on this subject has been issued by the Lord's Day Observance Society.

In regard to metropolitan intemperance, it may be mentioned that "The Public and Coffee House Auxiliary" of the London City Mission is doing good service.

The corner-stone of Ridley Hall, Cambridge, was laid a fortnight ago by Bishop Perry. Interesting speeches were made by the Master of Corpus, Canon Ryle, Mr. Marten, M.P., Prebendary

Wright, Mr. Sydney Gedge, and others. Ridley Hall, as is well known, will occupy at Cambridge a position similar to that of the recently opened Wycliffe Hall at Oxford. Protestant and Evangelical, these Halls will avoid, it is hoped, the narrowness characteristic of certain Theological Colleges.

At the opening of the Congregational Union for England and Wales, a fortnight ago, at Cardiff, the President protested against "any yielding on the part of British politicians to the arrogant demands" of the Papacy:—

That the Papacy absolutely controls the largest section of the Irish vote within and without the House of Commons is manifest to all, and how that acts upon political adventurers and the mere party politician is, alas, growing more apparent every day.

Several Diocesan Conferences have been held. At the Carlisle Conference the venerated Dean made some admirable remarks upon Family Prayer.

Two movements in regard to Convocation Reform have recently excited some attention. Bishop Alford has obtained several influential signatures, clerical and lay, to a memorial on representation of the Laity. "In view of the efforts now being made to give to the Convocation of the Church of England an authority it has long been denied, the Memorialists assure the head of Her Majesty's Government that, in their opinion, no scheme of Reform can be satisfactory that excludes the consideration of a just representation of the Laity as well as of the Clergy." To another Memorial, on increased representation of the Clergy, signatures of representative men are being obtained. This Memorial opens thus:—

We, the undersigned clergy of the province of Canterbury, beg respectfully and earnestly to state to your Grace and Lordships that we believe it has now become very necessary that the number of Proctors in Convocation for the parochial clergy in the province of Canterbury should be considerably increased.

A speech made not long ago by the Right Hon. H. C. E. Childers, M.P., at the opening of a church in Knottingley, deserves to be considered in reference to this matter. Mr. Childers inquired whether the National Church—a body of immense wealth and influence—had done its duty in taking full advantage of that organisation of which it was capable:—

He had been in parts of the world where the good old Church of England flourished with great vigour, both in America and in the colonies. It had struck him that whereas in England we scrambled on, making little reforms in one direction, in improving little bits of machinery and oiling some of the old-fashioned wheels, in other parts of the world the Church of England had established a very efficient machinery for the general management of her affairs, and in which the

bishops and clergy, and, above all, the laity, took their respective shares. The result was the removal to a very great extent of many of those evils which prevailed in the Church at home; the rubbing off of those extreme views, for instance, which gave us so much trouble on certain occasions; the improvement of questions connected with parochial and diocesan organisation; and a great deal more interest taken by the laity in matters with which they had, and ought to have, a very active interest, one and generally. Did they not think that the time had come when their different dioceses—under the lead of such prelates as their greatly esteemed Archbishop of York, for instance—whether, instead of giving to Convocation, as was at present proposed, additional powers to do certain matters, they could not acquire such a constitution for their Church as would relieve Parliament of a certain sort of responsibility which she was supposed to possess as representing the laity. He did not see why the Church of England, connected with the State, should not manage its own internal affairs just as well as the Established Church of Scotland managed its internal affairs—and managed them efficiently, and without scandal, and, from a business point of view, extremely well.

Such suggestions, at the present moment, from a Liberal statesman, a staunch Churchman, are most timely. The Convocation proposals made in the Draft Bill for the Revision of the Rubrics naturally call attention to Convocation Reform.<sup>1</sup> Many who have found it difficult to agree with Archdeacon Denison in any ecclesiastical movements whatever will be at one with him in believing that under present circumstances the Prayer Book had better be left alone.

Canon Bright lately complained of the shipwreck of the Convocation *concordat* concerning the Ornaments Rubric; and made some pointed references to the Bishop of Gloucester. In reply, Bishop Ellicott stated:—"I am no party to any understanding relative to the Ornaments Rubric, no such understanding having been adopted, suggested, or, so far as I remember, even alluded to in the House to which I belong."

Canon Trevor has written as follows:—

The Lower House of Canterbury is the standing opprobrium of Convocation; its turbulence brought down the temporary suppressions by Royal Prerogative under William III., Queen Anne, and George I. Its timidity or apathy encouraged succeeding Archbishops to make the suppression permanent. When the movement for revival began this House was still the dead weight on our hands. Convocation itself was confounded with this pretentious and distorted member, representing nobody that had a right to be represented. It was the jest of our opponents, and the difficulty of our friends. We had to

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<sup>1</sup> *Convocation of Canterbury. Report on the Rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer presented to Her Majesty the Queen, in obedience to Royal Letters of Business, on July 31, 1879.* London: Published by W. Wells Gardner, 2, Paternoster Buildings, E.C.

set the monster on his legs to get Convocation at all. But nobody meant it to last; the very first reform was to be a real representation of the clergy.

Concerning the late Bishop Baring, interesting testimonies have been recently published on the part of Archdeacon Prest, Canon Tristram, the Rev. G. T. Fox, and other personal friends.

Of the Church Congress we can only touch upon a few points which present themselves in the reports of the proceedings.

The discussion on Parochial Organisation appears to have been decidedly practical. Prebendary Cadman opened his address with a note of thankfulness. The good hand of our God has been upon us as a Church :—

The time has passed when a clergyman who sought to win souls to Christ by unwonted services and faithful preaching in cottages and school-rooms, and by the wayside, was complained of for bringing Dissenters to Church, and stigmatised as a Low Churchman, or no Churchman; and, stranger still, when one starting forth on his hoped-for ministry with a desire to be a good minister of Jesus Christ, with no extravagant notions or zeal, would be thus cautioned by the Bishop who ordained him :—"Take care, young man, that you are not too enthusiastic in the discharge of your ecclesiastical duties." Activity and earnestness and evangelical zeal are not now suspected and distrusted, but imitated and encouraged.

What we want, continued Mr. Cadman, is the Spirit of Life; more of true spiritual force in the wheels of our machinery. Men quickened to holiness—active, prayerful, are needed. For such men prayer should be offered :—

I press this duty of prayer because the Lord alone can raise up and send forth true and successful preachers of the everlasting Gospel, and these are the men we want for efficient parish work in the exigencies of the present day both in preaching, catechising, visiting, and organising. Spiritual work must be done by spiritual men. Men must be converted themselves, spiritually-minded themselves, walking much in fellowship with Jesus themselves, conscious of the need of the Holy Spirit's influence upon themselves, before they can testify of these blessings to others. And without some experience of them in a parish what real moral or spiritual improvement, after all, can go on? "As well," said one, "attempt to bind the tiger of the East with a cobweb, or stop Niagara with a straw, as change the nature of man without the Holy Spirit."

Again, as to spiritually-minded parishioners :—

A living Bishop wisely says, "Were I asked to advise a clergyman about to be appointed to a laborious, and, may be, neglected parish, what he should do first, even to the neglect of other things, my counsel would be unhesitatingly and emphatically this: 'Find out your godly people; visit them, stir them up, specially teach them, gather them for prayer, win for yourself their personal friendship, do your best to bring them into a close and more intimate rela-

tionship with the Lord Jesus, and then, when they have got their hearts warmed towards Him, they will be in more vital sympathy with His purpose and feeling toward the souls he died for." No better advice could be given.

Within the lines of our own Church, added Mr. Cadman, "Catholic, Reformed, Protestant, Evangelical—for call it what you will, it is all these—there is grace enough to be found, and work enough to be done. I prefer an organisation within these lines, and have no longing for practices that savour either of superstition or laxity."

The Rev. R. C. Billing, who spoke as having under his pastoral care about 20,000, the majority of whom were the poorest of the poor, followed up Prebendary Cadman's remarks on the value of prayer. More notice, Mr. Billing thought, should be taken of the Ember seasons. Probationers for Holy Orders should live and work for a time in large town parishes and "learn their business."

The President, Bishop Thorold, closed a quiet, earnest, and really useful meeting by some weighty words on Christians being drawn together by work and prayer.

In his Paper on Diocesan Synods and Conferences, the Dean of Lichfield said:—

Now it is of the utmost importance that both Convocation and Parliament should know the deliberate and carefully formed opinions of the intelligent and well-educated members of our Church, both clergy and laity; and the diocesan conferences, in which the laity have a legitimate place, are just the instrumentality through which the laity may make their influence felt; and when each diocese shall have its diocesan conference in active operation, and the conclusions of these various conferences shall come to be systematically gathered up and transmitted, year by year, to Convocation, we shall then have such an expression of the real mind of the Church of England as must have its influence not only upon Convocation but upon Parliament—such an expression as must tend powerfully to preserve to us, without any loss or weakening of her spiritual rights, that union of the Church with the State which has helped to make our country so great throughout the world. It is quite a mistake to suppose that Parliament, as a body, is unfriendly to the Church. Parliament will never, I believe, be indisposed to assist the Church in obtaining what is reasonable and practicable. *But Parliament can hardly be expected to listen to proposals of Church reform unless those proposals express the deliberate judgment of the faithful laity as well as of the clergy of our Church.*

In the words which we have emphasised we thoroughly agree with the learned Dean; but, although Prolocutor, he seems to forget, for a moment, the recent "proposals" of an unreformed Lower House.

Great interest was excited by the subject of "Ecclesiastical Courts and Final Court of Appeal." The Bishop of Oxford's

Paper was, undoubtedly, from his Lordship's standpoint, a success ; it is ably written, and it has an interest of its own. Mr. R. L. Valpy, according to the special report of the *Guardian* :—

Spoke apparently without premeditation, but he knew the subject and handled it ably and pertinently, carrying with him a large part of the audience, though, as might be expected, very many also differed from him and indicated their disapproval from time to time by rather noisy demonstrations. He pointed out with great force—what is in truth the weak point—that Dr. Phillimore and Mr. Berdmore Compton had found much fault with the existing Courts, and especially with the Final Court, but had utterly failed to indicate clearly what they proposed to substitute for it. He urged with great force that any Court which was to act in that capacity in ecclesiastical causes must be one that commanded the respect of the laity. He concluded by saying that if the Judicial Committee, assisted by the Bishops as their assessors, were incompetent to administer the law (as stated by Dr. Phillimore), he wished to know who was capable.

Canon Ryle concluded the sitting, according to the *Guardian* report, by "one of his straightforward and warm-hearted speeches." Where, asked Mr. Ryle, could a Court of Final Appeal be found which would give satisfaction to every one? The clergy had not a judicial mind. A better Court could not be obtained than that which existed at present. He commended to the attention of the Congress the declaration of the Thirty-seventh Article.

Canon Gregory, who has taken a leading part in the preparation and advocacy of the Report of the Lower House of Canterbury, ably argued on the lines of Chancellor Espin's Paper. Mr. Billing, however, thought that "if Canon Gregory's suggestions were adopted there would be constant complaints. He knew of many schools that were never looked after, and there were many sick persons who were never visited by the clergyman. They would never be able to secure the performance of these duties by the Bishop's Court."

The subject of "Lay Work in the Church" was introduced by Canon Garbett. Having spoken of the practical heathenism around us, he said :—

Where should they find the workers? To increase the clergy was hopeless. They had neither the men nor the means. Were they then to sit down in apathy when all the vast force in the Church itself was allowed to run to waste, when the godly laity were unemployed? This great force should be utilised, and the wisest mode of using it appeared to him to be the establishment of a perpetual diaconate.

On Hymn Books, Bishop Alexander, who remarked that he spoke "for the minority—those who had never made, and never intended to make, a collection of hymns," made a suggestive speech, polished as usual ; and the Rev. Dawson Campbell read an interesting Paper.



In the discussion on Unity, Canon Garbett remarked on the fundamental or essential divisions among Churchmen ; and Mr. Valpy warned the Congress against the error of sacrificing truth for unity. The Bishop of Winchester, however, replied that although in "small schools of thought" fundamental differences might exist, yet with regard to "the large schools" there were no such differences.

A brilliant, vigorous, and singularly suggestive Paper by Professor Pritchard, on "Science and Religion," was, in the opinion of many, one chief feature of the Swansea Congress.

At the final gathering, the Bishop of St. David's, who appears to have made a remarkably good President, gave his opinion concerning the Congress. His lordship wrote :—

I look back on the devotional meeting of this morning as my own final experience of the much-to-be-remembered Congress of 1879. I cannot imagine anything more complete of its kind ; and when we consider the amount of critical and expository learning, the real piety, the eloquence of the readers and speakers, their substantial unity in the most essential matters of doctrine, which was visible in spite of considerable theological divergence, apparent on the very face of some, at least, of the papers and addresses, I cannot but record my thankfulness to that good Spirit which has blessed the Church of England with a Ministry capable of producing such teaching as that which was addressed to us this morning. But even more impressive to me than anything which was spoken or read was the rapt attention and the reverent demeanour of the great assembly.

In referring to the splendid hospitality of Swansea, the Bishop remarked :—

While I hope and believe that nothing has been said or done during this meeting, the tendency of which would be to place our Dissenting brethren at a greater distance from ourselves, I think a good deal has been said the effect of which will be to quicken our kindly feelings towards them.

For ourselves, we are ready to hope and believe what "was said and done" at the Swansea Congress, viewing it as a whole, may tend to draw the Nonconformists into closer Christian unity with the Churchmen of the Principality.

The Congress appears, on the whole, considering the numbers present, the quality of the papers and speeches, and the prevailing tone and temper, to have been a success. "It went off much better," said many, "than was expected." One point, we think, is especially worthy of note. The representative ultra-Churchmen were, in the main, apologetic ; and the great mass of the members, judging from such signs and tokens as seemed significant, were truly and thoroughly loyal to the principles of the Reformation. A kindly, brotherly spirit prevailed throughout.

# THE CHURCHMAN

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DECEMBER, 1879.

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## ART. I.—FORTHCOMING VERSION OF THE BIBLE.

**A**MONGST the many aids by which modern scholarship and the progress of science have enabled us more clearly to discern our duty, and in many instances more efficiently to perform it, one of signal importance and incalculable value is promised during the ensuing year. The excellences of our English version of the Word of God cannot be too warmly or too gratefully acknowledged. It was the successor and the rival of several admirable translations, some of which had just claims, and were strong in possession; and yet, without either external or moral coercion, by the force of its own merits it displaced them. Our Church lost, indeed, many of her children, but they all took their mother's Bible with them, and taking that they were not wholly lost to her. Securing gradually the confidence of the scholar, it speedily won the love of the people. The style in vogue amongst men of letters in the days of Elizabeth and James was faulty and pedantic. But the religious discussions which followed the Reformation had called forth what has been happily termed a "consecrated diction," simple and direct, yet pure and dignified. Whilst glorifying God, it ennobled the tongue of the worshipper, and by its innate inspiration it elevated the whole tone of English literature. If I quote the words of one who unhappily deserted the Church of England,<sup>1</sup> it is only that I may adduce the confession even of an unfriendly witness in its favour—"Who will say that the uncommon beauty and marvellous English of the Protestant Bible is not one of the great strongholds of heresy in this country? It lives on the ear, like music that cannot be forgotten; like the sound of

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<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Frederick W. Faber.

Church bells, which the convert hardly knows how he can forego. Its felicities seem often to be almost things rather than words. It is part of the national mind, and the anchor of national seriousness. . . . The memory of the dead passes into it. The potent traditions of childhood are stereotyped in its verses. The power of all the griefs and trials of a man are hid beneath its words. . . . It is his sacred thing, which doubt has never dimmed and controversy never soiled." Such being the confessed distinctions of our English Bible, it is obvious that they have rendered a new translation, as a substitute for something decaying and ready to vanish away, impossible: for it retains in itself more of freshness and vitality than anything which has sought to supplant it. But they by no means preclude a revision of it, which is happily now as practicable as it is necessary. Our version is itself a revision of revisions, and its history has revealed the path towards perfection. "Truly," said the translators, "we never thought, from the beginning, that we should need to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one; but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principal good one." Their example it has seemed good to our Church to follow.

Nine years ago a committee of eminent Biblical scholars was constructed for the revision of the Version of 1611, with power to add to its number learned members of other Christian denominations, by whom the Authorised Version was accepted, both in this and other lands. During their labours 101 able and eminent men have been engaged upon the work, of whom by death or resignation 22 have been lost, but 79 are still actively pursuing their patient task. Amongst those who were removed to the world of perfect knowledge were Bishops Thirlwall and Wilberforce, Dean Alford, Professors Fairbairn, of Glasgow, and Hodge, of Princeton. Amongst those who are still spared to mature the great work are men whose reputation will earn the confidence of all—Harold Browne, Ollivant, Ellicott, Moberly, Westcott, Scrivener, and Lightfoot. It is expected that the revised New Testament, at least, and possibly also parts of the Old Testament, will be published in 1880, just 500 years since Wycliffe issued the first complete version of the Holy Scriptures in the English language. An interesting account of the work now being accomplished by the Revisers has been published during the present year by Dr. Schaff, the well-known Professor of Theology in the Union Theological Seminary of New York. It consists of Papers upon different sections and aspects of the work, contributed by members of the American Revision Committee. And although the suggestions and statements respecting any particular changes are only made on the authority of the individual writer, yet as these have been

the subject of correspondence during nine years between the Committees, they possess an interest far beyond that which would attach to the speculations of any individual, however eminent in scholarship or position. It is, however, very perceptible that, so far as the New Testament Scriptures are concerned, one great mind has exercised a commanding, yet well-merited, influence upon the deliberations of the revisers. The alterations and emendations foreshadowed by the American scholars are for the most part identical with those which were issued in 1871 by the then Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Dr. Lightfoot, who has recently been promoted to the See of Durham. It is a happy augury that a mind so eminently candid, and a scholarship so extensive and accurate, should have been accepted by men of different denominations and of varying attainments, as worthy and able to moderate in the conflicts of opinion inseparable from free and honest discussion.

With respect to the expediency of revising both the original texts and the English version of the Scriptures, no one can doubt the absolute necessity of our attaining to the closest possible accuracy in our rendering of the words of everlasting life. Many of the errors of our day originated in faulty deductions from passages ambiguously or imperfectly worded. And when once a theory had thus been adopted, the Bible was searched with a prejudiced eye, to discover perforce corroborations of erroneous conceptions. Plymouthism is a conspicuous example of this evil. In other cases doctrines which were themselves soundly deduced from passages of undoubted authority have been unnecessarily buttressed by supports, which criticism has shown to be defective. And the truth has been discredited by the exposed failure of accretions which were really extraneous to it. Divergencies between Christians have been aggravated by appeals to statements apparently contradictory, but in the truth of the original consistent with each other. And the spiritual growth of many a pious soul has been checked by mistaken interpretation of phrases which describe experimental religion, or has been stimulated to more than a true sobriety of development by words too warmly rendered, or to which modern usage has attached an advanced meaning. In the interests, then, of substantial unity, of sound and sober theology, and, above all, of clear knowledge of ourselves and of our God, an accurate revision, adhering as closely as honesty would permit to the existing version, and yet faithfully correcting its errors and supplying its defects, had become a primary necessity of our times.

And, in the merciful Providence of God, there was a singular concurrence of modern facilities for the task. In the Old Testament, indeed, the laborious collations of Hebrew manu-

scripts have done little more than establish the substantial correctness of the received Masoretic text; whilst the long discussion respecting the Hebrew vowels has resulted in proving, if not their originality, at least their accuracy. But whilst the text will remain almost wholly unaltered, it must be remembered that Hebrew studies have made vast advances since 1611, and that the entire science of comparative Semitic philology has been developed since that time. The Buxtorfs, father and son, whose labours represented the first stage of scholarly investigation into the structure of Hebrew, had only just published their works in 1609. But since their day a long list of lexicographers, grammarians, and commentators, have discussed every word of the Sacred text. Palestine has been thoroughly surveyed: its topography, its archæology, its natural history have been exhaustively explored by diligent students; and the monuments of Assyria and of Egypt have been exhumed. The value of the versions which our translators collated, and of the commentaries which they consulted, has also been accurately gauged. And whilst the former, and especially those in "Spanish, French, Italian, or Dutch," to which they refer, are now held to be worthy of little credit, the commentaries which, with the exception of the Rabbinic Expositions, were the work of men generally unacquainted with Hebrew, cannot now be trusted for the solution of a linguistic difficulty, without the safeguard which modern scholarship supplies.

In the case of the New Testament the necessity for revision arises not only from its intrinsic importance as the Revelation and Charter of the Gospel Dispensation, but also from the fact that its text has required very careful recension before the attempt to clothe it in English could be made. Three of the principal editions of the Greek Testament which influenced, directly or indirectly, the text of the Authorised Version, may be traced to that of Erasmus, issued in 1527. But to him there were available for the Gospels only a manuscript of the fifteenth century, and one of the thirteenth or fourteenth century for the Acts and the Epistles. In the Revelation his manuscript was so imperfect that he was compelled to supply some of its defects by translating from the Latin Vulgate into Greek. It is not too much to say that in more than a thousand instances fidelity to the true text now ascertained requires a change in the common version, although in most cases the change would be slight. Modern research, however, has, by God's guidance, brought to light manuscripts more or less complete, ranging from the fourth to the tenth century, including twenty-seven of the Gospels, ten of the Acts and Catholic Epistles, and eleven of the Epistles of St. Paul. The Old Latin, the Syriac, and the Coptic translations, of the second and third centuries, were unknown to our trans-

lators; and it is but recently that the Church has been instructed by the labours of Griesbach, Tischendorf, and Tregelles. We are confident, therefore, that the recension of the text will be conducted efficiently and faithfully. When an important reading is clearly a mistake of the copyists, it will be discarded; when it is uncertain its doubtfulness will be stated in the margin; and the unskilled reader will inherit the wisdom of the ablest scholars of the day, and not least amongst them, of that master of textual criticism, the present Bishop of Durham. And we are assured, on the authority of Professor Westcott, "that in no parallel case have the readings of the original texts to be translated been discussed and determined with equal care, thoroughness, and candour."

The advantages to be anticipated from greater accuracy in the translation of the New Testament are, that obscure and involved passages will be made plain; that the course of many an argument will be freed from perplexing impediments; that the Bible will be liberated from the imputation of being in certain places inconsequential and illogical; and that, whilst no doctrine defined in our Articles or fairly deducible from our Liturgy will lose its support, many will be found to derive strong confirmation from passages hitherto misapprehended. Precision in rendering the force of the Article; in defining the inflexions of the verb and the delicate exactness of its tenses; in marking the true intention of the prepositions; and in correcting some unquestionable mistranslations, will tend powerfully to stamp the volume as having been inspired by One who cannot lie, and will not contradict Himself.

We may also expect much assistance from a greater observance of verbal identity. The translators of 1611 remark, in their address to the reader, "We have not tied ourselves to an uniformity of phrasing or to an identity of words. That we should express the same notion in the same particular word, as, for example, if we translate the Hebrew or Greek word once by *purpose*, never to call it *intent* . . . . thus to mince the matter we thought to savour more of curiosity than of wisdom." This, however, was an unhappy decision. In a volume which is recognised as a supreme authority by all Christians, whilst varied renderings of a word may involve the introduction of new doctrine, the translation by one and the same expression of words which differ in the original tends to confound things that differ. The English reader suffers great inconvenience from such variations, and from such apparent but not real correspondences. He finds, for instance, in one passage the word "Atonement;" and so far as he can discover it occurs nowhere else. But a correct translation would have enabled him to recognise the term made familiar elsewhere as "Reconciliation."

He investigates the nature of Scriptural "hope," and he is baffled by the fact that eighteen times out of thirty-two the translators have rendered the verb by "trust," thus virtually confounding the first two of the triad of Christian graces. It is scarcely necessary to recall the unfortunate result of the varied renderings of the same word in the verse "These shall go away into *everlasting* punishment, but the righteous into life *eternal*;" or of the confusion occasioned by translating "Hades" and "Gehenna" identically in every instance except one. We all recognise the vital importance of St. Paul's teaching that "faith is reckoned for righteousness." Yet the proof text from the Old Testament upon which he bases the doctrine is given differently in our translation on each occasion of his quoting it. And the verb itself, which is one of his technical theological terms, and which constitutes the very warp of his great argument, receives three different renderings in its eleven occurrences within the compass of twenty-two verses. It is true that sense is infinitely more important than sound, and that the context may modify by varying shades the meaning of a well-known word. But none assuredly will doubt the obligation to make the Word of Life so plain, so vivid, so consistent with itself, that not only may the scholar trust it as "the man of his counsel," but that the "way-faring man," though unlearned, may cease "to err therein." Moreover, the challenge uttered to every intelligent man by the issue of the new revision will compel a revival both social and private of the study of the Holy Scriptures, which, if pondered by the proffered light of the Holy Spirit, and explored by the God-given clue of faith in Christ Jesus, are able to make us wise unto salvation.

EDWARD PREST.

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## ART. II.—THE CHURCH IN WALES.

THE Church in Wales received at the late Church Congress a large amount of attention; her past and present condition was ably discussed; her position was considered in its various aspects. Attention, however, was chiefly directed to her external history and outward condition. Her inner life was barely touched. The religious element at work within her was not explained; and until this explanation is forthcoming, the position which she occupies among the people cannot be understood. It is an essential factor in the solution of the problem. The purpose of my remarks is to attempt this explanation, and I shall take my start from the Reformation.

Translations of the Bible and of Liturgies distinguished the age of the Reformation, and they produced great results. They were elements at work in the revolution, religious and social, which then changed the face of Europe. They sapped the power of the Papacy, and sowed the seed of Protestantism in the hearts of the people. In this great movement Wales was not forgotten. God was gracious unto the land, and He turned back again the captivity of His people. He opened in the wilderness—among the hills of Wales—fountains of living water, and disclosed unto its people of primitive simplicity, who were perishing for lack of knowledge, the riches of His saving grace by a translation of the Scriptures of truth which perhaps is not surpassed in any language; and He gave them in their churches a version of the Book of Common Prayer in their own language, which, if it had been faithfully and efficiently used where it was wanted, while it directed their devotions and trained their hearts in the service of the sanctuary, might have united them in indissoluble bonds to the Church of their fathers. Portions of the Bible and the Prayer Book were translated and printed in the time of Edward VI., but under Queen Elizabeth the work was completed. During her reign the Welsh Bible and the Welsh Prayer Book were published in their entirety; but we can well conceive that their readers were few. The people were defective in the mechanical art of reading. That art must have been confined to the higher and the better portion of the community; it must have been beyond the reach of the bulk of the people, and on this account the conduct of the services in the churches must have been left entirely to the clergyman and the clerk. They were not congregational. The people, being unable to read, could not join in the responses; and thus the Prayer Book, as an instrument of public devotion, although translated into Welsh, never, as far as I can ascertain, acquired a hold on the mind of the people; it never won their heart. Here, then, we see a screw loose—a link was missing in the chain. The Liturgy formed no bond of union between the nation and the Church; the national mind readily left its moorings, within her pale, under the influence of the disturbing elements of the religious revival which swept over the face of the country in the eighteenth century. The current of that great revival did not run in the groove of the formularies of the Church of England. There were impediments in its way which obstructed its course in that channel. These impediments were various, and they can be traced to various causes; but not the least of them arose from the deficiency of the people in the art of reading; and when the art was acquired in the Sunday Schools and otherwise, the remedy came too late: the river had then overflowed its banks and formed fresh channels; the religious fervour of the people had



been diverted from the Book of Common Prayer as an instrument of public devotion, and had found its expression in extempore effusions and in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs.

But the doctrine which kindled the revival was the doctrine of the Church of England; the live coal which had touched the lips of Rowlands of Llangeitho, and others, was taken off her altar; the truths which they preached with tongues of fire were those which are found in all their fulness and purity in her creeds, her articles, and her formularies. At Llangeitho one of the great revivals broke out when Rowlands was reading in the service the pathetic words of the Litany:—"By thine agony and bloody sweat, by thy cross and passion, by thy precious death and burial, by thy glorious resurrection and ascension, and by the coming of the Holy Ghost.—Good Lord deliver us." And Williams of Pantycelyn, the sweet singer of Welsh Methodism, in his thrilling eulogy on the death of Rowlands, while describing the effects of his preaching at Llangeitho, shows the sources whence he derived his doctrine. His testimony is so striking that I may be excused for transcribing the stanzas as they were written. They read as follows:—

Mae ei holl ddaliadau gloyw  
Mewn tair credo i'w gwel'd yn glir,  
Athanasius a Nicea  
'Nghyd â'r Apostolaidd wir;  
Hen articlau eglwys Loegr,  
Catecist Westminster fawr,  
Ond yn benna'r Bibl sanctaidd,  
Dywynnodd arnynt oleu wawr.

Ac o'r nentydd gloyw yma  
'Roedd trysorau nefol râs,  
Megis afon fawr lifeiriol  
Yn Llangeitho 'n d'od i ma's;  
Gwaed a dw'r nid dw'r yn unig,  
Anghau a sancteiddrwydd drud  
Tywysog mawr ein iachawduriaeth  
Yw 'r pregethau sy yno gyd.

In these stanzas the poet shows that all the pure tenets of Rowlands might be clearly seen in three creeds—the Athanasian, the Nicene, and the Apostles' Creed—and that the light of dawn had shone on the old Articles of the Church of England and on the Catechism of great Westminster, but especially on the Holy Bible, and that from these pure streams the treasures of heavenly grace, as a great overflowing river, came out at Llangeitho, and that blood and water—not water only—death and precious holiness of the great captain of our salvation were all the preaching there.

This testimony is clear and it is true. No fact is more historically certain than that the early Methodists in Wales, although they abandoned the Liturgy of the Church in their public services, yet held the doctrine pure and entire, of which it was a repository and exponent, as the root of their spiritual life, and the ground of their future hope; it was the life-blood of their theology; they cherished it as a treasure of priceless value; it was the source of their strength and the secret of their power; in their mouth it was the power of God unto salvation to thousands of their countrymen. They neglected the use of the Liturgy and yet they valued its doctrine; that is the position in which the revival of last century placed the Welsh Methodists in reference to the Church of their fathers.

And another cause of the rupture which the revival produced is found in the spiritual state of the Church at the time and in the attitude it assumed with respect to the movement. The Church was cold and lukewarm; the clergy were worldly and indifferent; many of them were corrupt and immoral; there was no life in the preaching and no fervour in the worship; clergy and people alike had fallen into deep sleep; the spirit of slumber had come over them. This is graphically described by the poet in his elegy on the Rev. Daniel Rowlands, to which I have already referred. In it he says:—

Pan oedd Tywyll nos trwy Frydain  
 Heb un argoel codi gwawr  
 A thrwm gwsg odiwrth yr Arglwydd  
 Wedi goruwch—guddio 'r llawr;  
 Daniel chwythodd yn yr udgorn  
 Gloyw udgorn Sina fryn  
 Ac fe grynodd creigydd cedyrn  
 Wrth yr adsain nerthol hyn.

In plain English, this stanza declares that when there was dark night through Britain without any sign of the rise of the dawn, and deep sleep from God was overspreading the ground, Daniel blew the trumpet—the bright trumpet of the hill of Sinah, and strong rocks quaked at this powerful echo.

Daniel did, indeed, blow the trumpet; he and others as faithful watchmen on the walls of Sion lifted up their voices like trumpets and gave the alarm; but the Bishops and clergy of Wales understood not the sound; they mistook its meaning; they knew not the day of their visitation; they did not see in the movement the finger of God and signs of His grace and favour unto His people; they set themselves in antagonism to it; they discountenanced and opposed it; they attempted by violent measures to suppress it; the Bishop withdrew Rowlands' license and the clergy closed the doors of the churches against him; and the gentry of the country, and even the common

people, whose cry was—"The King and Church," joined the clergy; the early Methodists were roughly treated by the rabble; they were in many places persecuted and stoned; they were often in jeopardy of their lives; they were brought before magistrates who showed them no favour, but treated them as disturbers of the public peace. This was the attitude which the Church on the part of its Bishops and clergy and its laity assumed with respect to the revival of religion in the last century, and by their action became responsible for the rupture that occurred and which led to the separation of the Methodists from the Church of their fathers.

And, again, there is another point of view bearing on the subject which deserves notice; this point of view is an element in the question which assists us to explain the tendency of events which terminated in the schism which the revival of religion in the last century produced in Wales. At the Reformation and in the times of the Stuarts no man arose in Wales who through his writings or otherwise impressed his own individual character in favour of the Church on the minds of the people; men of eminence did, indeed, arise; they were men of learning and piety; they did great work in their day; and their memory is cherished with reverence by the Welsh people to this day; but no one appeared among them like John Knox in Scotland, who impressed his individual character on the minds of the people so deeply as to make his memory in subsequent generations a connecting link between the national mind and the national Church; this link was wanting to the Welsh Church, when the disturbing elements of Methodism arose in the last century. When the religious feelings of the people were aroused and set afloat under the influence of the revival there was no guiding-star among the worthies of their nation, whose memory fastened them to the Church of their fathers; no Calvin or Knox had been among them who had shaped them after his own model, and the talismanic influence of whose name would have kept the current of their religious enthusiasm within the pale of the national Church. But although no man of this commanding influence had appeared during the period to which I have referred, yet the Welsh Church at that time was not destitute of men of mark, whose writings, though not extensive, had a considerable hold on the minds of the Welsh people; among them I may name Edmund Prys, Archdeacon of Merioneth, who is said to have assisted Dr. Morgan in the translation of the Welsh Bible. He was the author of the Metrical Psalter. This book no doubt exercised great influence on the minds of the people. It was a valuable acquisition to the Church in the seventeenth century. It must have improved congregational singing, and quickened an interest in the public services of the Church;

the pure truth which pervades it must have supplied hungry souls with spiritual bread of the finest quality. But I am not aware that, taken as a whole, it ever was a popular work. I know of no proofs to lead me to suppose that it ever aroused the religious enthusiasm of the people and took a deep hold on the national mind. At the time of the Methodist revival it was soon supplanted and driven out of the field by the hymns of Williams of Pantycelyn. It formed a link of little power between the national mind and the national Church. But when I say this I apply the remark to the book as a whole. There are stanzas in it that have always been, in the highest sense of the term, popular. They have taken deep hold on the minds of Welshmen, and will doubtless be sung in public assemblies in Wales as long as the Welsh language continues to exist. Among these I may name the metrical versions of Psalms xxvii. 4, lxxxiv. 1, c. 1, cviii. 5, cxxi. 1, cxxii. 1, as an illustration of my remark. They will never lose their popularity as long as true piety breathes in the assemblies of Welsh people.

Another name was very popular at one time in Wales, and is still held in great reverence among the people. It is that of the Rev. Rees Prichard, vicar of Landover, commonly called "Vicar Llanyinddyfri." He flourished in the time of James I. and Charles I., and was a man of mark in his day. In his younger days he was addicted to habits of intemperance, and the incident which is said to have led to his conversion was very remarkable. A he-goat was in the habit of following him to the public-house. On one occasion he gave the goat beer and made him drunk. After this treatment the goat could not be induced either to follow him to the public-house or to taste beer any more. The conduct of the goat brought him to reflection. He thought himself more brutish than the dumb animal, and made up his mind to forsake his sins and turn to God. He became a powerful preacher and a burning and a shining light among his countrymen. But he is best known as the author of "*Canwyll-y-Cymry*"—"Welshmen's Candle." It is a volume of songs on Scriptural and common subjects. The author was a true poet. He had, in great richness and in genuine refinement, what the Welsh call "*Yr awen*"—the gift of poetry. His language is colloquial, but the flow is easy, and there is harmony in the rhythm, and the sentiments are replete with sound maxims on events of common occurrence. As a repository of maxims the book stands without a rival in the Welsh language, and perhaps in that respect it is not excelled in any other language. In the last century it was very popular. The people got it up by heart, and its sentiments were ever on their lips. I can well remember the readiness with which old people, in my younger days, quoted lines from the Vicar's Book in illustration of occurrences of daily

life, and for guidance of conduct in the discharge of ordinary duties; but its songs were not psalms and hymns used in the services of the Church—it formed no connecting link between the national mind and the national Church. When the revival came, the Vicar's Book was neglected, if not forgotten. The enthusiasm of the people was raised by the hymns of Williams of Pantycelyn, and they were carried away by them.

But it is time that I should now take a brief review of the revival of last century, which terminated in the secession of a large and influential portion of my countrymen from the Church of their fathers. I shall consider the part which the promoters respectively took in the movement. God sent forth His Spirit. But human agencies were also at work. Individual men had their predilections and biasses, and perhaps their weaknesses and infirmities, as well as their gifts and excellences. The idiosyncrasies of the agencies added shape and colour to the movement. They left their impress on the result, and that impress is now visibly seen in the religious condition of the Principality.

At the opening of the scene the first that appears on the stage is the Rev. Griffith Jones, Rector of Llanddrownor, Carmarthenshire; he was first and foremost among the Welsh revivalists of the last century; he is called "The Morning Star of the Revival." He was thirty years in advance of Daniel Rowlands of Llangeitho, and Howel Harries of Trevecca; he was ordained by the learned Bishop Bull in the year 1708, and he sought, when he was yet young, the welfare of his nation, and devoted himself with earnest zeal to the service of his Church. He was a powerful preacher, an able writer in both languages, and a great promoter of elementary schools throughout the country, and he worked on the lines of the Church. He had taken in Wales in this respect the same line of action which Romaine, Newton, and Simeon subsequently pursued in England. He itinerated through the country preaching the Gospel; he does not seem to have met the severe treatment and cruel persecution which Rowlands, and especially Harries, subsequently encountered; he preached the Gospel as fully and faithfully as they did; his trumpet gave as certain a sound as theirs, but he and they went to work differently; he catechised—and took the Catechism of the Church of England as the basis of his instruction—as well as preached, but they preached and never catechised. In his preaching tours he laboured to establish circulating schools through the parishes, they confined their attention entirely to preaching and promoted no schools. The course which he thus pursued excited the interest and enlisted the sympathies of the people. In his peregrinations through the country he received as a rule friendly reception at their hands,

and I am not aware that the clergy were hostile or opposed to him. The doors of the churches were thrown open to him and he was permitted to preach within their walls. He was the honoured instrument of the conversion of Daniel Rowlands to God, and the event took place in the Church of Llanddewibrefi, which is not far from Llangeitho. Rowlands was already in holy orders and was then curate of Llangeitho; he went with the people to hear Mr. Jones preach; he was at the time a proud and self-sufficient young man, and probably full of conceit. The church was crowded and Rowlands stood conspicuously in the midst of the congregation; he assumed a defiant attitude and his demeanour attracted the eye of the preacher. In the middle of his sermon he paused and then offered up a prayer to God that he would be pleased to touch the heart of the proud young man that stood before him and to make him a chosen vessel to bear the name of Christ before his countrymen. The prayer was answered; the words fell like a thunderbolt on the ears of Rowlands; the arrow of conviction struck his heart and he was laid prostrate in the dust. From that hour he consecrated himself unto God and served Him faithfully to the end of his days in the Gospel of His Son. This incident gives us an insight into the character of Griffith Jones as a preacher; he did not, indeed, possess the extraordinary powers which Rowlands afterwards displayed, but the occurrence shows that he had "an unction from the Holy One," and that he preached with authority as "ambassador for Christ," and there can be little doubt that the Gospel in his mouth was the power of God unto salvation to thousands of his countrymen. And he was also an able writer. He made extensive use of the press in the instruction which he imparted to the people. In literary attainments not one of the Welsh revivalists can be compared to him except the Rev. Thomas Charles of Bala, one of the founders of the British and Foreign Bible Society. These two good men belonged to the same revival and had caught the same flame which kindled their hearts and inspired them for their work; the live coal which touched the lips of both was taken from off the same altar, but they were not contemporaries. There was a considerable interval of time between them; Charles was born in 1755, six years before the death of Griffith Jones, which occurred in 1761. Both made great use of the press; they wrote extensively in the vernacular language, and both paid special attention to catechising and the instruction of the young. Each brought out a manual for catechising. Mr. Jones published an exposition of the Catechism of the Church of England, but Mr. Charles published a catechism called in Welsh "*Hyfforddwr*," which was a new coinage. Mr Jones' manual was the Catechism of the Church of England, explained and proved by Scriptural

references, but Mr. Charles' manual in form and doctrine partook more of the Assembly's Catechism than of the Catechism of the Church of England. Mr. Jones in his manual interwove his instruction with the formularies of the Church, but Mr. Charles, on the contrary, in his catechism abandoned the formularies of the Church, and cut up for himself fresh ground and chose a new path. The tendency of Mr. Jones' manual was to attach the people to the Church of their fathers, but the tendency of Mr. Charles' manual was to detach them from her communion, and the effect of the divergent courses which they pursued is felt in Wales to the present day. Wherever the influence of Mr. Jones is felt, there a connection exists between the Church and the people, but wherever the teaching of Mr. Charles is in the ascendancy, the link is broken and the connection is lost. Both, indeed, by word of mouth, and through their writings, dispensed the bread of life pure and unadulterated to the people, but in my opinion the food which Mr. Jones distributed was more solid and better seasoned than that which Mr. Charles supplied. They both used the same flour, and it was fine flour in each case. Herein there was no difference between them ; they both fetched their supply from the same lump of dough—the Scripture of Truth—but Mr. Jones, as it appears to me, baked his bread better than Mr. Charles. His method was the better and the more excellent way, because, while he taught the people the truth as it is in Jesus, he retained them under the influence of the Liturgy of the Church of England, which is so well adapted to train and discipline the mind in exercises of devotion and to deepen and refine piety in the hearts of those who worship God in spirit and in truth. Chastened and refined piety is an element that is conspicuously absent in the religion of my countrymen.

And, again, Mr. Griffith Jones was a great promoter of elementary education in his day ; he established circulating-schools through the length and breadth of the land. The primary object of their establishment was to teach the children to read the Bible. Their number at the time of his death in 1761 amounted to 218. In this work of faith and labour of love, which in the service of his Lord he accomplished to his nation, not one of the Welsh revivalists came near him ; not one of them approached him ; he was ahead of them all and left them far behind. He appeared in this respect solitary and alone among them. Mr. Charles of Bala, indeed, followed his footsteps, but at considerable distance. He established a few day-schools in North Wales, but they did not prosper. Here, again, these two good men, while aiming at the same object, went to work in different ways and different results followed. Mr. Charles, in the schools which he established, ignored the parochial system and the parochial clergy, and attached them probably to congregations of Metho-

dists gathered in different localities, but Mr. Jones in conducting the affairs of his schools had respect to the parochial system and seems to have worked as much as possible through the parochial clergy. The clergy and the gentry to some extent assisted him. And thus Mr. Charles' day-schools were soon merged into the Sunday-schools and disappeared, but Mr. Jones' schools maintained their ground and became permanent institutions in the country. When he died they were taken up by a Mrs. Bevan, who left in her will a legacy of 10,000*l.* towards their support, and the interest of this sum is to this day applied towards the support of elementary schools in connection with the Church of England in the Principality. All this shows that Mr. Jones was a clear-sighted and far-seeing reformer. If the measures which he had initiated had been carried out by his followers in the great revival of last century, Wales would have been this day as distinguished for its learning and its intellectual attainments as for its moral qualities and religious tendencies, and the Welsh would have been behind no nation in Europe in the march of intellect and civilisation. He did great work in his day and it was a work of permanent character.

This work, in furtherance of elementary education, although not vigorously pursued after he had been gathered to his fathers, and gone into rest, yet told permanently on the position of the Church in the Principality. It placed her on vantage ground of great power and influence when elementary education became a national question. When this question came to the front, forty years ago, the Church in Wales held the key of the situation in her own hand, and she was not slow to use it. When the Minutes of the Privy Council came into operation, the Church in Wales rose to the occasion; she put on strength, worked vigorously, and covered the face of the country with schools. She achieved wonders, and her success was marvellous. Notwithstanding the prevalence of dissent and the existence of the bilingual difficulty, she marched on conquering and to conquer; and if the Elementary Education Act of 1870 had not interfered and arrested her progress, the probability is that she would have monopolised the education of the rising generation in the rural districts of Wales. This remark may surprise our friends in England; it may puzzle them; but it is true, and the solution of the riddle is found in the fact that the good and great and Apostolic Griffith Jones of Llanddowror had laid the foundation of the work in his days, and had, through the impulse which he had given to education within the pale of the Church, prepared her and the people for the occasion. The schools which had been scattered through the country, and which owed, directly or indirectly, their origin to him, had accustomed the people to look to the clergyman of the parish for the education of their chil-



dren, although they themselves had seceded from the communion of the Church. They had been accustomed to think that education was a province that belonged to the Church, and they readily and with confidence placed their children in the schools which she provided. Here lies the secret of the success which has accompanied the efforts of the Church in Wales in behalf of elementary education during the last forty years, and that secret is traced to the course which Griffith Jones of Llanddowror pursued on the question in his day. And thus, whether we regard him as a preacher, a writer, or a promoter of education, we see that in all his movements he worked on the lines of the Church, and the result of his labour, which is still felt in Wales, forms a connecting link between the people and the Church of their fathers.

But the successors of Griffith Jones in the great revival did not follow in his footsteps; they did not pursue the course which he commenced and perfect the measures which he initiated. Their position with regard to the Church was perhaps different to his. They encountered more hostility and greater opposition from the Bishops and clergy than he did, and they had not either his peculiar gifts; they did not possess his learning and intellectual culture, his discretion and penetration, his well-balanced mind and power of organisation, but they were men of great gifts and great force of character; they pre-eminently possessed the gift of preaching. Rowlands excelled in it; he had it in a manner peculiar to himself. In the pulpit he was higher than all his brethren "from his shoulders and upwards;" but Howel Harries, Peter Williams, Williams of Pantycelyn, and Jones of Llangan, who were Rowlands' immediate contemporaries, were also stirring preachers. Their preaching produced extraordinary results, and they had a great following. And Williams of Pantycelyn had the gift of poetry which he consecrated to the service of God. His hymns are very touching and beautiful. When they first came forth they added fresh impulse to the revival, and produced great effects; but these good men were not organisers, they simply followed the current of events, their whole mind was bent on the conversion of souls, and, like Whitfield in England, they paid little attention to organisation. As they were driven out of the churches, separate congregations of their adherents were formed and they supplied their spiritual wants. In these congregations the Liturgy of the Church was not used; no connection in the form of public worship was retained between them and the Church which they had forsaken. And thus, although Rowlands and his immediate contemporaries continued members of the Church to the end of their days, yet the tendency of events in their time which arose from the

course of action which they pursued, and from the treatment which they received at the hands of the Bishops and clergy, naturally led to the formal separation from the communion of the Church which occurred in the days of their successors in the year 1811, when men were set apart for the ministration of the sacraments within the connection. If Rowlands and his contemporaries had acted after the example of Griffith Jones of Llanddowror, it is possible that the rupture, which I lament as a calamity to the interest of the Church and of religion in the Principality, would not have followed. But the rupture came, and the course which becomes Churchmen and Separatists now to pursue is to study in a Christian spirit to heal and not to widen the breach, and I rejoice to add that this spirit was deeply felt and visibly seen in the discussions at the Church Congress which was lately held at Swansea.

J. POWELL JONES.

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#### ART. III.—REPRESENTATIVE STATESMEN.

*Representative Statesmen—Political Studies.* By ALEX. CHARLES EWALD, F.S.A., Author of "The Life and Times of Prince Charles Stuart," "The Life of Sir Robert Walpole," &c. Chapman & Hall. 2 vols. 1879.

THE study of politics is so often associated in the public mind with want of interest and dryness of detail that when an author, as in the work before us, takes up the subject, and by dint of lightness of style and grouping of anecdote presents us with two very readable volumes we owe him a debt of gratitude. To describe the progress of political science from the despotism of the seventeenth century, to the latest development of Parliamentary government in the nineteenth century, at first sight appears to be a labour which may be useful but which must be dull. Visions pass before us of all the heavy machinery of legislation put into operation—Bills accepted or rejected, Debates more exhaustive of the auditor's patience than of the subject discussed, divisions, coalitions, dissolutions, and all that is contained in the dreary pages of Hansard. Mr. Ewald has, however, followed a course which, whilst it avoids the dryness of information pure and simple, yet preserves its utility. By recording the lives of men eminent in the political world, he has used Biography as a channel for conveying much sound historical knowledge to the reader. He presents each statesman to our notice as the representative of some special characteristic which tinges as it were the whole current of the politician's career, and gives a definite colour

to his life and actions. Thus, we have Strafford as the representative of despotism, the trimmer Halifax as the representative of "moderate" views, Sir Robert Walpole as the man of peace, Chatham as the man of war, Lord Eldon as the deliberative Minister, Pitt as the type of a noble disinterestedness, Canning as the brilliant Minister, Wellington as the man to whom the dictates of conscience were all in all, Sir Robert Peel as "the Minister of Expediency," and stout Lord Palmerston—"the English Minister"—as the man who displayed his nationality in everything he undertook.

Thus, through the fascinating medium of biography we have a survey of the last two centuries, and are bidden to mark the social and political changes that have occurred. We see despotism dissolve itself into prerogative, and prerogative give way to government by Parliament. We see Ministers absolute and independent of all Parliamentary control, and then resolving themselves into the responsible agents of the House of Commons. We see the Upper House governed by a powerful oligarchy, and then making room for a popular House of Commons elected by the nation. And, lastly, we see politics, once the pursuit of a privileged coterie, developing into the open and honourable profession of the country. Freedom has broadened down from precedent to precedent, till intolerance has been erased from the Statute Book.

Hackneyed as are the incidents in the life of Strafford, our author, from a careful consultation of the State Papers and other original documents, has been able to throw much light upon the career of "Thorough." At an early age Wentworth came up from Yorkshire, and sat in the last three Parliaments of James I. He enrolled himself as an opponent of the policy of the Court, detesting the favourite, Buckingham. On the accession of Charles I. he became one of the leaders of the popular party. After the passing of the Petition of Right, however, he attached himself to the Royalists, was made a peer, and became the staunchest ally of the King. And now the man showed the despotism that was within him. What Richelieu was planning for Louis, Wentworth endeavoured to carry out for Charles in England. As President of the Council of York,<sup>1</sup> and Viceroy of Ireland, he levied taxes and

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Smart, one of the Prebendaries of Durham Cathedral, had opposed the ritualistic tendencies of the day, and had denounced them as but copies of "that painted harlot, the Church of Rome." He was heavily fined, and forced to resign his preferment. The Lord President was directed by the King to determine offences according to the course of the Star Chamber, "*whether provided for by Act of Parliament or not*," whilst he was informed that from his Court no appeals would lie to the Courts at Westminster.

made all obey the decisions of the King without appeal or remonstrance. He counselled Charles to govern without the advice of Parliament, to wring the moneys he required from his poverty-stricken subjects by illegal loans and benevolences, to support a standing army, and to lay down the law to the country not as interpreted by the decisions of the recognised courts of justice, but as interpreted by the decisions of illegal tribunals. And thus beneath the obstinacy of Charles, the bigotry of Laud, and the despotism of Strafford, England was humbled and oppressed, her trade was driven from her shores, her religion was debased by a Romanising sacerdotalism, her sister kingdoms of Ireland and Scotland were seething in tumult and agitation, and all was misery and wretchedness.

Strafford is the last of English statesmen [writes Mr. Ewald] who sought to create the sovereign independent of the law and the legislature. We have had Ministers who have ruled by exercising pressure upon the courts of justice, who have bribed the House of Commons, who have by their aristocratic cohesion made encroachments upon the power of the Throne, who have transformed the law of the land into an engine of oppression; but such tyranny and corruption were at least displayed under the recognised forms of administration. Though judges had delivered iniquitous judgments, still such judgments were uttered by the acknowledged representatives of the law. Though a House of Commons had passed measures injurious to the nation, or played into the hands of a foreign foe, its acts were at least committed by the popular branch of the national assembly. Though a House of Lords had kept the Prerogative in check, its restraints were exercised by those legally constituting the senate of the realm. Though kings had endeavoured to mould the wishes of the nation to their own arbitrary views, they yet acknowledged the maxim that the law was above the sovereign. But the policy of Wentworth was one utterly at variance with all such restraints, flimsy and frangible though they often were. He declined to act within recognised limits, or to be tied and bound by forms of precedent. He had, he said, the welfare of the nation at heart, and he knew better than the lawyers, than the peers, than the country gentlemen what was the best course to adopt. He would give England his brains, and the people would have but to carry out his instructions. . . . Aware that to establish a despotism a military Cæsarism must be instituted, Strafford stoutly advocated the existence of a standing army. Aware that there can be no absolutism where justice is pure and free, Strafford sought to poison its administration by his own biased interpretations and the high-handed proceedings of illegal Courts. Aware that tyranny and parliamentary institutions are opposed to each other, Strafford supported Laud in counselling the King to rule without the advice of an English House of Commons. Happily his evil policy was overthrown, and its defeat was the first step towards the consolidation of that freedom and happiness which we now enjoy.

The biography of Halifax, the representative of "moderate" principles in government, is interesting, because so little is known of the man, and so few materials exist by which we can be let into the secret of his character. We see him proud of his name of Trimmer, occupying the post of counsellor of moderation to the country. His voice was always raised in favour of the persecuted; now he was on the side of the Court, then on the side of the Republicans; now in favour of the Papists, then in favour of the Dissenters; opposing the bitterness of the Commonwealth, the profligate levity of our second Charles, and the bigotry of the avowed Romanist, his brother James. Apparently inconsistent, he was always an advocate of toleration, justice, and sound freedom. He lived in an age of passionate excitement, when the most opposite feelings were surging around the bark of the Constitution. Weighing down the frail vessel to her gunwale on the one side were Popery, French influence, bribery, a vicious Court party, injustice, oppression, and despotic measures; on the other side, acting as a counter-weight, were a vindictive patriotism, burning with fierce and dangerous hate of France, free thought, with a strong leaven of Republicanism, and the schemes of the dynastic intriguer. Between these two sections stood Halifax the trimmer. To use his own simile he was neither the sails nor the oars of the boat of the Constitution, but the ballast.

In the monograph upon Sir Robert Walpole, "the Minister of Peace," based upon the author's larger work on that Prime Minister, we have perhaps the most complete of these sketches. Every event in the career of the great Georgian adviser is laid before us—his sudden rise to power, his skill in finance, his cleverness in intrigue, his hatred of rivalry in the Cabinet, the dexterity with which he avoided war, the diplomacy by which he succeeded in keeping himself in power in spite of all opposition, the hold he exercised over our first two Georges, the cynical views he entertained, the sweeping accusations made against him of bribery and corruption which failed to bear investigation, his coarseness, his jokes, his love of sport, all stand out, clear and distinct, like the lines of a figure in relief. We see the hard sarcastic worldling who believed in nothing, and the purity of no intention, who considered that every man was to be bought, who thought the world revolved upon the axis of self-interest, and between the poles of venality and corruption. Yet Mr. Ewald, though he does not attempt to conceal the real character of Walpole, ably defends him from many of the grave charges that were brought against him. On the resignation of Walpole a Committee sat to inquire into the political conduct, and on investigation it was then discovered how powerfully the Tories and the Whigs he had spurned had magnified his offences.

The homely English proverb [writes the author], "Give a dog a bad name and you may as lief hang him," not inaptly illustrates the fate of Walpole. History had conferred upon him her bad name, and the result was that everything in his disfavour was remembered and exaggerated, while his good deeds were carefully and maliciously forgotten. It was known that he had bribed, therefore he was accused of continuous and wholesale corruption. It was known that he had paid for the services of certain of his political hirelings, therefore he had tampered with the virtue of the whole body of his supporters. It was known that he had been accused, no matter how unjustly, of deriving profit from Government transactions, therefore much of his acquired wealth had been obtained by presents from interested merchants and by the pillaging from State contracts. It was known that he made no pretensions to scholarship, therefore he was deficient in education, a man of very moderate ability, who compensated for the deficiencies of intellect by cunning, intrigue, and the most lavish system of venality. It was known that he was in favour of peace, therefore he was a coward, a traitor to English interests and a servile courtier of foreign Powers. It was also known, but wilfully suppressed, that this same Minister, who was all baseness and incapacity, had kept the country, without any loss to her prestige, free from war longer than she had ever been kept since the days of James I. ; that at the time when the nation was on the verge of ruin, at the collapse of the South Sea Scheme, he had been implored to come forward, and in the most skilful manner had weathered the financial storm ; that he had been the first to relieve commerce from its heavy and mischievous taxation, and that under his long rule the trade of the country had been prosperous, the revenue increasing, and the landed interest eased of its burdens.

The Article on Chatham, the representative of the warlike policy, labours under the disadvantage of having been made the special subject of an essay by the brilliant Macaulay. Mr. Ewald, aware that he is trespassing upon the domain of the historian, endeavours to avoid going over the same ground, although he does not always succeed in his efforts. We have speeches which are not to be found in the essays of Macaulay, and incidents brought prominently forward which the historian has kept in the background, but which in the opinion of our author tend to reveal the hot, imperious character both of the statesman and his policy. The conduct of Chatham in opposing hostilities with America is well described, and no one can read the splendid speeches of the great statesman without feeling that he was a true Minister of War—because he knew so well when to advocate peace. The portrait of the man strikes us as good.

Nature had cast Chatham in one of her severest moulds. He possessed in an eminent degree those gifts which create fear, inspire respect, and repel love. Stern, unbending, proud with the consciousness of a lofty nature that is incapable of mean acts, endowed with an intellect which was inspired by the sacred fire of genius, a sound and quick judge of character, ceaseless in his efforts till the end he put

before him had been reached, passionate, impetuous, eloquent, he was one of those men born to command and to whom submission is instinctively given. He posed as the superior being, and never descended from his pedestal. There is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous; but the narrow borderland was never crossed by Chatham—he was always sublime. He knew the danger to dignity which the great man incurs by lowering himself in his tastes, his pleasures, his social converse to the level of those around him. Chatham never unbent; he was always the stately personage, always in full dress. When he entered society, his bearing, his smile, his cold, haughty courtesy so deeply impressed the guests, that his appearance at once hushed gaiety and silenced the most flippant. The House of Commons trembled at his frown, and listened awe-struck to his impetuous eloquence and to his fierce and ready rejoinders. Even the bravest felt his heart grow sick and chill when those savage eyes were turned upon him, causing the jest or malicious interruption to be crushed at its very outset. Who does not know the story? “Sugar, Mr. Speaker,” began Chatham, on one occasion, when so abrupt an introduction of the subject created a laugh. The eagle glance of the Minister swept the House, and the usual expressive silence ensued. “Sugar, sugar, sugar,” he slowly repeated, looking the while at his interrogators, who were hushed as schoolboys detected by their master; “who will now dare to laugh at sugar?” “His words,” says Lord Lyttelton, “have sometimes frozen my young blood into stagnation, and sometimes made it pace in such a hurry through my veins that I could scarce support it.”

If Mr. Ewald is not so fortunate in his sketch of the sire, he is very nearly at his best in his description of the son. The Article on William Pitt, the representative of the disinterested politician, is most readable. The “heaven born” Minister stands before us as posterity loves to remember him, devoting his whole life and talents to the good of his country, indifferent to office unless the measures he considers right are advocated, and ready at any moment to resign the seals and the salary of power, and go back to his chambers in the Temple, and his modest 300*l.* a year. *Non sibi sed patriæ* was his motto. When in office he gave titles and grants from the Treasury to others, yet no coronet glistened on his own brow, no fortune swelled his own slender estate. To feel that he had done his duty, to keep his country free from the poison of a mischievous socialism, and to crush the dangerous ambition of Napoleon, were the objects and rewards of his life. Let us listen to the eulogistic, yet discriminating remarks of Mr. Ewald:—

Of all the Ministers of England who have ruled supreme in the councils of the Cabinet, none have been more bitterly and generally hated than Pitt. There have been statesmen, such as Walpole, who have been as much hated as liked; others, such as Newcastle and Portland, who have been deemed beneath the dislike of their fellows;

others, again, like Chatham, who have been too much feared to be cordially hated; whilst of the political mediocrities, the Rockinghams and the Percevals, their very want of individuality and of marked capacity has kept them free from the malice and all uncharitableness of their colleagues and opponents. But with Pitt it was different. He was one of those minds which dawn at rare intervals upon the world; yet with the exception of his lofty intellect and his splendid sense of independence, which commanded the homage of all, he possessed few of the qualities which Englishmen admire in their rulers, and many of the faults which they detest. He was intensely proud, and save in the bosom of his family, where he was warmly loved, stiff, cold, and ungenial. When he appeared in public, even when he was cheered and fêted, his harsh features seldom relaxed their haughty, repellent expression. Kings bowed and smiled, but Pitt, the commoner, the son of a newly-created peer, took scant pains not to show that he held such homage in contempt. His conduct was irreproachable. In an age of much profligacy he wore the white flower of a blameless life; his private morals were so pure that they were often thrown in his teeth as a reproach; he did not gamble; scandal could find no fault in him, yet the warm heart of the ruined spendthrift Fox made all who came in contact with him love him, whilst the virtues of Pitt were so hard, so austere, so cold, that they grated upon the sensitiveness of mankind. . . . He wanted humility, toleration, charity. . . . But separating the man from the policy, we find in Pitt statesmanship of the highest order. He had the great gift which is often more allied with common sense than with genius, of seeing what was the right course to be pursued precisely at the right moment. In seasons of crisis, his judgment was seldom at fault, or clouded by the sense of fear or responsibility. His control both of our domestic and foreign affairs, during times of grave peril, was firm, judicious, and far-sighted. A great mind lives in advance of its age, but no one more anticipated the future than Pitt. He saw and endeavoured to remedy the evils that were afterwards removed by Parliamentary reform, Roman Catholic emancipation, and by the establishment of the principles of Free Trade. His patriotism was pure, lofty, and jealous. He was loyal to the Throne, but, though acrid and ungenial, he was also a warm friend of the people. There have been on the bead-roll of English Ministers men more popular, more kindly, more generous, but none more able, more straightforward, or more worthy of the high position he held, than the great, the disinterested, the severe William Pitt.

The biographies of the great lawyer, Eldon, and the great soldier, Wellington, in a work of this kind we cannot but consider as a mistake. The object of Mr. Ewald, however, may have been to show how men may be educated in politics, may work their way to a high position in Parliament, may be raised to power, and yet be wanting in those qualities of prescience, judgment, soundness of decision, and well-balanced sympathy, which go to make the typical statesman.

Whilst offering every tribute of praise to Wellington's de-



votion to duty,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ewald indulges in some severe criticisms touching the political conduct of the Great Duke, and especially with regard to his desertion of Canning. If Canning is not Mr. Ewald's political hero, he is certainly depicted in these pages in the most flattering colours. He was, according to our author, in the first rank as a politician, a statesman, and an orator. He did nothing which he did not adorn. The chief features in his career are his loyalty to Pitt, his dislike of Addington, and his consistent advocacy of R. C. emancipation. To Pitt, Canning was united by every tie of friendship and gratitude, and when he saw at a season of grave crisis a political mediocrity like Addington usurp the place and power of the "heaven-born Minister," his indignation knew no bounds. Addington was the son of a physician, and the wags had nicknamed him "the Doctor;" this title was now to be made the most of by Canning in many a bitter squib. "Ridicule," said Lord Chesterfield, "if thrown by a skilful hand, will stick for ever." From the full quiver of Canning's satire, these were two-barbed arrows—

Old Rome in times of danger sought  
Dictators from the plough,  
And prosper'd; we in England take  
A different practice now;  
For when compell'd with modern France  
And Buonaparte to wrestle,  
We borrow our Dictator from  
The mortar and the pestle.

AN INSCRIPTION.

As sick in her cradle poor Britain was laid  
Between two silly nurses that rock'd her,  
O Pitt! she exclaim'd, prithee haste to my aid,  
Or you see I shall die of the doctor.

Of all the politicians of his time Canning was the one who pre-eminently distinguished himself in his advocacy of "Catholic relief." No one more rejoiced than he that we had separated from the Church of Rome, and had purified our Church from Papal glosses and corruptions; but he failed to see that there was sufficient in the creed of the Roman Catholic to justify Protestants in denouncing Popery as incompatible with the discharge of the duties of a good and loyal subject. He, therefore,

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"I was marvellously struck," writes Charles Greville in his Memoirs, after a ride through St. James's Park with the Duke of Wellington, "with the profound respect with which the Duke was treated . . . every appearance of his inspiring great reverence." Mr. Ewald tells a good story of a boy dining with the Duke (it was his valet's son); after dinner, the Duke said, "Now, go to your father, be a good boy—*do your duty.*"

considered the exclusion of the Papist as unjust, and not to be persevered in. He held that by emancipation the discontent in Ireland would cease, and that, therefore, it was not only just, but sound policy to press the legislature to pass the measure. Such were his views, and whether they were right or wrong, or have been justified by subsequent events, he consistently maintained them. Within a few months after his death, those who had opposed him found themselves compelled to maintain his views, and to pass the measure he had so strenuously supported. Discontent in Ireland, however, has certainly not ceased.

Few statesmen have so rapidly declined in the estimation of public opinion as Sir Robert Peel, termed the representative of expediency. Sir Robert's mind lacked those statesman-like gifts which can to a certain extent anticipate the course of events. He was always being led and not leading; now he was under the wand of Lord Eldon, then he was the fond disciple of the Great Duke, and, again, he was led by the country instead of giving it a policy and directing its issues. It is a curious fact that in every one of the great measures with which the name of Peel is connected he was indebted to others. Mr. Horner had introduced the Currency Bill, it had been opposed by Peel, then it had been advocated by him, and, finally, it was by Peel and not by Horner that the Bill became law. Canning had warmly fought for Catholic emancipation, Peel had as warmly opposed it; yet it was through Peel, and not through Canning, that the Papists obtained relief. Cobden had upheld Free Trade, Peel had laughed it to scorn; yet it was by Peel, and not by Cobden, that the Corn Laws were abolished. Were the terrible sneers of the then Mr. Disraeli wholly unjustified? Was not the political career of Peel "one long appropriation clause?" Did he not see the Whigs bathing, and steal their clothes? Was he not a man "who never originated an idea;" a mere watcher of the atmosphere—"a man who, as he says himself, takes his observations, and when he finds the wind veers towards a certain quarter to suit it?" Was he any more a great statesman than the man who gets behind a carriage is a great whip? "Both may perhaps get a good place," laughed his terrible assailant, "but how far the original momentum is indebted to their powers, and how far their guiding prudence regulates the lash or the rein it is not necessary for me to notice."

Sir Robert Peel [writes Mr. Ewald] has been stigmatised by many as a "turncoat" and a "traitor," but to those who carefully study his political career, he will appear more in the light of a conscientious convert than of a self-seeking apostate.<sup>1</sup> That he was a statesman in

<sup>1</sup> To Sir Robert's "high tone of honour, his love for truth, and the purity and disinterestedness of his ambition," Mr. Ewald does full justice.

the highest sense of the word—in the sense of a man whose genius offers a practical creed to his party, who inspires his followers with the spirit of his ideas, and whose tact and temper keep even discordant elements in harmony—it is idle, in the face of such open changes of opinion, to attempt to make Sir Robert Peel appear. There are authors who only want originality for their works to be brilliant successes. Give them a plot or a leading idea, and their beauty of style, their knowledge of human nature, and their powers of description will create a novel or a play which will deeply interest all its readers or spectators. What such men are in literature Sir Robert Peel was in politics. Give him a policy, and none knew better than he how to make it acceptable to his followers, how to excite the approval of the country, and how to work upon the sympathies and prejudices of the House of Commons. . . . . The purely receptive character of the intellect of Sir Robert Peel failed to raise him to the position of a great statesman, but his abilities, his eloquence, his powers of debate, his subtle knowledge of all the strategies of political warfare have caused him instead to be handed down to posterity as the greatest member of Parliament, next to Walpole, that England has ever seen.

Of all the monographs contained in these volumes, the one which in our opinion is the best done is the sketch of Lord Palmerston. The author calls him the "English Minister," and he has certainly grasped those characteristics of the statesman in his portrait which we identify with the English nation. We see Lord Palmerston depicted as we all love to remember him—as the man who hates shuffling and double dealings, who speaks out his mind and acts up to his words, who will "stand no nonsense," and declines to be intimidated, who is a thorough Englishman in his tastes and ways of thought; an earnest partisan, but not so earnest as to forget that he is an English gentleman first and a politician afterwards. It is like feeling the breezes of the moorland after a confinement in a hot-house, to read how stout "Old Pam," when Foreign Secretary, stood up to France in the different disputes that arose, and silenced her "swagger;" how frankly he refused to let her interfere with Egypt or with Belgian independence; how plain was his language of disapproval with regard to the iniquitous Spanish marriages, and how throughout the long period during which he held the seals he never permitted the England he so dearly loved to be slighted by a foreign Power, or anything that could minister to the comfort and welfare of her people to escape his attention. "The history of Lord Palmerston," says Mr. Ewald, "is that of a man who attained to power and kept it, not by a birth more illustrious than that of many of his contemporaries, nor by an industry which was insatiable, nor by talents of the very highest order: but because his patriotism was undaunted, his honour and good faith undoubted, his tact consummate, his knowledge of the world accurate and varied, his sympathy with the people over whom

he ruled ready, sincere, and never at fault—because in tastes and characteristics he was the most representative Englishman of his day. On the list of our Premiers he will be remembered as he himself would wish to be remembered, not as the greatest, but as the most English of our statesmen.”

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#### ART. IV.—CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY— ITS EARLY DIFFICULTIES.

IT is one of the great advantages of such a Magazine as THE CHURCHMAN, that it supplies a means of communication through which facts may be elicited. I have experienced this advantage since the publication in the October Number of my Article on the origin of the Church Missionary Society. I have received two letters from valued friends, pointing out that in tracing the early history of the movement I did not go back far enough, as the idea had originated long before the formation of the Society with that eminent servant of God, the Rev. Charles Simeon. So far back as the year 1788 the subject of missions lay very near his heart. There were at that time some devoted men in India, the Rev. David Brown, Mr. Chambers, Mr. Grant, and Mr. Udny, who were anxious to establish a mission in India, and having heard of Mr. Simeon's zealous labours at Cambridge, wrote to him requesting him to act for them in England. This letter Mr. Simeon carefully preserved to the end of his life, and in the year 1830 he endorsed it with the words, “It merely shows how early God enabled me to act for India,—to provide for which it has now for forty-two years been a principal and incessant object of my care and labour.” In a subsequent letter he was requested to send out two missionaries, Mr. Grant undertaking to provide 300 rupees a month for their support; but whether no missionaries could be found, or whether obstacles were interposed by Government, we do not know: all we know is that for some reason or other nothing was done. But when men are called of God to a great and important service they do not give up because of difficulties, and accordingly we find Mr. Simeon at a clerical meeting, held at Rauceby, seven years afterwards, earnestly pleading for missions. A gentleman had left 4000*l.* “to be laid out to the best advantage of the interests of true religion.” Once more the missionary work was proposed, and two years afterwards a letter was actually written to the Bishop of London to ascertain whether he would ordain a missionary to the heathen, if a suitable person were put before him? But the Bishop declined, and again for the time the effort failed.

But the discouragement did not come altogether from

without; for, in the following year, 1796, Mr. Simeon earnestly endeavoured to arouse the Eclectic Society to some vigorous and distinctive effort. But timid counsels prevailed, and of seventeen who were present on that occasion, there were only three who voted for action. Three more years passed slowly by, and nothing was done till, in February, 1799, Mr. Simeon, to his great joy, received a letter from the Rev. J. Venn, informing him that the subject was once more to be discussed in the Eclectic, and inviting him to attend a meeting of that Society about to be held on the 18th March. At that meeting there were only fourteen present, but they were men of faith and determination, and with one consent they resolved, God helping them, to begin. This was the meeting referred to in the Number for October, and the result of their resolutions was that the Society was formed on the 12th April.

It is important to bear this history in mind, as it illustrates in a remarkable manner the subsequent progress of the Society. Many of its most important movements have resulted from the steady and untiring perseverance of some one individual, whose heart had been led by God Himself to take a special interest in some particular sphere of labour. So in the foundation of the Society we see how the mind of Mr. Simeon was directed to India by the letter of Mr. Brown, and how for eleven years he steadily persevered through a series of difficulties, never losing sight of his object till God gave him his heart's desire, first in the formation of the Society, and afterwards in the establishment of an Indian Mission. May we not regard the signal blessing which God has given to these missions as an answer to the many prayers of patience and faith which were offered during those eleven years?

But we must not suppose that all difficulties were overcome by the formation of the Society, or that a series of resolutions passed by twenty-five gentlemen could of themselves evangelise the world. Eighty years have since elapsed, and we have not done with difficulties yet. There was work to be done, and the new committee proceeded at once to endeavour to do it. The Rev. J. Scott acted as their secretary, and the Rev. W. Goode lent them his study in St. Ann's Rectory as a committee room. Over the fireplace of that room there is to this day a white marble slab with the following inscription:—

*Laus Deo per Jesum Christum.*

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY,

Instituted April 12, 1799.

In this room the committee meetings of the Society were held from June 17, 1799, to January 3, 1812; and here on January 2, 1804, its first Missionaries were appointed to preach among the Gentiles

*The Unsearchable Riches of Christ.*

In that room, therefore, we may picture to ourselves the little company of earnest men meeting in the Lord's name to consider what could be done for the evangelisation of the world, and kneeling down in reverent faith to spread out before their God what seemed to be insuperable difficulties. On the committee there were twelve clergymen, including William Goode, John Newton, Josiah Pratt, Thomas Scott, John Venn, and Basil Woodd, and eleven laymen, including Mr. Charles Elliott—the father of those two talented brothers, Henry Venn Elliott, of St. Mary's, Brighton, and Edward Elliott, author of that great work the "*Horæ Apocalypticæ*"—and Mr. John Bacon, the sculptor, whose inscription prepared by himself for his own monument may teach a most important lesson to all those who are living for the world. The inscription was as follows:—

What I was as an artist  
Seemed to me of some importance while I lived :  
But what I really was as a believer in Christ Jesus  
Is the only thing of importance to me now.

It was in that study, and amongst those few, but faithful, men, that the whole work took its rise.

But we who have entered on their labours can have very little idea of the obstacles that beset their progress, and it is happy, indeed, for us if we show the faith and courage by which these obstacles were overcome.

The first was with the ecclesiastical authorities at home. Being true and loyal Churchmen, they did not wish to act without the sanction of those in authority. They therefore drew up a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London and Durham, submitting a copy of their rules, and respectfully requesting them "favourably to regard their attempt." They also appointed a deputation, consisting of Messrs. Wilberforce and Grant and the Rev. John Venn, to wait upon their lordships and explain to them the object of the movement. This was done on July 1, 1799. But month after month passed by, and no answer was received to the letter, nor was any audience granted to the deputation. Even Wilberforce with all his influence could not obtain an interview. The committee met again and again, but nothing could be done, as there was no answer from the Bishops. Possibly their lordships did not know what answer to send, and therefore sent none at all. This may have been the cause of their delay, for nothing makes people so dilatory in their correspondence as a difficulty in decision. There are many who answer letters with great promptitude if only their own mind is decided, but who shrink from the effort of decision, and so keep their unfortunate correspondents in a state of long-continued and most disheartening sus-

pense. So the newly-formed committee was kept from July 1, 1799, to August 4, 1800, on which day a letter was read from Mr. Wilberforce, in which he said that he had obtained an interview with the Archbishop, and that his Grace "acquiesced in the hope expressed that the Society would go forward, being assured that he would look on their proceedings with candour, and that it would give him pleasure to find them such as he could approve." This was but cold comfort, and some of the committee thought it too slight to proceed upon. But they had amongst them two men of great decision—the Rev. John Venn, a man, like his son, Henry, pre-eminent for wisdom, and the Rev. Thomas Scott, the first secretary, a man to whom the Church of England owes as much as to any of the noble line of confessors for Christ that have in successive centuries adorned its ministry. He was a profound student of Scripture, as proved by his invaluable commentary, which, though, of course, deficient in the results of modern research, is still I believe unsurpassed—I might almost say unequalled—in its exhibition of the real sense of the Sacred Book. He had a wonderful personal grasp of the great doctrines of the Gospel, as witnessed by his essays, and above all his "Force of Truth," a book which is by far the best I know as exhibiting the struggles of a strong, manly, hard-headed thinker in receiving the supernatural doctrines of the Gospel. And he was a person of the most indomitable and patient perseverance, as witnessed by the fact that after he had set his heart on ordination, and gone up to London for the purpose, and been refused examination as a candidate, he travelled home, a great part of the way on foot, and the rest in various vehicles. At length he reached Braytoft, in Lincolnshire, after walking twenty miles in the forenoon. Having dined, he put off his clerical clothes, resumed his shepherd's dress, and sheared eleven large sheep in the afternoon.

To a man of such a spirit we can easily understand that the delay of thirteen months, while they were waiting for an answer, was a sore trial of faith and patience. On July 12, 1800, when they had waited a year, he wrote to his son, "The Missionary Society lies off 'the Bishop and his Clerks,'<sup>1</sup> where, if not wrecked, it may rot, for what I can see. They return no answer, and, as I foresaw, we are all nonplussed." We cannot be surprised, therefore, that when the answer came, such as it was, he earnestly advocated immediate action. He contended "that it was their duty to go forward, expecting that their difficulties would be removed in proportion as it was necessary that they should." His colleagues happily agreed, and resolved, "That in consequence of this answer from the Metropolitan,

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<sup>1</sup> Some rocks off the coast of South Wales.

the committee do now proceed in their great design with all the activity possible." The first obstruction had at length been removed, and the way was open for work. The little vessel had weighed anchor, and was no longer rotting by the rocks.

Yet the whole work was still before them. The way was clear for action, but nothing had been done, and there were most important questions still to be decided.

The first was where they should begin. Their difficulty was the exact opposite to that which now almost overwhelms the Committee. Now the difficulty arises from the impossibility of entering on the many spheres which God Himself is opening in all parts of the world. But then there was no opening at all, and the whole world seemed closed against their attempts. In the memorable discussion in the *Eclectic*, Mr. Venn had laid down as a principle, "God's providence must be followed, not anticipated. We must wait for His motion." Acting on this principle, they were led to make their first effort on the West Coast of Africa. A few devoted men, deeply impressed with the horrors of the West African Slave Trade, had formed a Company called the Sierra Leone Company, for the establishment of a free settlement on that coast, in the hope of counteracting the Slave Trade, by means of lawful traffic and civilisation. There were some gentlemen of a world-wide reputation for philanthropy amongst the members, such as Granville Sharp and Wilberforce. There were others connected with it who, though less known, contributed quite as much, if not more than any, to the accomplishment of this great and righteous end. There was Thomas Clarkson, who, as a young man at Cambridge, wrote a Prize Essay on the subject of the Slave Trade, and was so deeply impressed by his own essay that, as he was riding up to London, he stopped on the hill overlooking Wadesmill, turned aside from the road, and there solemnly devoted his life to the abolition of slavery. And above all, there was Zachary Macaulay, who gave up a lucrative situation in the West Indies in order to join the Settlement, and was subsequently appointed its Governor. He was a man of vast information, of never-failing accuracy, of the most untiring diligence, and of so quiet and unostentatious a spirit that he was content to remain in the background, and supply more conspicuous men with the material which made their reputation. So great was his devotion to the cause of abolition that, in order to be perfectly certain of the accuracy of his facts, he actually crossed the Atlantic in a slave-ship laden with slaves, and so made himself an eye-witness of the horrors of the middle passage.

It was not unnatural that these men should press on the



new Committee the claims of West Africa, and that the Committee should regard their Settlement as an opening made for them by the providence of God. But still it seemed a desperate enterprise, and must have required men strong in faith to undertake it. In the year 1768 the Moravians had sent nine missionaries to commence a mission on the Coast of Guinea, but in two years all had died, and the attempt had been abandoned. In 1798, six missionaries had been sent out to the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone by other Societies, but in the course of two years three had died, one was murdered, and the remaining two had returned. Yet in the face of such grievous calamities, these men had the holy daring to select that country as the sphere of their first effort, because they believed it was the one marked out for them by the guiding hand of God. There were giants in those days, and men not afraid of following Christ.

But where were the missionaries? The whole Church was dead, cold, and apathetic; and where were they to find men prepared to go forth in the Lord's name, when they knew that out of fifteen who had already gone to the proposed Coast, only two had survived as much as two years? When Shergold Smith and O'Neill were murdered last year at Ukerewe there were no less than forty men who volunteered to take their place. But things were very different then. Mr. Simeon brought the subject before the young men at Cambridge, and the Committee made their wants known as well as they could throughout the country, but it all ended in failure. Not a single individual came forward, and the whole Church of England could not produce one man to volunteer for the evangelisation of the world.

But then occurred one of those curious instances in which God prepares different agencies without any communication with each other, and afterwards brings them together by His own Divine Providence. The missionary spirit had been springing up on the Continent; and it turned out, in a most remarkable manner, that while the English Committee was preparing for work, a small institution for the training of missionaries was founded at Berlin, and at this very time contained six students under the care of that devoted man, Mr. Jænicke, but without the means of sending them abroad. Thus, then, were the two movements brought together by the good hand of God. The English Committee had the means, but wanted the men. The institution at Berlin had the men, but wanted the means. The two were now brought together, and two of the students, Renner, a native of Wirtemberg, and Hartwig, a Prussian, had the honour of being engaged as the first missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, and of opening the way as the first pioneers of the Church of England in its great effort to spread the Gospel through the extra-colonial heathen world.

But, as we learn from the tablet in the rectory of St. Ann's, it was not till the 3rd January, 1804, nearly five years after the formation of the Society, that the two first missionaries were sent forth on their arduous enterprise. To leave home then was a very different thing to what it is now, for there were no railways, no steamships, no running to and fro on the earth, no regular posts, and no telegraph. But the two men and the devoted young bride of one of them, went forth bravely in the name of the Lord. In these days we can form very little idea of their dangers or their difficulties. The fever that hovered on the Coast was enough to terrify anyone who loved his life more than Christ. Some idea may be formed of it from the following facts. In the first twenty years of the mission no fewer than fifty-three missionaries, or missionaries' wives, died at their post. In the year 1823, out of five who went out four died within six months; yet, two years afterwards, six presented themselves, three being English clergymen, for that mission. They went to Africa, and two fell within four months of their landing, while a third was hurried away in extreme illness. In the next year three more went forth, two of whom died within six months, so that in the course of four years, fourteen men had gone out, of whom more than half had died within a few months of their landing.

Such were the physical dangers of the Coast, and yet, glory be to God! since the first formation of the mission there have never been men wanting, true heroes for the Lord Jesus Christ, who have willingly offered themselves for the blessed, though deadly, service. In the first forty years of the mission there were no less than eighty-seven missionaries and catechists sent out, besides a considerable number of holy and devoted women, who, as loving wives, shared their danger, and encouraged their faith.

But if we wish truly to estimate the faith and heroism of these devoted men, we must remember that for the first eleven years they toiled on under the greatest possible discouragement. They were settled, at first, in two or three stations to the north of Sierra Leone, at the mouths of rivers which were the headquarters of the slave trade. The result was that they aroused the bitter opposition of the slave traders and of the native chiefs who supplied the cargoes. As they could not reach the adults, they laboured chiefly amongst the children, some of whom they ransomed from slavery in order that they might bring them up as freemen in the Lord. Two of them—Renner and Butscher—were anxious to induce the Committee to raise a fund for the maintenance of the children, and, in order to lead the way, wrote to them, saying:—"We think to offer 100*l.* out of our salaries for the support of twenty children, and live both on the other

100l." But with all their self-denial there were no visible results. The faith of the Committee was sorely tried, though not shaken. They saw one after another going to a probable death, and all without the least sign of fruit. All that could be said was that the children were hopeful and some of the chiefs friendly. Timid spirits would soon have given up. Those who seem to think that because Popery is making a powerful assault, the battle is lost, and the victory won by the enemy, would soon have struck their colours. So those who reduce the work of missions to a matter of account, and calculate the cost of a convert in pounds, shillings, and pence, would soon have discovered that the work did not pay. But the little Committee in the study of St. Ann's were men of another spirit. They knew they were carrying out the will of God, and they trusted Him. And so they steadily met their discouragements by sending out fresh men. But, although they were thus decided, there was no obstinacy in their conduct—for there is a vast difference, though it is not always easy to define it, between decision and obstinacy. When Peter had toiled all night and taken nothing, our Lord said unto Him, "cast in thy net on the other side of the ship." And so it became a question whether the time might not be come for a change of plan. A great change had taken place in their circumstances. The slave trade had been made unlawful in the year 1807. In 1808 the Company had given up the Sierra Leone Settlement to the Government, and they had made use of it as a *dépôt* for the cargoes of slaves rescued by the cruisers from the captured slave ships. It was right to consider whether this alteration of circumstances did not involve an alteration of policy, and, accordingly it was decided to give up the outposts and concentrate all their strength on the liberated slaves in Sierra Leone.

But the change, though a wise one, could not produce the long-desired fruit. Many people hope to bring about ministerial results by means of changes, and by so doing fritter away their power, while they alienate the confidence of their people. It is the spirit of God alone that can give life to the dead, and so at length He gave it in West Africa. In the report of 1817, eighteen long years after the formation of the Society, and thirteen after the commencement of the mission, there is the joyful intelligence of "the baptism of *twenty-one* adults in one day from among the recaptured negroes in the colony of Sierra Leone." God's time was come; the windows of Heaven were opened; showers of blessings were poured forth on the patient labourers; the hearts of those who had laboured under such terrible trials and discouragements were filled with joy; the brave Committee-men at home did not know how to give utterance to their thanksgiving; and all could unite in the language of the

psalmist—"Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy Name give the glory."

And now what is the present position of that mission? and what the fruit of all that toil and self-denial? It is right that the question should be asked and answered. Sixty-three years have passed since the seed began to spring in that memorable baptism, and we may fairly ask What sign is there now of harvest?

In the first place the mission in Sierra Leone is given up, and that for the simple reason that its work is done, and there is a self-supporting native Church with its parishes, schools, churches, all under the care of African clergymen, missionary associations, and complete parochial organisation. But not only has the African Church in Sierra Leone become self-supporting, it is also leading the way as a Missionary Church. I doubt whether there is any Church in Christendom in which a larger proportion of the ordained clergy are engaged in missions. There are sixteen working at home, and twenty-six in missionary labour, some in the large district surrounding Abbeokuta, and some under an African Bishop along the banks of the Niger. In the native church at Sierra Leone there are no less than 5000 communicants; I believe a larger number in proportion to the population than would be found in any town in England. Nor have the converts been what I have heard called "rice Christians." Many of them have been remarkable for holy lives and peaceful deaths, and some have adorned the Gospel even by martyrdom. There are many professing Christians who might learn a lesson from a convert on the shores of the river Bonny, who, when promised that his life should be spared if only he would return to his idolatry, replied, "Tell the master I thank him for his kindness; but as for turning back to heathen worship that is impossible, for Jesus has taken charge of my heart and padlocked it. The key is with him, so you see it is impossible for me to open it without him." And so saying, like Stephen, he fell asleep in the Lord Jesus.

But these are only the visible results, and who can number the invisible? My late friend Mr. Oakley, Rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, told me once of a merchant, I think from Timbuctoo, whom he met in Algeria. That merchant was a Christian, and the history of his Christianity was as follows:—There were two brothers, one of whom was accustomed to travel to the south, and one to the north, returning at certain times to meet in their common home. On one occasion the merchant to the south came home a believer in the Lord Jesus, having heard the Gospel preached by an African on the banks of the Niger. He taught his brother when they met in their home, and Mr. Oakley met that brother in Algeria and found him a true

believer in the Lord. Who can calculate the invisible spread of the truth of God? and who knows but that some of us may live to witness the day when the wave of the Gospel spreading from the Niger on the west shall meet the wave from the Victoria Nyanza on the east, and the voice of a great multitude, like the sound of many waters, be heard rising from the centre of Africa to the praise and glory of a faithful and promise-keeping God?

Thus wonderfully have old Scott's words at the commencement of the enterprise proved true:—"What will be the final issue—what the success of the mission, we know not now. I shall know hereafter. It is glorious and shall prevail. God hath said it, and cannot lie."

EDWARD HOARE

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#### ART. V.—THE ROYAL SUPREMACY AND THE FINAL COURT OF APPEAL

THREE hundred years ago the question of the Royal Supremacy, and the Final Court of Appeal in causes ecclesiastical, was a leading subject of controversy between Cartwright, the celebrated Puritan, and Hooker.

The ground taken by the Puritans, who wished for a further reformation in the Church, and are styled in the following quotation "authors of Reformation," is thus stated by Hooker:—

This power being some time in the Bishop of Rome, who by sinister practices had drawn it into his hands, was, for just considerations by public consent annexed unto the King's Royal seat and Crown. From thence the authors of Reformation would translate it into their *National Assemblies or Synods*; which *Synods* are the only help which they think lawful to use against such evils in the Church as particular jurisdictions are not sufficient to redress. In which case our laws have provided that the King's supereminent authority and power shall serve.—*Eccles. Polity*, Book VIII. chap. viii. 5. Oxford. 1850.

Again, Hooker says:—

Unto which supreme power in kings two kinds of adversaries there are that have opposed themselves; one sort defending "that supreme power in causes ecclesiastical throughout the world appertaineth of divine right to the Bishop of Rome;" another sort, that the said power belongeth "in every national Church unto the clergy thereof assembled." We which defend as well against the one as the other, "that kings within their own precincts may have it," must shew by what right it may come unto them.—Chap. ii. *ut supra*.

It is remarkable that the same ground is now taken in the controversy which has broken out on this subject during the

last few years. Dr. Phillimore, in his paper read at the late congress in Swansea, says:—

Let the appeal be to the Synod of the Province presided over by the Metropolitan. And if further appeal be required, let the appeal be, while Christendom unhappily remains divided, to a Synod of the whole Anglican communion.

Our present system of ecclesiastical judicature is the same in all its essential principles as that which was assailed by Harding, the Jesuit, and Cartwright, the Puritan, and which was defended by Jewel and Hooker. If the suggestions of Dr. Phillimore, and those whom he represents, were carried into effect, the establishment of the episcopate as a final court of appeal would form a new point of departure for the Church of England. In order to prove this, it is only necessary to give a brief statement of historical facts.

A supremacy in causes ecclesiastical as well as civil had been exercised by Christian kings from the earliest days of the union of Church and State. And so the 37th article ascribes to the Crown "that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in Holy Scripture by God himself;" and the second canon of 1604 attributes to the Crown "the same power and authority in causes ecclesiastical that the godly kings had amongst the Jews and Christian emperors of the primitive Church." Hooker, in reply to Cartwright, who objected to the Royal Supremacy, contends that such power was exercised by "David, Asa, Jehosaphat, Ezekias, Josias, and the rest." "They made those laws and orders which sacred history speaketh of concerning matters of mere religion, the affairs of the temple, and the service of God."—*Eccles. Polity*, chap. i. *ut supra*. He adds:—"According to the pattern of which example the like power in causes ecclesiastical is, by the laws of this realm, annexed to the Crown."—*Ibid*.

The Bishop of Rome had infringed upon the rights of the Crown, and usurped the supremacy in England as in other lands; but he was not permitted to exercise an undisputed sway. The Constitutions of Clarendon in the 12th century are an evidence of the energy with which the Royal rights were asserted even in days of darkness and superstition. "It will be observed," writes Dr. Hook, "that these Constitutions contained nothing novel; they were only the ancient principles of the realm and Church of England, as laid down by William the Conqueror and enforced by Lanfranc." The *Quarterly Review* quotes these words of Dr. Hook, and remarks that "the stringent enactments of Henry VIII. were the final and violent solution of a controversy which had existed in England for centuries."—No. 296. October, 1879. P. 549.

The usurped supremacy of the Bishop of Rome was finally abolished in this realm of England by the statutes 24 and 25 of Henry VIII. The 24th enacted that ecclesiastical causes, and causes relating to matrimony, divorce, tithes, and oblations should be finally determined in the ecclesiastical courts; the same Act, however, provided that in such causes above specified as related to the Crown, appeals should be made to the Upper House of Convocation. But the 25th statute aforesaid abolished the appeal to Convocation, the effect of which is that all appeals must be carried to the Crown. That the laws do not admit of an appeal to Convocation was ruled in the case of *Gorham v. Bishop of Exeter*. Sir Fitzroy Kelly moved in the Queen's Bench, April 15th, 1850, for a rule to show cause why a prohibition should not be issued to the Dean of Arches and the Archbishop of Canterbury to prohibit them from requiring the institution of the Rev. Gorham to the Vicarage of Bramford Speke. Sir Fitzroy contended that in matters touching the Crown the appeal lay to the Upper House of Convocation. The rule was refused by the Queen's Bench unanimously. Lord Campbell, in pronouncing judgment, said that the statute of Henry VIII. "enacts that from the Archbishop's Court a further degree in appeals for all manner of causes is given to the King in Chancery where a commission shall be awarded for the determination of such appeal and no further."—*Brooke's Six Judgments*, p. 40. This decision was confirmed in the Court of Common Pleas and Exchequer.

The Supremacy of the Crown is exercised by delegation. Dr. Stephens says:—

Henry VIII. assumed the whole supremacy in England which had been vested in the Roman Pontiff; and delegated this authority to a single person with the title of "Lord Vicegerent." In the reign of Elizabeth, Parliament entrusted the jurisdiction to a body of men, and empowered the Queen to appoint a commission for the exercise of it.—*Preface to Book of Common Prayer, with Notes*, p. 127.

In hearing appeals, the Crown exercised its jurisdiction until the reign of William IV. through "the Court of Delegates." This Court was constituted, as Dr. Stephens says, "for each separate case by commission under the Great Seal." The Court was empowered to give a definitive sentence, an option being reserved to the Crown of rehearing the case on petition. Hooker gives the rationale of this:—

As, therefore, the person of the king may for just considerations, even where the cause is civil, be notwithstanding withdrawn from occupying the seat of judgment, and others under his authority be fit, he unfit himself to judge; so the considerations for which it were haply not convenient for kings to sit and give sentence in spiritual courts where causes ecclesiastical are usually debated, can be no bar to that

force and efficacy which their Sovereign hath over these very consistories, and for which we hold, without any exception, that *all Courts are the King's*.—Chap. vii. *ut supra*.

The King acts by delegation in civil and ecclesiastical courts, it not being “convenient” for him to sit in person.

It is important to observe that the delegated authority of the Crown was not confined in ecclesiastical courts to ecclesiastics. It is a remarkable fact, as shown by Fremantle, that from the year 1619 to 1639, a period during the greater part of which Laud was at the zenith of his power, the Court of Delegates consisted of laymen exclusively in 982 cases out of 1080.<sup>1</sup> But the High Commission and Courts of Delegates through which the King exercised his authority were, notwithstanding, regarded as ecclesiastical courts. King Charles I. issued a proclamation in the thirteenth year of his reign, declaring that the proceedings of his Majesty's ecclesiastical courts and Ministers are “according to the laws of the realm.” This proclamation expressly refers to “the High Commission, and *other ecclesiastical courts*” (Sparrow's collections). The declaration of King Charles I., prefixed to the articles, refers to “the Church's censure in *our* commission ecclesiastical.”

The Royal Supremacy, acting through the High Commission and Court of Delegates, was received with a general consent by the Church of England, the Puritans alone objecting. The Convocation in 1562 set forth the thirty-nine articles which require the clergy to accept the Supremacy. The Puritans, in 1571, complained of the imposition of the articles, and petitioned Parliament against the action taken by the High Court of Commission in this matter. In their petition they state that “the ministers of God's Holy word and sacraments were called before her Majesty's High Commissioners and enforced to subscribe unto the articles, if they would keep their places and livings. The petition states that “some, for refusing to subscribe,” were “from their offices and places removed.” In the presence of these facts, without a word of reservation, the canons of 1604, and even those of 1640, affirmed the Supremacy. The latter gave the following threat:—

If any parson, vicar, curate, preacher, or any other ecclesiastical person whatsoever, any dean, canon, or prebendary of any Collegiate or Cathedral Church, any member or student of College or Hall . . . shall publicly maintain or abet any position or conclusion in opposition or impeachment of the aforesaid explications, or any part or article of them, he shall forthwith *by the power of his Majesty's Commissioners* for causes ecclesiastical, be excommunicated till he repent, and sus-

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<sup>1</sup> See Introduction to the “Six Judgments,” by Brooke, p. 39. London. 1879.



pended two years from all the profits of his benefice, or other ecclesiastical, academical, or scholastical preferments; and if he so offend a second time, he shall be deprived from all his spiritual promotions, of what nature or degree soever they be.

Amongst the explications enforced by the threat of "the power of his Majesty's Commissioners" is the following:—"A supreme power is given to this most excellent order (of kings) by God himself in the scriptures, which is that kings should rule and command in their several dominions all persons of what rank or estate soever, whether ecclesiastical or civil."

The Bishops in their articles of visitation inquired whether there were any who denied the Royal Supremacy. The following is an example from the articles of Archbishop Laud:—

Whether any parson in your parish . . . do write, or publicly or privately speak . . . against the King's supremacy, or against the oath of supremacy or allegiance.

Bancroft, Bishop of Oxford, inquired whether the minister before the sermon—

Prayed for the King as King of Great Britain and Defender of the Faith, and in all causes, and over all persons within his Highness' dominions, as well ecclesiastical as temporal next and immediately under God, supreme Governor.—*Second Ritual Report.*

After the secession of the Puritans from the Church, inquiries relating to the Royal Supremacy gradually ceased, as no longer necessary. Unhappily, in these our days, they need to be revived.

In 1830 a Royal Commission recommended the transfer of authority from the Court of Delegates to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The Commission consisted of the Primate, Dr. Howley; the Bishops of London, Blomfield; Durham, Van Mildert; Lincoln, Kaye; St. Asaph and Bangor, and several laymen, including Dr. Lushington, the Dean of Arches. This Commission in its Second Report, gave full consideration to the question of clerical offences, and refers to the advancing of doctrines not conformable to the articles of the Church. Mr. Joyce could hardly have given due consideration to this fact when he attributed to a mistake the referring of ecclesiastical appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. By statute 3 and 4 Victoria, all Archbishops and Bishops being Privy Councillors were placed on the committee for hearing appeals ecclesiastical. The reasons for the abolition of the Court of Delegates were very forcible. The constitution of the Court was fluctuating, and considerable expense as well as delay attended the issue of separate Commissions. Moreover, the judges were not required to give reasons, and their judgments on appeal to the Crown were reversible.

It is important to remember that the Court is limited in its jurisdiction, as it appears from the following passage in the Gorham judgment, quoted with approval in subsequent judgments:—

This Court, constituted for the purpose of advising her Majesty on matters which come within its competency, has no jurisdiction or authority to settle matters of faith, or to determine what ought in any particular to be the doctrine of the Church of England. Its duty extends only to the consideration of that which is by law established to be the doctrine of the Church of England upon the true and legal construction of her articles and formularies.—*Six Judgments*, p. 35 *ut supra*.

Hooker refers to this fact as follows:—

What Courts there shall be, and what causes shall belong to each Court, and what judges shall determine of every cause, and what order in all judgments shall be kept; of these things the laws have sufficiently disposed; so that his duty which sitteth in every such Court is to judge *not of* but *after* the said laws.—*Ibid.* chap. viii. 3.

In passing, it may be remarked that Hooker ascribes to the laws the right of settling the question of courts and modes of procedure.

Another change was made on the occasion of the enactment of the Judicature Bill, which had been introduced in 1873. It was provided that the Bishops should sit as assessors. By an Order of Council, Nov. 28, 1876, it was settled that the presence of at least three Bishops should be necessary, one of whom must be the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Archbishop of York, or the Bishop of London.<sup>1</sup> During the discussions which

<sup>1</sup> The following quotation from the Order of Council shows that care has been taken for impartiality in the attendance of the Bishop:—

"1. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of London shall be *ex officio* assessors of the Judicial Committee of her Majesty's Privy Council on the hearing of ecclesiastical cases according to the following rota, that is to say, the Archbishop of Canterbury from this day until the 1st January, 1878; the Archbishop of York from the 1st of January, 1878, till the 1st of January, 1879; and the Bishop of London from the 1st of January, 1879, to the 1st of January, 1880, and so on by a similar rotation for the period of one year each.

"2. The other bishops of dioceses within the provinces of Canterbury and York shall attend as assessors of the Judicial Committee on the hearing of ecclesiastical cases according to the following rota, that is to say, from this day, until the 1st of January, 1878, the four bishops who on this day are the four junior bishops for the time being; seniority for the purpose of this order to be reckoned from the date of appointment to the episcopal see; from the 1st of January, 1878, till the 1st of January, 1879, the four bishops who on the 1st of January, 1878, shall be the four bishops next in order of seniority; and from the 1st of January, 1879, till the 1st of January, 1880, the

took place in the Legislature, an attempt was made to exclude the Bishops from the Final Court of Appeal, but the Primate and others successfully resisted the effort. Here, as in other cases, at this juncture, Dr. Stephens rendered valuable service to the Church by an able pamphlet which he addressed to the Archbishop of York on this subject.

As now constituted the Court is the best which has yet existed.

It combines men who are learned in the law with Bishops as assessors. The rubrics are intimately connected with Acts of Parliament. The ornaments rubric until 1662 expressly referred to the Act; its interpretation involves an elaborate legal investigation, for which the judges are best qualified. The judgments already given bear evidence of this. The law judges, from their mental training, are the least likely to give a partial decision. Dr. Pusey goes so far as to say that even "those without the Church are often better, because more disinterested, judges of the Church's doctrine than biassed members of the Church." Who can suggest a better? The Bishop of Oxford in his paper on "The Ecclesiastical Courts and final Courts of Appeal," read in the late Congress, does not venture to make a positive suggestion. He says:—

Again, there must be an appeal in the last resort;—to whom? To the Privy Council, as now? or to the Upper House of Convocation? or to the whole Bench of Bishops? or to judges specially appointed by the Crown? How difficult it is to meet with anything like agreement in the answer to be given to these questions, or to any one of them! Yet, until we are agreed, it is idle to expect that any improvement in the constitution of the Courts can be obtained.

Dr. Pusey, in a letter addressed to Canon Liddon in 1871, expresses his difficulties as follows:—

But as to the Court itself, my friend, Sir J. T. Coleridge, reminds us of the difficulty in which we are placed; if we would get rid of this Court, we must be subject to another; and alludes to some of the difficulties in the Court to which we once looked, a Provincial Council of Bishops. Certainly I felt the difficulties which he suggests when we proposed it twenty-one years ago. If the Provincial Synod should decide wrong, the consequences would be far graver.—Letter to Canon Liddon, appended to Canon Liddon's letter to Sir J. T. Coleridge, p. 63. London, 1871.

The Doctor abandons the idea of constituting the Provincial Synod as a Court of Appeal, and says:—

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four bishops who on the 1st of January, 1879, shall be the four bishops next in order of seniority, and so on by a similar rotation until the senior bishop for the time being is reached, when the rotation shall be carried back to and again commenced with the junior bishop."

I should myself prefer that the Church of England should volunteer to place itself herein on the same footing as every other religious body in England. The State will interfere in every case where property is concerned; and no harm would have ensued had the State, as the State, retained to Mr. Wilson or Dr. R. Williams their respective incomes and parsonages. The mischief in all these decisions has been the quasi-ecclesiastical character of the Court, given to it by the presence of Archbishops or Bishops. Any increase of the ecclesiastical element, any reference to irresponsible theologians as assessors, any selection of Bishops as judges, would only make things worse. No one would have been disturbed by any judgment which Lord Campbell or Lord Westbury, or Lord Cairns might have thought right to give, as civil judges. What shook minds through and through, when our eyes were opened by the Gorham judgment to the claims made by this Court, and what sent so many of our friends from us, and turned servants and sons of the Church into its deadliest antagonists, was that a State-appointed Court claimed, in the name of the Church, the supervision and determination of its doctrine. A judgment in the Court of Queen's Bench might injure discipline; it could not in any way commit the Church. It would be an interpretation of her formularies by civil judges pronouncing upon her teaching, but not in her name. In such case it would not matter whether the judge was of some dissenting body (as the lay members of the Judicial Committee may, anyhow, mostly be). Those without the Church are often better, because more disinterested judges of the Church's doctrine than biassed members of the Church.—Ibid. p. 63.

In accordance with these views the effort was unsuccessfully made to exclude the Bishops from the Court. Dr. Pusey does not hesitate to say that his objection to the Court arose from the Gorham judgment, and does not disguise his motives in recommending that the Court should be divested of its ecclesiastical character. Such a Court could not, he thinks, "commit the Church," or possess any force in *foro conscientiae*: in plain language, this is to say that the Church ought not to have such a court of final appeal as would speak in the name of the Church, and fairly claim the assent of her clergy! This is certainly a startling position. The admission of such a principle would indeed be calculated to turn "sons and servants of the Church into its deadliest antagonists;" it would act in favour of Dissent on the one hand, and the Papacy on the other. But a fallacy lies at the bottom of the Doctor's argument when he refers to "a State-appointed Court," as claiming "in the name of the Church the supervision and determination of its doctrine." He ignores the fact that the Church *has sanctioned* the Royal Supremacy, and the Courts by which it acts. We have already shown that the Church of England in her Synods, having before her the Royal Supremacy as it was exercised in the Courts of High Commission and Delegates, gave her sanction. Dr. Pusey seems

to forget that the Bishops of the Church have not only accepted, but supported, the action taken by the Crown in the Courts. Their very visitation articles bore upon the subject. The Doctor himself has solemnly assented to the discipline of "this Church and realm."—*Ordination of Priests*.

In every way the Church of England is identified with the Royal Supremacy. Reception is the highest sanction which a Church can give to its laws and Courts. Hooker says that "the canons even of general councils have but the force of wise men's opinions concerning that whereof they treat *till they be publicly assented unto* where they are to take place as laws, and that in giving such public assent as maketh a Christian kingdom subject unto those laws, the King's authority is the chiefest."—Book viii. chap. vi.

Dr. Newman, now Cardinal, on the occasion of the definition of the Pope's infallibility, said: "This (reception), indeed, is a broad principle by which all acts of the rulers of the Church are ratified. But for it we might reasonably question some of the past council or their acts."—*Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*.

There is, therefore, no valid ground for the protests of the English Church Union which passed the following resolution:—

That any Court which is bound to frame its decisions in accordance with the judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, or any other secular Court, does not possess any spiritual authority with respect to such decisions. That suspension *a sacris* being a purely spiritual act, the English Church Union is prepared to support any priest not guilty of a moral or canonical offence who refuses to recognise a suspension issued by such a Court.

The Court with its Episcopal Assessors is not "a Secular Court," but the Council advising the Crown which is supreme in all causes ecclesiastical. The protests of the *English Church Union* would apply with even greater force to the Court of Delegates, which in numerous instances consisted simply of the law judges, but which was defended by Hooker and other champions of the Church against Puritanists and Romanists. The High Commission, as representing the Crown, suspended *a sacris* clergymen who did not conform to the laws, and yet in the presence of this fact the Canons of 1604 ratified the Supremacy, and the Canon of 1640 threatened against the disobedient the power of his Majesty's Ecclesiastical Commissioners. In point of fact, the government of the Church is now much more favourable to the clergy than it was under the Tudors or Stuarts. The High Court of Commission was abolished in the year 1640, and has never been revived.

The position assumed by the English Church Union is utterly inconsistent and untenable. The Bishop of Bath and Wells truly says:—

It was important to note further that if the arguments of the President of the English Church Union were sound, the Church of England is at this moment in a state of anarchy; there is actually no tribunal of any kind whatsoever which by its judgments can protect her doctrines or discipline or the rights of her members to have the authorised services performed in the parish church. A devout English Churchman might go to his parish church any Sunday morning, and find the worship of the Virgin Mary going on, or the celebration of mass according to the Roman canon; or, on the other hand, a Socinian or infidel service, and he could get no redress, because the appeal might be carried to the Privy Council, and the decisions of the Privy Council forsooth are not binding on the consciences of Churchmen. Whether or not that was consistent with any theory or practice that had been known in the Church of England since the Reformation, he left to all men's common sense to decide.

These remarks of the Right Reverend Prelate are very forcible, and deserve special attention. The present system of judicature is in accordance, as the Bishop of Gloucester observes, with "the long descended relations of Church and State."<sup>1</sup> It is too late in the day for clergymen to turn round and repudiate the judicature of Church and State. Have they not solemnly promised at their ordination to minister the doctrine, sacraments, and the discipline of Christ as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Church and *realm* hath received the same?" The words of Whitgift, addressed to the Puritans who were unwilling to conform, are applicable in this case:—

You complain much of unbrotherly and uncharitable entreating of you, of removing you from your offices and places. Surely in this point I must compare you to certain heretics that were in Augustine's time, who most bitterly, by sundry means afflicting and molesting the true ministers of the Church, yet for all that cried out that they were extremely dealt with and cruelly persecuted by them; or else unto a shrewd and ungracious wife, which, beating her husband, by her clamorous complaints maketh her neighbours believe that her husband beateth her; or to him that is mentioned in Erasmus' Colloquies, that did steal and run away with the priest's purse, and yet cried always as he ran, "Stay the thief! stay the thief!" and thus crying escaped, and

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<sup>1</sup> The Bishop of Lincoln says:—

"In England the supreme human authorities, under Christ, over all powers, spiritual as well as temporal, and in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, is vested in the Sovereign.

"This is affirmed by the Church of England in her Articles (Art. XXXVII.), and also in her Canons (Canon 1, 2, 36).

"Therefore, they who appeal to the authority of the Church and to her Canon Law are bound to acknowledge the Royal supremacy, properly understood, and he that resists that authority in anything which is not plainly repugnant to the law of God, not only resists the law of the State, but of the Church; he resists God, from whom all the authority of rulers and laws is derived."—*Letter to Canon Hole.*

yet he was the thief himself. You are as gently entreated as may be, no kind of brotherly persuasion omitted towards you, most of you as yet keep your livings, though some one or two be displaced, you are offered all kinds of friendliness, if you could be content to conform yourselves, yea, but to be quiet and hold your peace. You, on the contrary side, most unchristianly and most unbrotherly, both publicly and privately, rail on those that show this humanity towards you, slander them by all means you can, and most untruly report of them, seeking by all means their discredit. Again, they, as their allegiance to the Prince and duty to laws requireth, yea, and as some of them by oath are bound, do execute that discipline, which the Prince, the law, and their oath requireth; you, contrary to all obedience, duty, and oath, openly violate and break those laws, orders, and statutes, which you ought to obey, and to the which some of you by oath are bound. If your doings proceed indeed from a good conscience, then leave that living and place which bindeth you to those things that be against your conscience; for why should you strive, with the disquietness both of yourselves and others, to keep that living which by law you cannot, except you offend against your conscience? Or what honesty is there to swear to statutes and laws, and when you have so done, contrary to your oath to break them, and yet still to remain under them, and enjoy that place which requireth obedience and subjection to them? For my part, I think it much better, by removing you from your livings, to offend you, than by suffering you to enjoy them, to offend the Prince, the law, conscience, and God. And before God I speak it, if I were persuaded as you seem to be, I would rather quietly forsake all the livings I have than be an occasion of strife and contention in the Church, and a cause of stumbling to the weak and rejoicing to the wicked. I know God would provide for me, if I did it *bona conscientia* ["of good conscience and unfamed zeal."] Yea, surely I would rather die than be the author of schisms, a disturber of the common peace and quietness of the Church and State. There is no reformed Church that I can hear tell of, but it hath a certain pre-script and determinate order, as well touching ceremonies and discipline as doctrine to the which all those are constrained to give their consent that will live under the protection of it; and why then may not this Church of England have so in like manner? Is it meet that every man should have his own fancy or live as him list? Truly, I know not whereunto these your doings can tend, but either to anabaptism or to mere confusion."—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 320, P.S.

What the Church of England now needs is not organic change, but submission to the laws and obedience to authority. Without this, we have reason to apprehend the most lamentable results.

R. P. BLAKENEY.

## ART. VI.—REVIVAL IN THE GALLICAN CHURCH.

1. *Charles de Condren, &c.* By H. SIDNEY LEAR. London: Rivingtons. 1877.
2. *Bossuet and his Contemporaries.* London: Rivingtons. 1874.
3. *Fénelon, Archbishop of Cambrai.* London: Rivingtons. 1877.
4. *Bossuet Dévoilé par un Prêtre de son Diocèse en 1690.* 2<sup>e</sup> edition. Paris: Sandor. 1875.
5. *L'Intolerance de Fénelon.* Par A. DOUEN. Nouvelle edition, augmentée. Paris: Sandoz. 1875.
6. *The Gallican Church.* By the Rev. W. H. JERVIS, M.A. London: Murray. 1872.

THE Gallican Church is a subject of considerable interest just at present. The recent Pan-Anglican Synod was moved with compassion for its forlorn condition. Men like Mr. Gladstone and Dean Stanley have deemed it worth their while to manifest interest in M. Loyson's (Père Hyacinthe) effort to resuscitate it. For it must be carefully kept in mind that, in the proper sense of the term, the "Gallican Church" has now no existence; it is a thing of the past. In its room, mainly through the inability of the First Napoleon to cope with the mingled finesse and obstinacy of the Papal authorities, there has in lieu of it been introduced into the heart of France a Roman garrison, owning all allegiance to a foreign Power, and only nominally French. This Frenchmen understand; those especially who seek to be free from foreign interference. But neither the present nor the past Church have any real hold upon the French nation. The yoke of priestly observance has for a long time been most reluctantly submitted to. That yoke is now broken. What will be the future even of religion is a problem. Meanwhile, amongst ourselves there are some persons who imagine that it would be a good thing for France if the old Gallican Church could be reproduced. They are for this reason disposed to augur favourably of M. Loyson's experiment, as though a married priesthood, the participation of the laity in the Cup and Mass in French, had been possible features of that Church. Some imagine that it was in certain respects superior to our own Church; at any rate, that it produced more conspicuous instances of saintly life. They would like to have something corresponding to what they fancy it was in England. Those who have studied French history know that for a very considerable portion of its existence it was remarkable for disorder and corruption. They know also that the Gallican liberties, although there was



an amount of deference ostensibly paid to the Pope, meant really an interference of the State—that is, the Monarch—with the Church quite as great, if not greater, than what now exists in England. Some, however, point to a revival period in it commencing in the reign of Louis XIII. and extending through that of Louis XIV., and would fain avert contemplation from the rest of the Church to this restricted portion; if they could, they would like to suppose that this part was the whole.

It would be impossible to treat the subject exhaustively in the pages of a magazine; still some comments upon the Gallican Church at the height of this revival may be profitable and interesting. It is a fair period for viewing the influences of choice Roman Catholic teaching in a Church. We see the system at its best, selecting a peculiarly favourable development out of the mass of surrounding corruption. General readers can study the main incidents of it in Mr. Lear's writings, the chief object of which is through the medium of the past in France to shadow out what he considers would be profitable in England now. English Churchmen, therefore, are specially interested in all this. He is, we suppose, an English Churchman himself, but his writings are purely derived from Romish sources; there is nothing in them but what might have been written by an intelligent and liberal-minded Roman Catholic. As written for English readers, they are carefully expurgated from the more stimulating absurdities congenial to unreformed or vitiated palates. The absence of these peculiarities detracts, however, from the faithfulness of the portraiture, and is calculated to leave a most erroneous impression. Mr. Lear is a courtly painter. He presents rather the aspects which he would wish his sitters to assume than what they really presented in all respects to the men of their generation. His disposition towards unqualified eulogium has been encouraged by the admirable qualities, in many important particulars, of those whom he commemorates.

A very brief retrospect of the religious condition of France before the period of the priestly revival will be necessary. Three parties existed in the country from the time of Luther and Calvin. There were the Huguenots, who, partly by force of arms, but mainly under the influence of religious zeal, formed a section of the community remarkable for strictness of life and purity of religious doctrine. As a body they framed their lives in conformity with this doctrine, and were conspicuous for many excellent qualities, rendering them most valuable citizens, deeply inspired with the love of freedom and filled with hatred of Romish superstitions. In marked opposition to them were the adherents of the Catholic League. These were what we would nowadays describe as Ultramontane fanatics of the most unscrupulous

pulous character. Some idea may be formed of the lengths to which the Leaguers were prepared to go when we state that it was in contemplation to dethrone Henry III., to confine him for life in a monastery, to require the complete submission of the States-General of France to the See of Rome, to take decisive measures for the total suppression and abolition of the Reformed religion, revoking all edicts favourable to it, and to secure the complete recognition of the sovereignty of the Pope by abrogating for ever the so-called liberties of the Gallican Church. This plot was "viewed with cordial sympathy by many of the prelates and a large majority of the parochial clergy of France."<sup>1</sup> Subsequent history proves with what undeviating tenacity the objects of the League have been pursued from that time to the present hour. Beyond both these parties was the bulk of the French nation, steeped, for the most part, in abject poverty and the most profound ignorance. The biographer of St. Vincent de Paul describes them as like "scattered sheep without spiritual pasture, without sacraments, without instruction, and with scarcely any external aids to salvation. They scarcely knew whether or not there was a God. Of the mysteries of the Trinity and of the Incarnation they had no apprehension whatever." Yet the Church of France was in the possession of princely revenues. Religious foundations of all sorts abounded throughout the land. Glorious cathedrals reared themselves in magnificence. But, except amongst the Huguenot congregations, there was spiritual death. The French clergy especially were dead. It would be hardly possible to conceive anything more frightful than the sad condition of the French Church in the seventeenth century, viewed as a Christian institution. In his "Revival of Priestly Life" (p. 43), Mr. Lear quotes the authority of a French bishop for the fact that there were "seventy thousand priests in his diocese either drunkards or of impure life." Another bishop did not think that with one exception there was "a priest in his diocese capable of any ecclesiastical office." The name was held to be synonymous with ignorance and debauchery. There is no reason to believe that the dioceses referred to were peculiarly exceptionable. In France altogether there were one hundred and thirty sees. Even making the most enormous deductions there must have been five hundred thousand of profligate and ignorant priests in France during that century.<sup>2</sup> Very many of the

<sup>1</sup> For an account of this, *in extenso*, see "Church of France," vol. i. p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> It would be utterly impossible in these pages to justify this statement. One anecdote may, perhaps, without breach of decorum, be related. The Bishop of Langres, M. Simiane, by no means the worst of his order, commonly termed "le bon Langres," was a gambler, fond of playing for heavy stakes. He lost at Court large sums

bishops were little better, if at all better, than the priests. What must have been the condition of convents and nunneries, the inmates of which found in these priests their confessors and directors? There was confessedly most pressing need for a revival if religion was not to perish altogether out of the country, beyond the pale of the Reformation.

But what was the nature of this revival when it did occur? Mr. Lear has, with singular propriety, defined it as a "revival of priestly life." In some respects this was a benefit to France. But was it what she needed? The definition, though strictly correct, is, after all, too limited. What France then needed, and what might have saved her from the calamities which overtook her in the days of the eighteenth century, was the "revival of Christian life." Between this last and the "revival of priestly life" there is a wide distinction. This religious movement, was then, and still is, a failure.

In considering this failure, it is but justice to admit that Mr. Lear's heroes were possessed of many admirable natural qualities, and were remarkable for many Christian graces. It would be a grievous want of charity to question the sincerity of their personal piety or the fervour of their zeal. There is a good deal in the display of their religious life which jars with Protestant belief and with the plain teaching of the Word of God. Superstition and false doctrine are commingled with their most devout aspirations. So far, Mr. Lear, almost unconsciously, presents them in their weakness as well as in their strength. It would be a deplorable thing for England if there was a reproduction of such personages amongst us. Their erroneous teaching would completely counterbalance the holiness of their lives. This may not prove a popular statement, but it is a truth. Whoever would set them up before him as examples ought to have spiritual discernment, enabling him to winnow the chaff from the corn; otherwise he, too, may be led into serious error. Indiscriminate admiration of them, even as presented by Mr. Lear, would be a fatal mistake. Still more so would this be the case when it is borne in mind that his statements are partial and defective.

But to what is their failure to be attributed? Most unquestionably at no period did they influence or enlighten the mass of the French people. Success of this description is not claimed for

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at billiards. Thereupon he withdrew quietly into his diocese, where for six months, in profound retreat, by constant practice he studied all the intricacies of the game. On his return to Paris, by arts familiar to professional gamblers, he inveigled his former antagonists into playing for large sums which he won, and, indeed, more than he had lost. He had been chief almoner to the Queen of Louis XIII., one of the principal promoters of the revival of the priestly life.

them, while to a limited extent they produced some improvement in a portion of the clergy. Even in Paris and in Versailles they wholly failed to stem the torrent of corruption. What success they had was with individuals who were persuaded by them to join their religious communities, and, according to the French phrase, to become "dévots."<sup>1</sup> Steadily, however, they alienated from religion all that was enlightened and intellectual in France beyond their own narrow precincts. Jansenism they persecuted to the death, though it formed part of their own Church. They arrayed, too, against themselves, the deadly hostility of the French Parliaments, over which, at times, they triumphed, but by which, eventually, they were crushed. When the Revolutionary period commenced, the French clergy were left utterly friendless; nowhere could they find partisans, nor was there one eminent name among themselves to shed lustre upon them at the period of their extinction.

The failure of such excellent men as De Condren, De Berulle, Saint Vincent de Paul, M. Olier, Bossuet, Fénelon, in establishing any permanent influence or extensive reformation in France may in part be attributed to the endless religious squabbles in which they were constantly engaged. There is a mistaken notion afloat that Rome, like the Jerusalem of the Psalms, is a city that is "at unity in itself." Nothing can be a greater delusion. Some years ago an inexperienced young man, in quest of religious unity, joined the Plymouth Brethren. He was much startled, but not shaken in his purpose, when asked, "Which sect of them?" The same question might most pertinently have been put in the seventeenth century. There were Jesuits and Oratorians, Jansenists and Quietists, all disputing and jangling with one another, sometimes invoking the King, sometimes the Pope, sometimes the Parliament, to settle their disputes and to discomfit their adversaries by violent means. In the opinion of a very favourable critic, Mr. Jervis, those who at the commencement of the eighteenth century exercised the chief influence upon ecclesiastical affairs in France "were men of a very different stamp from the Arnaulds and Nicoles, the Fénelons and Bossuets of the preceding generation." But exhausting controversy had so long been preying on the vital powers of the Church that intellectual and spiritual growth

<sup>1</sup> This change of pursuits, after a life of worldliness, is a recognised phase of Romish religion. It will be best illustrated by an amusing incident recorded in St. Simon's Memoirs, which abound with illustrations of it. A courtier of Louis XIV., after a life of dissipation, joined the Camoldolensian Brotherhood. A friend visiting him inquired how he managed to pass his time? The reply was, "Je m'ennuie, je fais ma pénitence; je me suis trop diverti." He died shortly afterwards of jaundice and of ennui. But his penitence had been a set-off against his dissipation.

was stunted. The revival of priestly life in France produced no more substantial effect upon the nation than, to use an expression of Napoleon, *œufs à la neige* to satisfy hunger. In the eighteenth century Cardinal Dubois was the ruling ecclesiastic, the Jansenists were busied over the miracles wrought at the tomb of M. Paris, and Archbishop Languet was giving currency and vogue to the hallucinations of Marie Alacocque! The Cardinal de Rohan, and Talleyrand figuring as Bishop of Autun, were conspicuous ecclesiastics towards its close. As Lord Macaulay says, "No Bossuet, no Pascal came forth to meet Voltaire," but the squabbling of Jesuits and Jansenists lasted unintermittingly till the deluge came. At that time impiety was rife among the higher order of ecclesiastics, and ignorance had far from disappeared from among the inferior clergy.

A more serious cause of failure was the persecuting spirit so largely fostered by this "revival of the priestly life." The era of this revival was also the era of the Dragonnades and those religious persecutions which have rendered the reign of Louis XIV. infamous, despite all its glories. There had been, at a previous period, religious persecutions and religious wars in France, but in the early part of the sixteenth century these last had terminated. The strongholds of the Huguenots had been surrendered; the last vestige of independence was taken from them. Henceforward they could have subsisted only as a religious, not as a political element in the kingdom. Excuses might be put forward for forcible measures against a political party suspected of embroiling France; but when the Huguenots were overthrown by arms, and powerless to resist, clemency would have been policy. It certainly would have been consistent with any true revival of Christianity. Now, no reader forming his conclusions from Mr. Lear's volumes would connect the revival which he treats of with the persecutions to which the Huguenots were subjected. This is one main defect of his publications. He parades before the public a number of saintly or quasi-saintly personages overflowing with Christian graces, with words in their mouths "smoother than butter," intent apparently on heavenly things, and seeking only, in the most affectionate manner, the welfare of the poor and wretched. But there is a reverse side to his picture. Religious intolerance, which produced the most deadly perils to France, and eventually to its Church, sprang mainly, if not exclusively, from the revival of the priestly life. The chief promoters of this revival possessed enormous influence in the courtly circles of Paris and Versailles. As confessors and directors they had the ear of the King, who declared, *l'Etat c'est moi*, and of all his mistresses and

chief counsellors. In the midst of all the splendid harlotry of the Court of France there were constantly, at intervals, compunctions of conscience, and remains of religious fervour. The piquant description given by the Duke of Noailles, of the sick favourite, with one eye turned to God and the other to the King, describes in a most lively manner the religious condition of the upper classes in France, upon whom this revival of priestly life chiefly operated. Whenever these intervals of religious excitement prevailed, by skilful management the direction of repentance was turned upon the extirpation of what was termed heresy. Zeal for the conversion of Huguenots took the place of charity; in everything but an apostolic sense it covered the multitude of sins. When religion presented itself in this aspect, in Louis XIV. a new Constantine, a new Theodosius was proclaimed to the world. We cannot pretend to follow the story of the Huguenots in all its frightful details. It would be difficult for the readers of Mr. Lear's books to imagine that there even had been such a story simultaneous with, and intertwined with, the saintly lives he enumerates. We must venture to assume that our readers believe in the story of Huguenot sufferings, and that they have some information about its chief horrors. Our business is simply to connect with it the most eminent names signalised by Mr. Lear in his "*Revival of the Priestly Life in France.*"

It was in 1622 that the Pope, Gregory XV., established the "*Society for the Propagation of the Faith.*" Eleven years earlier the Congregation of the Oratory was created by M. de Bérulle, afterwards a cardinal, in the Faubourg St. Jacques, at Paris. According to Mr. Lear, he had great success in converting Huguenots. Cardinal du Perron had said of him, "If you want both to convince and convert a heretic, take him to M. de Bérulle. In the opinion of Henri IV., "he had never lost his baptismal innocence!" There is a cursory allusion to M. Bérulle being mixed up a good deal with political affairs, in which multitudes lose a great deal of baptismal innocence; his zeal for convincing and converting heretics displayed itself strangely. We do not gather from Mr. Lear with whom the design and execution of the siege of Rochelle originated. Though usually ascribed to that most mundane of Churchmen, Cardinal Richelieu, it was mainly the project of the saintly De Bérulle! It was his influence in the Council of State that finally determined the King to besiege La Rochelle, contrary, in the first instance, to the advice of Richelieu. He embarked in this scheme from "the strongest conviction of the necessity of annihilating the power of the Huguenots." His earnest entreaty to Richelieu was that he would not thwart the prayers he was offering for the success of the siege. Beyond a question, he did crush the

Huguenots. How many of them were convinced and converted by his saintly counsels and prayers is not on record, but the Royal camp was filled with a well-disciplined array of priests, monks, and missionary preachers. De Bérulle might have taken for his motto, on this memorable occasion—

Flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta movebo.

In his apologetic memoirs of Madame de Maintenon,<sup>1</sup> the Duc de Noailles remarks, with singular truth, but apparently without being conscious of the danger of his statement—"Dès la prise de Rochelle il se forma comme une croisade spirituelle pour les conversions." This is most accurate. We get a right understanding of the horrors of the reign of Louis XIV. when we estimate them as another and, we trust, a last Crusade. When Urban II., at the Council of Clermont, preached the first Crusade, he exhorted the multitude to "redeem their sins, their rapine, their burnings, their bloodshed, by obedience." He dwelt upon the easiness of the remedy for sin now proposed—plenary indulgence of all sins for Crusaders. God, it was then said, had instituted a new method for the cleansing of sins. Some remedy for sin was as urgently needed in the reign of Louis XIV. as in that of Philip I. Religious wars and religious persecution by which spiritual favour could be ensured through tormenting heretics, real or imaginary, was always a cherished priestly nostrum in France. The condonation of sensuality, by the sufferings of heretics, was a convenient creed, constantly preached and implicitly believed in. It suited the policy of Rome; it supplied a pressing necessity of French kings. What has been wittily termed "*La pénitence au dépens d'autrui*," was never more needed than by Louis XIV., nor was it ever more practised. In immediate connection with his theory of the Crusades, De Noailles adds, "En 1626 St. Vincent de Paul institua le Congrégation des Prêtres de la Mission." Throughout the persecution of the Huguenots, until toleration was reluctantly yielded in 1787, the worst features of a Crusade in dealing with them were retained. There was the union of preaching and persecution; of frocked and booted missionaries. The spectacle witnessed at La Rochelle confronted the Huguenots at every turn.

Now, what was the attitude of eminent prelates and priests, conspicuous in the revival of priestly life, who might have been deemed superior to the base passions which influenced the vulgar herd, from the King, with his mistresses and courtiers, downwards to his dragoons? Fléchier is a celebrated name in the Church of France. He has been described as "a pious, tolerant, charitable Bishop, almost canonised by the

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<sup>1</sup> "*Mémoires de Madame de Maintenon*," vol. ii. p. 312.

Protestants of his diocese." For his missionary services he was made Bishop of Nîmes. At first his apparent success was great, but when the Cevennes rose in revolt, and he saw "the fruit of seventeen years of labour lost," in which he had been assisted by the dragoons of Baviile, and the fiendish ingenuity of the arch-priest Du Chayla, he cried out to God and to the dragoons, beseeching them "to crush the cruel heads of the rebellious, and to annihilate the wretches" in his diocese. Bourdaloue was engaged on a similar mission in the South. Great hopes were entertained at Paris that "the dragoons and the Bourdaloues" would give the *coup de grâce* to heresy.

Bossuet had his share in these mixed operations. In his life of Bossuet (pp. 310, 311), Mr. Lear mentions one or two instances of the great prelate's interference on behalf of the Protestants of his diocese; he remarks also that he "studiously avoided any military support, and used every effort to give the Protestants as full liberty as was possible after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes." The Cardinal de Bausset, in his life of Bossuet, upon whom, no doubt, Mr. Lear relies, states that "he never applied to the King for any act of severity against a single Protestant." He adds that "there is no proof that he had any share in what preceded or immediately followed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes." He asserts that he never persecuted a single Protestant; that he alleviated their sufferings. It is probably by this testimony that Mr. Lear has been misled. But an eye-witness has described how all the Protestants of the villages of Nanteuil, Quiney, Condé, &c., were converted in less than two hours by Bossuet, when brought forcibly into his palace! He has recorded how, escorted by the cuirasseurs of M. de la Chaise, nephew of Père la Chaise, the King's confessor, the Protestants of La Claye were summoned to the house of M. d'Herouville, the King's maître d'hôtel, and were told by Bossuet that if they did not sign the Act of Abjuration next day the "troops would turn their heads for them." A more cruel case still is adduced. At Claye there was a person, Isaac Cochard, on his death-bed. The official despatch of the Minister is still extant, recording that, "at the prayer of the Bishop of Meaux, orders were issued to arrest the Sieurs Cochard, father and son; these orders were issued solely on account of their religion." Bossuet stands charged with going himself to the house of the dying man with the Intendant and with the Lieutenant-General le Valery, holding a *lettre de cachet*; a guard and a cart were in waiting to carry away the dying man. On this occasion Bossuet is charged with exclaiming, in a rage, that "as soon as the breath was out of his body he should be cast into the sewers, and that his only son should be taken from him." In Meaux, two women, Marie Clavel and Jeanne Rossignol (1688),



had their heads shaved and were shut up in the General Hospital. Three years afterwards the King, not the Bishop, wrote to inquire whether they could conveniently be released. Whatever Mr. Lear's judgment may be, it is quite certain that, in preference to acquiescing in the tender mercies of Bossuet, the non-Catholics of Meaux emigrated in all directions. Abundant official evidence of this, and of far more than we can find room for, will be found in the "*Pièces justificatives*," attached to the brochure on Bossuet at the head of our Article. We recommend Mr. Lear to study and to refute them—if he can. Perhaps he may be led, on reconsideration, to modify the statement that Bossuet always pursued the line of gentleness and tolerance (p. 536) in his own diocese. What we have adduced cannot by him or any one else be reconciled with gentleness and tolerance.

There is, however, still behind one great and illustrious name, perhaps altogether the most illustrious in the revival of priestly life in France; "the most attractive and lovable among the many stars which shone in the Church's dark sky during the seventeenth century," Fénelon, the Archbishop of Cambrai. Must he, too, find his celebrated name confounded with religious intolerance? was he, too, a persecutor of the saints of God?

Who would not weep, if Atticus were he?

In many respects Fénelon was above his contemporaries. Admirable qualities distinguished him as a man and as a prelate. But when the full truth is told, it will be manifest that the spirit of sacerdotalism, especially when it has free scope, as in the Church of Rome, brings the noblest spirits to be participants in what must be stigmatised as the most atrocious crimes. Few probably are acquainted with the early history of Fénelon until he shone forth conspicuous in the Church and Court of France. By what steps did he make his way into favour? How came he to bask in the light of the King's countenance for a season, and for a season only—a light afterwards completely and for ever eclipsed. Young Fénelon, a member of a noble family, was not without friends ready and willing to push the fortunes of one so capable and deserving. It came to pass that about 1634 two establishments for the instruction and conversion of the sons and daughters of Protestants were established in Paris. Mr. Lear describes them as "a protection for women converted from Protestantism, and as a means of propagating Church teaching among those yet unconverted." We will add to this too brief description.

Very curious details have been preserved of some of the earlier of these establishments, especially when d'Argenson was, in 1679, at the head of the police, but we cannot decently advert to them.

One was founded by Anne de Croze, a disciple of St. Vincent de Paul. The rules and constitutions, drawn up by Bossuet, deserve some attention. Among them were the following:—"Wives can be received without the consent of their husbands, children without that of their father, and servants without that of their masters." We quote part of another:—"If the New Catholics persist in disobedience, the mother superior will impose punishment (*pénitences*) suitable to their weakness; if they prove incorrigible Christian care will be taken of them." What is implied in this? Another of Bossuet's articles to which particular attention should be paid is:—"If it happens that among the scholars there are any deprived of reason, the sisters and scholars are most expressly forbidden to loiter about them or to amuse themselves," &c. Now, about 1676, Louis XIV. was seized with one of his fits of devotion and remorse. He dismissed Madame de Montespan for a season, and began to fall under the influence of Madame de Maintenon. He embarked vigorously in the last most cruel crusade attempted by the old monarchy of France. In 1679 Madame de Maintenon was able to write:—"The King is thinking seriously about the conversion of heretics, and will apply himself shortly to it in good earnest." Convents for New Catholic children were multiplied. It was two days after the death of Mademoiselle de Fontanges, in 1681, that the Royal penitent, who thus had a fresh twinge, expiated his crimes and gave an edifying example of remorse by a fresh edict declaring that children seven years old might embrace the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman (there is nothing said about holy) religion! Upon no pretext were fathers and mothers to hinder them. Then arose throughout the length and breadth of France what has pathetically been described as the "*cri des mères*." There were many Rachels in that unhappy land when priestly life and royal penitence revived in it. It was the fashion of the day, in a land where fashion reigns supreme, to fill these convents with Protestant children of tender age, torn from their families. Madame de Maintenon, by an act of wickedness which her biographer deplures, set a conspicuous example. The King busied himself in it. What more promising situation could be found for a young man whose friends were anxious to push his fortune than to place Fénelon at the head of the chief of these establishments?

Accordingly, while he was yet under thirty years of age, he was made superior of the convent in the Rue Sainte Anne, which the King filled with proselytes. A Madame Garnier was the lady superior. According to his admirers he became "the father, the counsellor, the soul of the teachers and the scholars." If these words mean anything they simply imply

that he was the life and soul of the establishment. He held this office for ten years. Of late, not only in England but in France, considerable use has been made of State Papers to rectify history. Admission to this convent, which Mr. Lear so pleasingly describes, was by order of the Marquis de Seignelay, Secretary of State, who instructed the head of the police as follows :—"His Majesty orders you to arrest (prendre) Magdalen Resoul, at Charente, and to place her among the New Catholics." The Attorney-General de Harlay writes to the Archbishop of Paris : "My Lord, I have only two or three left of your orders to admit women into convents. I beg you will send me a dozen." Orders of the same have been preserved threatening women who refused to listen to instruction after they had been arrested and imprisoned "with disagreeable consequences if they refused." In point of fact obstinate women and children were passed on to the Bastille, or to the General Hospital, the receptacle of thieves and prostitutes. By a Royal Ordinance of 8th April, 1686, if those who had been shut up for a fortnight and sufficiently instructed in that time (?) refused to be converted, notice was to be sent to the King, who would "see to it." Who gave the instructions? Who certified that in a fortnight children and women were sufficiently instructed? What befell those who were obstinate and for whom his Majesty undertook to care? An analysis of a list of a hundred and twenty-five names will be worth perusal. All that is known of thirty-one is that they were in the convent. Twenty-five, at least, under Fénelon's instructions, abjured their religion; but of these, eight only feigned assent to Romanism, and as soon as they were set at liberty escaped abroad. Five seem to have been sincere in their recantation. Sixteen of those who were intractable were placed in other convents. Nineteen were shut up in citadels and dealt with as criminals among the criminal classes. Ten were banished. Nine who had abjured and relapsed were shut up again. One of these, a Madame Paul, who had been twice converted and had relapsed, was imprisoned at Loches. After three years' imprisonment she was converted for the third time! The lot of two young Turkish girls, Maria and Ursula May, six and seven years old, was very hard. They had been for two years under Fénelon's instructions, but according to the list sent from the convent to the police they set a bad example and "*ne payaient pas*," so the order from the convent to the police was "*les mettre à l'Hôpital Général*," where, as we have said, prostitutes and all the worst criminals were incarcerated. One of the young women transferred to the prison ranks lost her hearing through the damp of the dungeon in which she was placed. One little creature, four years old, but "*très déraisonnable*," was sent abroad! Mademoiselle Le Coq lost her reason.

Mademoiselle des Fages, after much suffering, recanted, and was set at liberty. Immediately on her return home she threw herself out of her window and was killed. The "Dame de la Fremaye" was reported (May 7, 1686), after being four months in the convent under instruction as "having lost her reason." In the Registers of the Secretariat, 21st November, 1689, there is an order that "if she will not be converted she is to be banished." It was in labours of this description that Fénelon was engaged until 1689. They formed the chief stepping-stone to his promotion. It is *mutatis mutandis* as though Bishop Ken had risen to eminence by assiduous labours in the Court of High Commission, or Archbishop Leighton had been promoted for worrying Presbyterians.

During the period, however, that he was thus on promotion, there was a brief interlude. He was sent by the King as a missionary to the district of Aunes and Saintonge. Mr. Lear states that there was a good deal "of confusion and irritation" in these districts. This we must explain. It is stated that Fénelon stipulated that "the troops, together with all that survived of military terrorism, should be withdrawn before he entered upon what should be a work of peace and mercy." After a short stay he reported to Bossuet that the converts were getting on very slowly. Soon afterwards he returned to Paris. It will be well to place the exact truth fully before the public. It is quite true and little wonder that there was considerable "irritation." For more than four years before Fénelon's mission, as early as 1681, the district had been the scene of constant dragonnades. The result was a large number of conversions. Through the medium of the most horrible brutalities there were a thousand converts in six months in the diocese of Saintonge. But so zealous were these "missionaires bottés" that a large number of the best sailors in the kingdom emigrated. The King was alarmed at so serious a loss, and milder measures were enjoined. Still the dragonnades continued up to the very time when Fénelon set out on his mission. Very picturesque accounts of his interview with the King find place in his life. But were the troops withdrawn? Was there no violence during his mission? The pitiless accuracy of State records proves that after Fénelon was on his mission, and while he was there, troops were quartered in the houses of Huguenots who had fled to the woods "because they could not continue there during the severe winter." The houses of those who would not return were demolished, and an intimation was sent that there was no better way to persuade the Huguenots "que de bien maltraiter ceux de Barbesieux." Persecution was carried on simultaneously with persuasion in the districts where Fénelon laboured.

But how did he carry on his mission? In a letter addressed by

him, 7th February, 1686, to the Secretary of State, he urges the importance of increasing the guards at spots where emigration was lively. He adds further—it will be best to quote his own words—"Il me semble aussi que l'autorité du roi ne doit se relâcher en rien." Again, he adds that "authority must be inflexible in keeping men's minds in order." He also dwells with satisfaction on a little visit which M. l'Intendant paid at Marennnes, which worked wonders and made the people more tractable. Mr. Lear will not find these passages in Cardinal Bausset's life, although the letter in which they occur is there, and is quoted by the Cardinal professedly *in extenso*. In a later letter, dated March 8, Fénelon informs the secretary that "rigorous and ever watchful authority is necessary. No harm should be done to them, but there should always be a hand uplifted to do it if they resist." In another communication he suggests besides New Testaments, guards to hinder desertions, and rigorous penalties against deserters! We must refer our readers to M. Douen's book for the most crushing exposure we have ever read of a prevalent delusion which has misled Protestants as well as Romanists. The proofs rest on Fénelon's own statements suppressed by his eulogising biographers. His stay in this mission was very short and very fruitless. He sighed and pleaded with Bossuet to intercede for his return to Paris, from which he may have been altogether about six months absent. His short mission, which had been preceded by years of dragonnades, was followed up by a frightful massacre, ordered by the King (March 1, 1688), in which "women were not to be spared, in order to intimidate." Fourteen years after his mission, there were more than 60,000 heretics in the diocese of Saintonges. The Jesuit Quirbœuf, differing from Mr. Lear, explains that Fénelon's failure kept him from appearing at Court for two years; it also hindered his elevation to the Bishopric of Poitiers and as coadjutor to the Bishop of Rochelle. Four years elapsed before he was appointed preceptor to the Duc de Bourgogne. Six years after that he was made Archbishop of Cambrai, but two years afterwards he was banished from the Court, and was never restored to favour. His success as a courtier was as transient as it was brilliant.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Fénelon's promotion to Cambrai deserves some comment. In the opinion of French ecclesiastics, basking in or hoping for Court favour, sees distant from Paris were viewed as banishment. The Archbishopric of Bordeaux was refused by Bissy, Bishop of Toul; he was wise in his generation, and he afterwards became a Cardinal. Sees like Soissons, Chartres, or even Meaux, were much coveted, for the Court was still accessible. When Fénelon was made Archbishop, Harlay, the notorious Archbishop of Paris, who closed an impure life by a shameful death, was in a precarious state, Fénelon's friends were most anxious that he should succeed. His nomination to Cambrai, a "diocèse de campagne," was a thunderstroke (un coup de foudre) to them. Just after his consecration,

It is not without a purpose that we have dwelt at length upon this crucial instance of Fénelon. Of late years there has been a confused notion that although there is much in Romanism which it is difficult to justify, yet that it has produced instances of sanctity of a type very much more exalted than can be found in Reformed Churches. This is a most utter delusion. Books such as those of Mr. Lear tend largely to foster it, and do much mischief. The productions of Romish saints and other writers are carefully expurgated, and the most objectionable portions withdrawn from the too curious inspection of Protestants. Ignorant people are thus led to suppose that Romanism is what is submitted to them. The revival upon which we have been commenting was the best type of Romanism, but, for the reasons we have assigned, its influence was neither lasting nor extensive. Worst of all, by the outbursts of fanaticism which it encouraged, it alienated the Church still further from the nation, which identified clericalism with every species of barbarity and horror. The mistake was a deadly one, which left it to Voltaire and to his infidel crew the show of preaching charity and tolerance, a lesson never practically inculcated during or by the revival of the priestly life. We say the show, for we have not forgotten the horrible cry, however interpreted, "*Ecrasez l'infame!*" This was too faithfully acted upon in the horrors of the French Revolution, and has never been forgotten by mankind. Is it not, however, a horrible but most significant fact that, whether intentionally or accidentally, the fearful saying of the arch-infidel is but the echo of Fénelon's own<sup>1</sup> words in his last charge, "*Ecrasez les loups!*"—i.e., the Huguenots and Jansenists. Probably both Voltaire and the Archbishop would have disclaimed any intent of physical violence, of murders and plunder; but both were taken at their word by those whom they hounded on. Mr. Lear refers to two "mandements" as among Fénelon's last public exercise of his Archiepiscopal office,

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Harlay died and was succeeded by de Noailles, a thoroughly respectable man, hated by the Jesuits. His promotion was, however, quite as much due to Court intrigues as to merit. These events occurred in 1695; two years afterwards Fénelon was ordered by the King not to quit his diocese again. This order was never revoked. His appointment to Cambrai was the first step to his perpetual banishment. If the Duc de Bourgogne, Fénelon's old pupil, had survived the aged Louis XIV., Fénelon might, indeed, have been a power in the French Court.

<sup>1</sup> It is worth while contrasting with Fénelon's "*Ecrasez les loups,*" as applied to those he deemed heretics, our Lord's words. He said, "Beware of ravening wolves," so St. Paul knowing that grievous wolves would come, told the elders of Ephesus to "Watch." The spirit of Rome finds its expression through the mouth of Fénelon; that of Christianity through our Lord and St. Paul.

but, with much discretion, he only alludes to and does not quote them. Our readers must decide whether any interpretation can be affixed to Fénelon's words which will not exculpate Voltaire; surely both sentiments were equally revolting and pernicious.

Upon an impartial review of French ecclesiastical history during the seventeenth century, the following conclusions must be come to:—First, that the state of religion among the clergy of the French Church was then one of the most appalling profligacy and ignorance. Again, that the vicious system in which the Roman Church glories, affixing merit to ostentatious asceticism and seclusion in religious communities, encouraging also as meritorious a spirit of the most intense bigotry, went very far to neutralise whatever value pious souls might otherwise have derived from the revival of priestly life. Sacerdotalism in a most evil form, aiming not only by fair, but also by foul, means at subjugating consciences, became, in proportion to its development, yet more fruitful in unnumbered evils. Upon internal dissensions, and the persecution of heretics, zeal was wasted which, rightly directed, might have enlightened the ignorance of the masses, conciliated love to the clergy, and raised the love of morality throughout the kingdom, with some prospect of the Church finding defenders in the hour of its great need. There is mournful truth in the saying of Voltaire, that “the quarrels of Jansenists and Molinists did more harm to the Christian religion (in France) than could have been done by four emperors like Julian one after another.” It was in this way that the best energies of the revived priestly life were expended, with Bossuet and Fénelon as Achilles and Hector, the leaders and champions arrayed against each other. As unfortunate was the crusade against the Huguenots. The clergy, as a body, were wholly unable to cope with the Reformed in argument. The Duc de Noailles admits that when conferences were proposed in Languedoc between Catholic priests and Protestant ministers, none of the former could be found competent to maintain the cause of God. Despite the vauntings concerning Bossuet and the missions of Fénelon, Bourdaloue, and others, there would have been, without State interference, no conversions. Sir Walter Scott says that Louis XI. mentioned Quentin Durward's assistance slightly, as a sportsman of rank who, in boasting of the number of the birds which he has bagged, does not always dilate upon the presence and assistance of the gamekeepers—so the Church of Rome, in her successes against heresy, makes faint allusion to the help of the civil powers. But her faith is great, whenever she can command them, in the aid of what Napoleon terms “*les gros bataillons*.” They were no small help to St. Francis de Sales when extirpating heresy in

Savoy; they were no despicable assistants to Fénelon, to Bossuet, and Bourdaloue. But there is a Nemesis in all this. In his "France before the Revolution," M. de Tocqueville remarks that "at that period nowhere but in France had irreligion become a general passion, fervid, intolerant, and oppressive." He labours hard to account for it, but fails signally. He has left the true elements out of his calculations. With halt foot punishment was then overtaking the evildoers. As Louis XVI. was more guiltless than his predecessors, so at the eleventh hour a more tolerant spirit had possessed the clergy; but had the persecuted Jansenists, the oppressed Huguenots, no memories? Revived or unrevived, the Church of France had made itself hated of the nation. De Tocqueville remarks that the Church of England, in spite of what he terms the defects of its constitution, and the abuses of every kind that swarmed within it, supported the shock of infidelity victoriously. The clergy combated manfully in their own cause. Precisely the reverse was the case in France. She became meek in the presence of her adversaries. "It seemed at one time that, provided she retained her wealth and rank, she was ready to renounce her faith."

What, then, is the moral for ourselves? There are many just now who seem disposed to persuade the Church of England to sell her lamp for specious Roman gewgaws and fancied superior articles of Romish manufacture. It would be a sorry and an evil exchange. A higher tone and more increased spirituality, both among clergy and laity, are infinitely desirable. But we have no call to go to Rome for them. What is wanted is not a "revival of priestly life." It would be woe to England if that were resuscitated amongst us. The less the clergy are isolated from their fellow-citizens, the more they are united with them in all honourable social relations, the greater will be their strength when the hour of trial comes. Can use be made of Mr. Lear's writings? If they are perused with judgment and with spiritual understanding, if we read between the lines, it is possible to gather from them considerable warning. It is a terrible loss to the Church of Christ when a spiritual revival proves an utter failure. It is mournful to contemplate learning, talent, zeal, piety, diverted from profitable ends upon foolish and mischievous enterprises. It might make angels weep to see spirits such as he has delineated wasting their energies upon inhuman strife and cruel persecution. Those who are wise will ponder these things; they will seek sedulously to avoid the errors which frustrated what might have been the salvation of a great country. The present condition of that which professes to be the Church of Christ in Romish countries is plain evidence that



where the system of Rome is upheld, and where the spirit of Romanism prevails, hatred of religion is the attitude of the nations. Will any well-wisher to England seek to encourage these delusions amongst ourselves? No; without travelling to Rome we can find models of spiritual excellence, true saints in the annals of our Church. It will be our wisdom not to undervalue them, but to rejoice in following them even as in their day and generation they have followed and are following Christ.

GEORGE KNOX.

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### Reviews.

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*With the Armies of the Balkans, and at Gallipoli in 1877-78.* By Lieut.-Colonel FIFE-COOKSON, late Military Attaché to Her Majesty's Embassy, Constantinople. Second Edition. Pp. 194. Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co.

COLONEL COOKSON was appointed Military Attaché in May 1877, and soon after joined the head-quarters of the army of the Balkans. General Gourko had just commenced his raid, and the army of Suleiman Pasha was being rapidly transported from Montenegro by sea and rail. Confident of success, Suleiman's troops were in good spirits, healthy, and well-disciplined. While waiting for movement to the front, many of them plundered neighbouring Bulgarian villages, but their loot was taken from them and they were flogged. Abdul Kerim's plan, presumed to be one of pure defence in the Quadrilateral with concentrated forces, favoured the Russians, and in deference to public opinion he was recalled. In the meantime Osman Pasha had occupied Plevna, driving out Russian cavalry. On the 20th July he defeated with great slaughter a Russian attack. This crippled the movements of Gourko, who had passed the Balkans and wanted reinforcements. The Russians therefore turned all their available strength against Plevna. But Osman meanwhile had strongly entrenched it, and the attack of July 30th was a damaging failure.

Reouf Pasha, commanding against Gourko's advance, failed to bring up the bulk of his force, and an opportunity was lost. When Suleiman's army joined, Eski-Zara (before the war a town of 18,000 inhabitants) was taken and nearly destroyed. Soldiers engaged in plundering even the burning houses in Eski-Zara were punished; some were shot. Suleiman appears to have determined that Reouf's share of the battle should not be won. At all events Reouf was defeated in the wood of Choranlı. Had Reouf been victorious, he could have pursued the retreating Russo-Bulgarians towards the Hain Bogaz, while Suleiman could have marched at once to the Shipka Pass. Valuable days were lost. It is clear, however, that on the part of Reouf a want of military skill was shown.

Shocking stories were told by fugitives. "Wholesale massacres and outrages" were perpetrated by the Bulgarians. Accounts agreed that Cossacks looked on or incited the Bulgarians to the deeds, and were themselves conspicuous in outrages on Turkish women. On page 53 we read:—

The enormity of the crimes committed in this and other districts, made it difficult to credit them. But the proofs were undeniable. . . . Owing to want of time, I was only able to visit a very small proportion even of such scenes of massacres as were near the halting place.

The following extract shows the opinion of the gallant author as to the invasion by Russia :—

The tract of country along the southern slopes of the Balkans yields a rich harvest, and is altogether one of the most fertile in soil and favoured by climate in the world—a very garden in Eden. This is the district in which every evil passion has been let loose, to the ruin and destruction of an industrious, peaceful and contented population. Here, before the war, a good feeling existed between the two races. The Bulgarians had their schools and churches just as the Mohammedans had, and possessed a great deal of indirect political power, owing to their greater wealth. Reform had not yet given them a direct voice in the Government. Still, had the choice rested with them, they would have undoubtedly preferred to await the inevitable effects of time and circumstances, rather than that a war, which must destroy or ruin so many of them, should have been undertaken on their behalf. Owing to their exemption from the conscription, their great industry, and other causes, the Bulgarians were rapidly gaining on the Mohammedans in numbers and wealth.

Colonel Fife-Cookson writes that the news of the defeat of the Russians at Plevna did not reach Yeni Zara till after a week.

I do not think the Turkish Government had at that time a true idea of the disorganisation of the Russians north of the Balkans, caused by this reverse, which, coupled with the long delay that must elapse before the arrival of reinforcements, and the chaos amongst the Russians south of the Balkans, created by the defeat at Eski Zara, formed for the Turks, perhaps, the greatest opportunity of the war.

The Turkish arrangements for obtaining information of the Russian movements by means of spies, newspapers, reconnaissance, &c., were throughout this war most defective. The Turks also suffered under the disadvantage of there being no correspondents or doctors with the Russian armies, to supply newspapers written in Turkish with information. Valuable intelligence was freely and impartially sent to the European papers about both armies, by the strangers accompanying them, and was thus made available to the Russian officers, who can nearly all read French, while only two or three of even the Turkish military pashas can do so.

The Russians were weak everywhere after these defeats, and Suleiman, co-operating with Mehemet Ali, should have marched against their flank, north of the Balkans, while he sent a detachment to make a demonstration against Shipka. But the Turks, probably, did not realise their own strength. Mehemet Ali Pasha, Commander-in-Chief in European Turkey, approved of the decision to march direct against Shipka, and he promised to assist, which promise he failed to perform. The Seraskieriate, or War Office, sent instructions direct, adding to the confusion, and jealousy between the generals often brought on disasters. Still, the march direct on Shipka ought not to have proved fatal to success; its effect might have been relieved by tactical skill.

Three weeks after the victory at Eski Zara, Suleiman arrived at Shipka. One week would have been ample time. The Russo-Bulgarians, having regained confidence, had constructed elaborate field-works for the defence of the Pass. A great opportunity was lost. Of the struggle at Shipka our author gives an animated account. During a week of continual fighting

the Turks lost, he thinks, 12,000 men, and the Russians 8000. The character of the struggle was embittered by the fact that the Mohammedans, from the first, gave no quarter to Bulgarians, whom they regarded as rebels. The loss of life in the fighting at Shipka, from first to last, must have been frightful. Suleiman Pasha's tactical blunder of hurling his battalions against intrenchments, instead of investing and starving the garrison, a mistake made by the Russians before Plevna, was, no doubt, very serious; and yet it was only by little that he failed to capture the position. The Russian defence was magnificent; but had the Turkish flanks been connected with the centre, by field telegraph, or signalling arrangements, the troops forming the latter might have been informed, on the critical day, that the coveted post had been abandoned, and "this would probably have decided the fate not only of the Shipka but of the whole campaign." Upon the arrival of Radetsky's column, Suleiman's position became very different. After a series of "mad rushes," came delays and disheartening failures. "A strong feeling of discontent gradually arose amongst the long-suffering and submissive Turkish soldiery." All hope of victory, in fact, passed away. On the 28th of September, Suleiman Pasha was summoned to succeed Mehemet Ali on the Lom. It was on the 20th of August he had arrived at Shipka. On the 12th of October our author paid a visit to the Turkish advanced positions, and three days later was recalled to Constantinople.

The story of the disasters on the Turkish side, after the fall of Plevna, is well told. But our space is exhausted. We can only add that the work is printed in clear type, and has several illustrations and maps.

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*A History of the Church of England, pre-Reformation Period.* By T. P. BOULTBEE, LL.D., Principal of the London College of Divinity, St. John's Hall, Highbury, and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Pp. 460. Longmans, Green & Co.

THE Church of England is at once old and new. It has been Reformed, but its heritage has come down to it through more than a millennium. To trace the main lines of national Church life, ever leading on steadfastly towards the Divinely foreknown new birth at the Reformation, and at the same time to gather up, step by step, by the wayside, notes, personal, legal, or antiquarian, which might serve to illustrate the past or to account for the present, has been the object of Dr. Boulton in preparing the work before us. He has allowed, as far as seemed possible in so limited an area, some writer of each age to speak his own words and breathe his own sentiments. In selecting, in condensing, and in reporting, Dr. Boulton has kept consistently in view the history of national rather than ecclesiastical life; and thus he has brought before his readers no *disjecta membra* of past ages, but a collection of facts grouped into an organised body of history which possesses life and advances ever steadily onwards to the end. His desire has been not to set forth his individual opinions, though these are not dissembled, but to represent in lucid narrative how things came to be as they are in the Church of England.

The work bears out the statements of its Preface. Written from a sound standpoint, with considerable literary skill, with good judgment, and—to adapt Mr. Disraeli's phrase—"historical" calmness, sufficiently brief and sufficiently full, Dr. Boulton's History deserves to be widely read. Works of this class, scholarly, critical, and yet not dry, giving the results of recent investigations in a form which may interest the general reader, are certainly not numerous.

In writing on the origin of Christianity in this island, Dr. Boulton wisely avoids extremes. Certain writers have accepted legends. Others, as a recent *Quarterly Review* remarks, will hardly credit Roman Britain with a Church at all. Dr. Boulton is neither credulous nor sceptical. "It was known," he says, "to Christian writers, soon after the year 200, that Christianity had penetrated into Britain." To say more than this would not be writing history :—

This impenetrable darkness can be strange only to those who have never asked themselves how much they really know of the history of the propagation of the Faith in the first and second centuries. Men wrote, suffered, and laboured for the truth, and were content to be forgotten. Who can tell the name of the first Christian missionary who entered the gates of the mighty Rome itself, and, looking up to the temple of the great Capitoline Jove, knew that the day must come, though centuries yet intervened, when the tutelary Roman idol must fall? Who can tell the history of the foundation of leading Churches of old, of Alexandria, of Carthage, of Spain, of Gaul? The grain of mustard seed had been cast into the earth, and its produce was springing up and spreading, but none knew what was to be the girth of its trunk, or the ample sweep of its branches; so none registered its progress, or noted the labours of those who tended it.

In the chapter headed "The Saints of the Anglo-Saxon Church," Dr. Boulton remarks upon St. Aidan, St. Chad, St. Augustine of Canterbury, and St. Erkenwald, consecrated Bishop of London in 675 by Archbishop Theodore. St. Swithin, Bishop of Winchester 852-862, we read, has fared better than St. Erkenwald in the popular recollection. His legendary history is of the usual character of such compilations. William of Malmesbury, writing about fifty years after the Conquest, dwells with admiration on a story with which he illustrates this prelate's merciful disposition :—"Workmen were repairing a bridge on the east side of Winchester, and the Bishop had seated himself near them that he might urge on the loiterers. And there came along the bridge a woman bringing eggs for the market. The workmen, with the usual rudeness of such people, in sheer mischief broke every egg in her basket. In her miserable condition, the little ragged old woman was brought before the Bishop, who heard her complaint with pity. And not in vain, for he forthwith made the sign of the cross over the wreck, and every egg became whole again." If St. Swithin left behind him the traditions of a character in harmony with this legendary tale, he deserved not to be forgotten. To redress wrongs, and to care for the helpless, is a part well becoming the Christian statesman and Bishop. Though alas! the larger part of the evils wrought, whether by petulance or carelessness, is as much past remedy as the broken eggs; and there is not to be found a St. Swithin to make them whole again.

As a last request, we learn on the same authority, continues Dr. Boulton, he pledged those who stood round his dying bed to lay his body outside the church, where his grave might be exposed to the feet of the passers-by and to the rains from heaven. So he died, and this "pearl of God lay in inglorious concealment about a hundred years." Then the saint changed his mind, and appeared in a vision requiring the removal of his remains. So they were enshrined at Winchester with great pomp. The 15th of July was kept as the anniversary of this "translation." The popular belief still connects that day with the copious rainfall which the dying Bishop had willed to fall on his humble grave. In his true history Swithin was an active statesman, the trusted servant of King Egbert, and the chief adviser of King Ethelwolf. Whether the skies wept or not, England had cause to mourn when he was removed, and homestead and shrine were scorched with the Danish fires. P. 94.

The chapter on the later history of the Anglo-Saxon Church has many points of interest. "The payment of tithe," we read, "was gradually established. It is referred to by Archbishops Theodore and Egbert, and appear to have been gradually changed from a voluntary payment into a customary one, and finally to have received legal confirmation." "Church lands were liable, like all others, to the dues for military service, repair of roads, and other public duties. Nor was there any exemption of the clergy from the civil law. The clerical immunity for which Becket died, and which Henry VIII. with so much difficulty destroyed, was unknown to the Saxon Church." Concerning parishes, Dr. Boulton writes as follows :—

The very rapid organisation of parishes, and endowment of parish churches, has been thought to point to a more generally available source than that of private munificence. Blackstone's theory is that the parish boundary coincided with that of the ancient manor or manors. He would thus identify each parish with some lordship of early times. But it does not appear that the manors described in the Domesday Survey coincide, except occasionally, with the parishes. Hence another theory has to be discovered. Mr. Kemble identifies the English parish in general with the original communal divisions of the early Saxons, which are called Marks. These possessed complete social organisations and defined territorial limits. It is also believed that in heathen times they had their places of worship and local priests, with land for their support. The suggestion is, that on the adoption of Christianity these were transferred to the service of the Church. Hence by a natural and rapid process the parochial boundaries and the Church endowment would be at once constituted. If we understand that in addition to these not a few churches were founded by private liberality, and if we allow for various changes and modifications, we shall find the principal facts of early organization fairly accounted for.

The chapter on Wycliffe is well written, and full of interest. Lack of space, however, prevents us from even touching upon it. The learned author affirms, of course, that Wycliffe first gave the whole Bible to the people. Professor Lechler's exhaustive work, recently rendered in English, establishes this point.

*The Classic Preachers of the English Church.* With an Introduction by J. E. KEMPE, M.A., Rector of St. James's. Murray.

*Classic Preachers.* Second Series. Murray.

*Masters in English Theology.* With an Historical Preface by ALFRED BARRY, D.D. Murray.

*Representative Nonconformists.* By the Rev. ALFRED B. GROSART, LL.D. Hodder and Stoughton.

THE practice of delivering what might be termed biographical sermons, or lecture-discourses, in special seasons, is, probably, a growing one; and, if regulated by sober judgment and earnest Scriptural piety, it may prove, no doubt, beneficial. The Scripture taken as a text, however, ought not to be merely mentioned, and, after a few sentences, forgotten. In the season of Epiphany the present writer—such an allusion may be pardoned—is wont to deliver a series of missionary sermons; and one way of exciting a profitable interest in missionary work is to take some eminent missionary, whose life and labours seem practically to illustrate and enforce some special Scripture, and preach a biographical discourse.

The discourses in two of the volumes before us were delivered at St. James's Church; and the rector, Prebendary Kempe, writes:—"The aim was that in their effect upon the congregation they should be *sermons* in accordance with Hooker's description" (Eccl. Pol. v. xxii. 1). The Classic

Preachers are Donne, the Poet Preacher; South, the Rhetorician; Barrow, the Exhaustive Preacher; Beveridge, the Scriptural; Wilson, the Saintly; and Butler, the Ethical; and, in the second series, Bull, the Primitive; Horsley, the Scholarly; Sanderson, the Judicious; Tillotson, the Practical; Andrews, the Catholic; and Jeremy Taylor, the English Chrysostom. In thus *ticketing* Preachers there is, clearly, a danger. Nevertheless, these discourses, preached by distinguished divines, are, as a rule, suggestive and exceedingly interesting.

"The Masters in English Theology"—subjects of the King's College Lectures, and these are not sermons—are Hooker, Andrewes, Chillingworth, Whichcote, J. Taylor, and Pearson.

The Representative Nonconformists on whom Dr. Grosart lectures, with considerable ability are, J. Howe: Intellectual Sanctity; R. Baxter: Seraphic Fervour; S. Rutherford: Devout Affection; and Matthew Henry: Sanctified Common-Sense.

"Faithful unto Death." *Memorials of the Life of John Gregg, D.D., Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, and formerly Minister of Trinity Church, Dublin.* By his Son, ROBERT SAMUEL GREGG, D.D., Bishop of Cork. Pp. 304. Dublin: George Herbert.

THESE Memorials have been prepared with pious care, with literary skill, and good judgment; they will be studied with pleasure and profit by all devout and unprejudiced readers. For those Churchmen, whether in the Church of England, or in sister and daughter churches, who, like ourselves, are keenly interested in the Church of Ireland, its history and progress during recent years, this tribute to a most devoted and distinguished Irish Churchman will have an especial value.

John Gregg was born in 1798. He entered Trinity College in 1819; and at once he formed a friendship with Mr. Singer, afterwards Regius Professor of Divinity, which continued unbroken until the death of Dr. Singer, then Bishop of Meath, in 1866. In 1824, Mr. Gregg went in for his degree and for the Classical Gold Medal, but was beaten by John McCaul, afterwards Chancellor of the University of Toronto. He was second, and obtained his Degree on very distinguished answering. Concerning his early University years, his son, Bishop Gregg, writes as follows:—

These were years of hard work and real progress—work so hard that at one time he was supposed to be dangerously ill; but his constitution was good, his mode of living simple and regular; he regained his usual health, and was still foremost among his fellows in every manly exercise. In contests of leaping and stone-throwing he was ready to challenge all comers. The dyke, which at that time was open, across the College Park, faced with stone as it was, was a trouble to many, but to leap across and back again was for him an easy thing. Twenty-one feet three inches over water was his measured jump. Dr. M'Ilwaine, of Belfast, told me that, having entered College before my father left it, he remembers taking a walk one day to see a ploughing match in the neighbourhood of Dublin; when he came up he saw the farmers and others pointing out foot-marks in the soft ground. He asked whose marks they were, and they pointed to the retreating figures of two young men, whom he at once recognised as John Gregg and Nicholas Armstrong. Mr. Armstrong was one of his greatest friends, was ordained the same day, and entered upon work in a curacy close to him, a man of great power and of original eloquence, but, unhappily, after some years, he became a follower of Mr. Irving. His great powers were lost to the Church, although he lived respected by those with whom he thought well to worship.

The newspapers recently announced the death of the Rev. Nicholas Armstrong, which took place at Albury Heath, and which is said to mark the last stages of a crisis in the creed of the "Catholic Apostolic Church," popularly known as "Irvingites."

We heartily recommend the volume before us, which, it may be mentioned, is printed in large clear type.

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*A Popular Commentary on the New Testament.* By English and American Scholars of various Evangelical Denominations. With Illustrations and Maps, edited by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., L.L.D., Baldwin Professor of Sacred Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Vol. I. Pp. 500. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1879.

THIS Commentary aims to present, in an evangelical, catholic spirit, and in popular form, the best results of the latest Biblical scholarship for the instruction of the English reader of the Word of God. It embraces the Authorised Version, marginal emendations, brief introductions and explanatory notes on all difficult passages, together with maps and illustrations of Bible lands and Bible scenes derived from photographs and apt to facilitate the understanding of the text.

The work, writes Dr. Schaff, "has an international as well as an interdenominational character. It is the joint product of well-known British and American scholars who have made the Bible their life-study." The plan of the work, continues the learned editor, was conceived some thirty years ago, but indefinitely postponed, when he undertook the English translation and adaptation of the *Bibelwerk* of Dr. Lange, now nearly finished, in twenty-four volumes.

From the English edition of Dr. Lange's "Bible-work," also published, as our readers are aware, by Messrs. Clark, this new Commentary differs both in plan and aim. "The Popular Commentary" is purely explanatory, and is intended for laymen. The new Testament will be completed, we read, in four volumes. When the second volume comes before us we shall notice it, we hope, at some length. Meantime, we heartily recommend the present portion of what promises to be a really valuable work. The notes are terse, fresh, suggestive, and in tone and temper all that a devout reader could desire. The maps and illustrations are of a high order. The Introduction, and the comments on Matthew, Mark, and Luke, have been written by Professor Schaff, and Professor Riddle.

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*The Later Evangelical Fathers.* By M. SEELEY. Seeley, Jackson, & Halliday. Pp. 356.

AS to the term Evangelical, the author of this most interesting collection of biographical sketches observes that "its origin as a name given to the leaders of the revival in the eighteenth century is uncertain." They did not, as they were charged with doing, arrogate "to themselves the exclusive title of Evangelical;" for names, generally speaking, are given or inherited, not self-assumed; but when they are noble or worthy, they are borne with quiet satisfaction, and a desire to do them honour. So is it with this word "Evangelical."

John Thornton, 1720-1790; John Newton, 1725-1807; the Poet Cowper, 1731-1800; Richard Cecil, 1748-1810; Thomas Scott, the Commentator, 1747-1821; William Wilberforce, 1759-1833; Charles Simeon, 1759-1836;

Henry Martyn, 1781-1812; Josiah Pratt, 1768-1844; are "the later Evangelical Fathers," the story of whose lives is here given with a force and freshness of style, and a complete sympathy with their principles and their work, which cannot fail to awaken and sustain the reader's interest.

In the course of an introductory chapter devoted to a retrospective view of England in the eighteenth century, specially with regard to religion, it is remarked that the commencement of this period was in this respect "the worst in our modern history." Archbishop Secker declared "that an open disregard for religion had become the distinguishing feature of the age," while Bishop Butler adds his testimony that "it had come, he knew not how, to be taken for granted by many that Christianity had been at length discovered to be fictitious, and that nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule." Too often the London churches were all but empty; "in some country parishes where there was a good squire things might be better, but a good conscientious pastor in town or country in the Church of England or out of it was in those days a great rarity." Then, in the midst of prevailing ungodliness, arose and wrought with zeal and energy the "early Evangelical Fathers," Grimshaw, Venn, Fletcher, Berridge, and others.

After glancing at the lives and labours of these "early Fathers" of the last century, the author introduces us to the later ones, commencing with John Thornton, "known as the richest merchant in England," and better still, as one who, in no common degree, "honoured the Lord with his substance."

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*Miscellanies, Literary and Religious.* By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln. 3 vols. Rivingtons.

FOR the highly esteemed Bishop, a collection of whose writings lies before us, we have a sincere and great regard. On certain points, doctrinal as well as ecclesiastical, we cannot agree with him; but we always listen to his remarks with respect. As a Cathedral Dignitary, and as a Bishop, Dr. Christopher Wordsworth has had the courage of his convictions. His courtesy, however, and his candour, have been not less conspicuous than his courage. Hence it is that among loyal Churchmen of every class his name is held in honour. Many passages in these "Miscellanies" we have read with pleasure. Here and there, it is true, occurs a statement concerning the Sacraments, or an expression of opinion in regard to the Church of Rome and the Greek Church, to which an Evangelical, Protestant, Churchmanship, as we think, must take exception. That these writings are Protestant, however, in a certain sense, is perfectly true, for Bishop Wordsworth, as is well known, is in unison with great High Churchmen of other days with regard to Rome.

In the first volume appear Notes in France (1844) and in Italy (1862); chapters on Pompeian Inscriptions (1832), the Old Catholics, and the Vatican Council. In answer to the query, *Is the Babylon of the Apocalypse of St. John the Church of Rome?* the Bishop writes with clearness, concluding thus:—

Heathen Rome, doing the work of heathenism, in persecuting this Church, was no Mystery. But a Christian Church, calling herself the Mother of Christendom, and yet drunken with the blood of the saints—this is a Mystery. . . . The golden chalice in her hand, her scarlet attire, her pearls and jewels, were seen glittering in the Sun. Kings and nations were displayed prostrate at her feet, and drinking her cup. Saints were slain by her sword, and she



excelled over them. And now the prophecy became clear—clear as noon-day; and we tremble at the sight, while we read the inscription, emblazoned in large letters, "MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT," written by the hand of St. John, guided by the Holy Spirit of God, on the forehead of THE CHURCH OF ROME.

The prophecies contained in Rev. xiii.—xix., therefore, according to Bishop Wordsworth, have been partly accomplished, and are in course of complete accomplishment, in the Romish Church.

In vol. iii. appear papers on Religion and Science, the Mission of Horace as a co-worker with Augustus, the Condition of the Continental Clergy, Bishop Sanderson in connection with Conscience and Law, Diocesan Synods, and other interesting subjects. On every page, almost, appears an apt quotation; and whether the reader agree or disagree with the good Bishop's arguments, he is sure, at all events, to admire his suavity and scholarship, while with devout readers of every School, the profound reverence for Holy Scripture, a chief characteristic of the Bishop's writings, will be gratefully acknowledged. The papers on Mohammedanism—as, e.g. argument on behalf of the application of Rev. ix. to this subject—will have, for students of Prophecy, an especial interest at the present moment. We read:—

The inveterate internal corruption of the whole Turkish Empire and the utter hopelessness of its recovery, seem to show that the prophecy of the Apocalypse will be fulfilled at no distant time, and that by a process of intestine decay, disorganisation, and dissolution, the power of Mohammedanism will pass away.

The decline of the Mohammedan Power will, it is probable, be coincident in time with a great extension of Christianity, and will conduce to it.

On the condition of the Roman Catholic Clergy of France, Dr. Wordsworth quotes from *Où allons-nous?* by the Bishop of Orleans (in 1876), *La Question Religieuse*, by M. Eugène Reveillaud, and from *Le grand Péril de l'Eglise de France*. In the last-named publication, the Abbé Bougaud, a year ago, stated that not less than 2568 parishes in France are now without parish priests, so that their populations are in danger of lapsing into heathenism. In an essay reprinted from the *Courrier de Lyon*, September, 1878, the truth of the Abbé's alarming pictures is admitted; but the Essayist affirms that the condition of the French Church is due in a great measure to itself. If it is to exercise a moral and religious influence over the nation the Church must reform itself, and, in particular, the system of clerical education must be greatly altered. Of the unwholesome system of education in France, Charles Kingsley, if we remember right, in one of his letters, several years ago, made some pungent remarks, contrasting it with our English system; and, without question, the results of Jesuitical or Ultramontane direction, even in regard to the laity, are most deplorable. Bishop Wordsworth's quotations from the Abbé Bougaud's book, obviously, from lack of space, are of the briefest. We add a few striking sentences, quoted recently in an ultra-Church contemporary, describing the life of a French priest in the country as things go at present. We give the extract simply because it bears upon one question just now debated amongst us, viz., that of Sunday "recreations." M. Bougaud (*Le Grand Péril de l'Eglise de France au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle*) writes:—

I one day asked a young priest how he got on in his little parish. "During the week," said he, "fairly. But the Sunday, it is frightful. I go to celebrate mass; I find there some thirty women and two or three men. What can I say to them? I am more in the mood to weep than to speak. At vespers, nobody.

All the evening I shut myself up in my parsonage ; but I cannot contrive to shut up and guard myself in such wise as not to hear the song of men who are brutalising themselves in the public-house, and the fiddle and the dancers, which are carrying off the women and the girls. It is heart-breaking.

And this quasi-heathenism prevails in a country where "Puritanism" has no power.

At the close of vol. III. appears a letter to the Oxford University Commissioners (Jan. 1879), from the Bishop of Lincoln, as Visitor of two Colleges, Brasenose and Lincoln, concerning the Statutes to be made. It is a weighty letter, and the religious character of the Colleges will, we trust, be maintained.

## Short Notices.

*Is Life worth Living?* By W. H. MALLOCK, Author of the "New Republic," &c. Pp. 245. Chatto & Windus.

This is an able argumentative work ; it shows acuteness, logical power, and literary skill. To the Positivists—not only the followers of Comte, but to members of "the scientific school," such as Professor Huxley—it offers questions which they cannot answer. The quotations from George Eliot's writings are melancholy in the extreme. "The Positivists think," writes Mr. Mallock, "that they had but to kill God and His inheritance shall be ours. They strike out accordingly the Theistic beliefs in question, and then turn instantly to life. They sort its resources, count its treasures, and then say, 'Aim at this, and this, and this. See how beautiful is holiness, how rapt is pleasure; surely these are worth seeking for their own sakes, without any reward or punishment looming in the future.'" In the concluding part of the work, however, the author places before doubters an Infallible Pope or Church, instead of the Infallible Word of God with the light of the Holy Spirit.

*The Best Wish, and other Sunday Readings for the Home.* By the Rev. CHARLES BULLOCK, B.D. Pp. 250. "Hand and Heart" Publishing Office.

Eighteen "Readings;" sound and practical.

*Zechariah and his Prophecies, considered in relation to Modern Criticism. With a Critical and Grammatical Commentary and New Translation.* By C. H. H. WRIGHT, B.D., Incumbent of St. Mary's, Belfast. Second edition. Hodder & Stoughton.

This is a learned and ably-written commentary on an important portion of Holy Scripture. Mr. Wright, Bampton Lecturer last year, has shown considerable scholarship in his previous writings; and the present work will add to his well-earned reputation. We do not endorse every expression; but regarding the work as a whole it seems to us a truly valuable addition to theological libraries. Lack of space prevents us from noticing it at length.

*The Story of the Cheh-Kiang Mission of the C.M.S.* By the Rev. ARTHUR E. MOULZ, B.D. Second edition, with illustrations. Pp. 170. Seeley's; and Church Missionary House.

A valuable book for parish missionary libraries; earnest, cheerful, devout, and—what even a reader prejudiced against Missions might add—sensible.

*The Home Life of the Prince Consort.* By the Rev. CHARLES BULLOCK, B.D. With portraits and illustrations. "Hand and Heart" Publishing Offices.

In a prefatory note to this pleasing volume, Mr. Bullock observes that his desire has been "to illustrate and commend the spirit and character of our national Christian loyalty." He has done his work, we think, remarkably well. The extracts are happily chosen, and the thread connecting the whole is thoroughly good. A more tastefully got up book, a better book of the kind in every way, is seldom seen.

*A Contribution to the Cause of Christian Unity.* By SIMEON WILBERFORCE O'NEILL, M.A. Pp. 258. Hayes.

Mr. O'Neill is one of "The Cowley Fathers," and his book contains "the thoughts of an Indian missionary on the controversies of the day." One chapter, e.g., advocates Asceticism in missionary work. Here and there we have noticed questions and statements which, we confess, surprised us greatly. Mr. O'Neill may take it for granted that all "Evangelical and orthodox Protestant" bodies hold firmly the scriptural doctrine of the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ. For English readers it is unnecessary to quote the *Indian Evangelical Review*.

*Steps through the Stream.* By MARGARET STEWART SIMPSON. Pp. 112. James Nisbet & Co.

An attractive little book, arranged for daily reading during a month. A Scripture locality, or an emphatic phrase, serves in each case as a starting point, from which the author strives to lead her readers, by means of sweet and persuasive exhortations, mingled with anecdotes and illustrations, into the way of peace, or to a closer following after those things which accompany salvation. The introduction is, we observe, written by the author of "The Way Home," an affecting narrative of crushing bereavement, which may be remembered by some of our readers. Christmas gifts are of various kinds, and this thoughtful little volume may, with advantage, have a place among those of the graver sort, bestowed with other thoughts than that of amusing a leisure half-hour.

*Northcote Memories.* A Book for Watch and Ward. By the Author of "Copsley Annals," "I must keep the Chimes going," &c. Pp. 280. Seely, Jackson, & Halliday.

Better stories can hardly be seen—simple, affectionate, thoroughly real. Primarily intended for the Sick Watch and the Hospital Ward, this book is very suitable for the Mothers' Meeting and the Parish Lending Library. Clear, large type.

*Musings in Verse on the Collects.* By the Lady LAURA HAMPTON. With an Introduction by the Right Hon. Lord Selborne. Pp. 137. W. Kent & Co.

Evidently a labour of love. Tender and thoughtful, deeply reverent.

*Family Readings on the Gospel according to St. John.* Short Consecutive Portions, comprising the whole Gospel, with a simple Exposition for daily use in Christian Households. By the Rev. FRANCIS BOURDILLON, M.A. Pp. 340. Religious Tract Society.

Mr. Bourdillon's writings are happily well known. The present book, like his "Readings on St. Matthew," is exceedingly good. We warmly recommend it. Few men have the same gift of clear, crisp, affectionate explanation. Really practical.

*The Gospel according to St. Mark.* With Notes and Introduction by the Rev. G. F. MACLEAR, D.D., Head Master of King's College School. London: Cambridge Warehouse, 17, Paternoster Row.

This is a part of a valuable series, "The Cambridge Bible for Schools," of which the general editor is Dr. J. Perowne, Dean of Peterborough. We hope shortly to comment on several volumes of this series. Meanwhile we gladly recommend the volume before us, an admirable little manual for school use. Dr. Maclear's notes are short, suggestive, and scholarly. In his remarks on xvi. 9-20, might well have been inserted a reference to Dean Burgon's masterly work.

*The Three Witnesses: Scepticism Met by Fact; in Fresh Evidences of the Truth of Christianity.* By STEPHEN JENNER, M.A. Pp. 235. Longmans, Green, and Co. 1879.

The evidence from "Undesigned Coincidences," or the surface facts of one set of documents, compared with the surface facts of another, is undoubtedly of great value as proof of the genuineness of the respective writings, and of the truth at the foundation of them. But the evidence that *underlies* written records, and that is of their very *texture*, being more intrinsic, and coming less within the possibility of fabrication, is, one may argue, of even greater value. Such is the kind of evidence set forth in the ably-written book before us, evidence which the author thinks has been hitherto overlooked, brought out chiefly as it is from Scriptures which have not been examined with a view to Christian Evidence. His "Three Witnesses" are Peter, James, and John; and in examining their writings the Epistles are compared with the Gospels and the Acts. Mr. Jenner shows scholarship and sound judgment; his argument, though full of details, is interesting all through, clear, and cogent. In the second part of the work, "Special Forms of Evidence," we are particularly pleased with the chapter on tenses. In 1 John i. 1, *e.g.*, he shows the difference between the perfects and the aorists, unhappily hidden from the English reader. In chapter i. 10 the use of the perfect tense lies against the doctrine of so-called "perfection," thus, "if we say we have not sinned and do not sin." (And here Mr. Jenner aptly quotes ἀφῆκαμεν, Matt. vi. 12, "we have forgiven and do forgive.") In chapter ii. 1, the perfect is changed to the aorist, to intimate that the sin then spoken of must be a *single act* and not a *habit* of sin, and it might be more correctly rendered, "If any man sin a sin."

*Coming Events and Present Duties.* Miscellaneous Sermons on Prophetical Subjects. By the Rev. J. C. RYLE, M.A. Second edition, enlarged. Pp. 226. W. Hunt & Co.

A new and enlarged edition of Mr. Ryle's book on prophecy needs but few words of commendation in these columns. The title was happily chosen; and the work—which is not always the case—well answers to it. In the chapter on Idolatry occurs this sentence: "Romanism in perfection is a gigantic system of Mary-worship, saint-worship, image-worship, relic-worship, and priest-worship."

*Biblical Things not Generally Known.* A Collection of Facts, Notes, and Information concerning much that is rare, quaint, curious, obscure, and little known in relation to Biblical Subjects. Second series. Pp. 380. Elliot Stock.

This is an interesting work, evidently prepared with diligent care, and it will be found of real use, we think, by several classes of Bible students. No opinions are expressed in it. The numbers of the paragraphs are continued from "the first series," and the indices cover both volumes.

*La Vérité Chrétienne et le Doute Moderne.* Conférences Données à Paris pendant l'Exposition Universelle, 1878, par la Société de Londres pour la Défense du Christianisme. Avec une préface par EDMOND DE PRESSENSÉ. Pp. 320. London: Christian Evidence Society, 13, Buckingham-street, Strand, W.C. Paris, G. Fischbacher, 33, Rue de Seine.

The contents of this interesting book are:—*La Méthode Expérimentale et le Christianisme*: par E. DOUMERGUE, Pasteur Auxiliaire de l'Eglise réformée de Paris. *La Terre et le Récit Biblique de la Création*: par B. POZZY, Pasteur, Membre de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris. *La Royauté de l'Homme*: par EDMOND DE PRESSENSÉ, D.D., Paris. *La Destination de l'Homme*: par F. GODET, D.D., Professeur de la Faculté de Théologie de l'Eglise Neuchateloise indépendante de l'état. *Les vraies Conditions du Bonheur*: par EDOUARD MONOD, Pasteur suffragant de l'Eglise réformée de Marseille. *Les Livres du Nouveau Testament*: par JEAN MONOD, Professeur de la Faculté de Théologie de Montauban. *Le Miracle et les Lois de la Nature*: par CHARLES BOIS, Doyen de la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de Montauban. *La Divine Autorité de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ*: par FRANK COULIN, D.D., Pasteur, Genthod près Genève. In a characteristic preface, Dr. de Pressensé remarks:—"Ce n'est pas en courbant l'homme devant une autorité extérieure quelconque qu'on l'amène à la foi salutaire, c'est en le conduisant au pied du Crucifié et en lui disant: Regarde et adore! Sans doute il faut bien lui répéter en lui offrant le livre divin, *Tolle et lege*, mais à condition d'ajouter, *Viens et vois*, et de lui montrer avant tout la personne du Christ dans le livre du Christ."

*Thorough.* An Attempt to show the Value of Thoroughness on several departments of Christian Life and Practice. By the Rev. Sir EMILIUS BAYLEY, Bart., B.D., Vicar of St. John's, Paddington. Pp. 386. Second edition revised and corrected. Hatchards.

We are by no means surprised to see a second edition of this valuable work so soon called for. In its tone and temper, as well as in its treatment of the subject, it deserves unstinted praise. "Personal Religion in relation to the Church," and "the Churches," and in relation to Culture, and "Typical Conversions," are excellent chapters, but every chapter is practical and sound. We heartily recommend the book as of real value at a time when there is much religious excitement with—it must be feared—much mere surface-work. If we must make a criticism, in view of a third edition, we should venture to suggest that on page 46, in showing the difference between regeneration and conversion, a sentence or two might be added for the sake of many readers, concerning *σπράγμα*, Matt. xviii. 3, and the literal translation of *ἐπιστρέφω* in such passages as Acts iii. 19, Matt. xiii. 15 (cf. Isai. vi. 10: "*convert*.") Conversion is spoken of in Holy Scripture as the work of man, and it is commanded by God: not so with Regeneration.

*Songs of Heaven and Home.* Written in a foreign land. By ARTHUR E. MOULE, B.D., Minister of the Church Missionary Society at Ningpo and Hangchow. Pp. 100. Seeley's.

A tiny, tasteful volume; verses tender, and full of trust.

*The Quiver.* Vol. XIV. Illustrated. Cassell, Petter, & Galpin.

We have always had a kindly feeling for the *Quiver*; it is an evangelical magazine, interesting and of good tone. The attractive volume before us is quite up to the usual standard. A capital book for parish libraries.

*Beneath the Cross.* Counsels, Meditations, and Prayers for Communicants. By the Rev. GEORGE EVERARD, M.A., Vicar of St. Mark's, Wolverhampton. Pp. 140. Sixth Edition. W. Hunt & Co.

That this clearly written book was needed, is proved by the fact that it has in a short time reached a sixth edition. Like all the esteemed author's writings, it is thoroughly scriptural, with a decidedly Protestant tone. At a time when erroneous teaching concerning the Lord's Supper is widely circulated, it is incumbent upon Evangelical churchmen to recommend books which are both sound and practical. We are pleased to see that another of Mr. Everard's valuable little books, "The Holy Table," has reached a third edition.

*The World of Prayer.* By Dr. D. G. MONRAD, Bishop of Lolland and Falster, Denmark. Translated from the fourth German edition. Pp. 236. T. and T. Clark.

It is intimated in the German preface to this interesting treatise upon prayer that Dr. Monrad is one of the most active of the Danish bishops. St. Paul's *τῇ προσευχῇ προσκαρτερεῖτε* was joined, we know, with his *περισσεύοντες ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ Κυρίου πάντοτε*. It is pleasing to notice that Bishop Monrad's call to prayer has been so welcome in Germany.

*War and Peace.* A Tale of the Retreat from Cabul. By A. L. O. E. Pp. 230. T. Nelson and Son.

A new edition of the well-told story of the Retreat of 1841 will be found especially interesting at the present time. The value of the A. L. O. E. series is widely known. Excellent books.

*Every Boy's Annual. Every Girl's Annual.* Routledge.

Two most attractive volumes, well illustrated and beautifully bound. Happy will be the boys and girls who are fortunate enough to get them. Stories and interesting Articles, all good and wholesome, so far as we have examined, are of a high class. Delightful Christmas gift-books.

*Little Wide Awake.* An Illustrated Magazine for Good Children. George Routledge and Sons.

"Little Miss Patty," whose charming picture appears as a frontispiece to this Annual, would always claim, no doubt, to be one of the "good children" for whom the volume is prepared. It is, perhaps, the prettiest, most tasteful book of the kind. The story by Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, we must confess we have not read; but a juvenile critic praises it most warmly; and the right hon. gentleman's fairy stories are known to be good.

*Was I Right?* Mrs. O. F. WALTON. Religious Tract Society.

A pleasing story, giving with great attractiveness the experiences of a young lady who went out as a "companion." Thoroughly religious in the best sense. We can heartily commend it.

From Messrs. Nelson and Sons we have received three capital gift-books:—A tale for boys, by Mr. W. H. G. Kingston, entitled *In New Granada*; a story for elder readers, *True to his Colours*, by the Rev. T. P. Wilson, M.A., Vicar of Pavenham; and *In the Woods, or Chats with Young Folks about Birds and Wild Flowers*, a charming volume beautifully illustrated and got up in Messrs. Nelson's well-known style.

*Home Workers for Foreign Missions*, by Miss Whateley (R.T.S.), is really interesting, and withal a very practical book. The anecdotes—it is stated—are all from life, and they show how stingy are many professed supporters

of missionary work. From the Tract Society we have also received *Bible Readings from the Gospels*, suitable for Mothers' Meetings; and *The Epistle to Philemon*, a carefully written work, by the Rev. A. H. Drysdale.

We have received from the Advertising Art Agency copies of two of their very beautiful groups of flowers with texts, one of these is called *The Lily Group* and the other *The Rose Group*—both are exceedingly artistic, and will well bear close inspection as to workmanship. They are excellently adapted for decoration of schoolrooms or mission-halls, while with the addition of a frame (which they are honestly worthy of) a drawing-room would not lose caste by their presence. The low price charged for them places them within every one's reach.

From the Oxford University Press Warehouse (7, Paternoster 'Row) we have received two new editions of *The Oxford Bible for Teachers*. The larger one, printed with the border lines and headings of chapters in red, is a really beautiful book: as to workmanship throughout, style, and finish, it deserves the highest praise. With the smaller copy, a thin edition for pocket use, printed on paper marvellously good considering its extreme thinness, we are much pleased. The value of this Teachers' Bible *fac-simile* series is well known. Notes, Summaries, Concordance, Maps, Dictionary of Proper Names; a treasure-house, trustworthy.

From the R. T. S. we have received several packets of charming cards, coloured, large and small. *Heart Melody*, *Morning Joy*, *Evening Blessing*, are really splendid; the first-named is particularly pleasing and exquisitely finished. The R. T. S. has this year surpassed itself. *Birds and Blossoms*, *Precious Promises*, with New Year and Christmas Cards, in small packets, are also excellent. The Pocket Books, Almanacks, and Reward Cards, are, as usual, both cheap and good.

A pamphlet entitled *Consumption*, or "*Practical Hints*" on *Lung Diseases*, by H. S. Purdon, M.D. (J. Hutchinson: Belfast), is well worth reading. Pulmonary consumption, says Dr. Purdon, occasions fifteen per cent. of the mortality of Great Britain.

From Mr. W. Wells Gardner (2, Paternoster Buildings) we have received the *Annual of Sunday*, an interesting magazine for little folks. The volume is well illustrated and cheap; a capital gift-book, and a very desirable addition to parish lending libraries.

We have received from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge several of their new publications, too late—we regret—to notice them in the present number as fully as they deserve. *Narcissus*, a tale of the early Christian times, by the Rev. W. Boyd Carpenter, carefully written, is both interesting, and instructive. Another volume of the new S.P.C.K. "Home Library," is *The Military Religious Orders of the Middle Ages*. Of *The Fathers for English Readers*, four volumes have been published; Gregory the Great, St. Ambrose, the venerable Bede, and St. Basil; an attractive series, neatly got up and cheap. With those passages which we have been able to read, we are much pleased. *The Child's Gospel History*, and *The Child's Acts of the Apostles*, are simple, pleasing commentaries for little folks. In some respects, indeed, they surpass all other books of a similar sort, sound in doctrine, with which we are acquainted. Some excellent little books on Health have recently been published by the S.P.C.K. The latest, *The Habitation in regard to Health*, is an admirable manual; short, and thoroughly practical. We heartily recommend it.

## ART. VIII.—THE MONTH.

Those who believed that the Prime Minister would make some startling announcement at the Lord Mayor's banquet were greatly disappointed. The speech, however, was a success, equal in point and polish to the great statesman's happiest efforts. As to Afghanistan and the Turkish Question, it was discreetly silent. The aspect of public affairs, said the noble Earl, is much more satisfactory, and the revival of trade, which is unmistakable, is likely to prove of a permanent character. *Imperium et Libertas* is a "programme" from which Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry "will not shrink."

The English fleet has remained at Malta, and the Sultan will probably yield to diplomatic pressure in regard to the promised reforms both in Europe and in Asia Minor. Baker Pasha has been appointed Inspector-General of Turkish Reforms in Asia Minor. After the visit of the Czarewitch to the Courts of Vienna and Berlin the Triple Alliance, it is supposed, has been renewed between the Sovereigns if not between the Chancellors. The Treaty of Berlin will be upheld.

At Birmingham, the leading Liberal, or Radical, educationalists, have been constrained, happily, to change their position with regard to Bible reading in Board schools. It was left to "the Conservative party," as the *Guardian* remarks with regret, "to fight the battle of Holy Scripture:—

Is it to go forth to the people of this country that Liberalism chooses to identify itself not only with opposition to the Church, but also with repudiation, except under pressure, of the idea of religious education? The leaders of the Liberal party must look to this. If they persist in purchasing, at any cost, the support of the extreme Left—made up of the political Nonconformists and the Secularist party, who use them as tools—they can hardly be surprised if those who care above all other things for the causes which these men assail, are tempted half-unwillingly to rally round the banner of Conservatism; and they will find too late that they have raised against themselves an overwhelming power."

At the Norwich Diocesan Conference the Bishop called attention to a really practical question—viz., the union of small parishes:—

Small cures with small incomes are evils in more ways than one. It is an evil to have an impoverished clergy, and it is an evil for a clergyman not to have enough to occupy his time. Further, there is great waste of strength which could be utilised elsewhere, particularly in London, where with four times the population there is only half the number of benefices which exist in the diocese of Norwich.



The meetings called by Archdeacon Denison in support of "The Prayer Book as it is," were, at least, enthusiastic. The Earl of Devon, Mr. Reginald Wilberforce, Canon Woodard, and other speakers, protested against any legislation upon advice of Convocation as now constituted.

The Lower House of Canterbury, it is clear, has few friends, and the Ornaments Rubric compromise is dead and buried. The draft Bill, too, has met with a cold welcome. At the Chichester Diocesan Conference the speaking was all on one side; the Archdeacons alone had a good word to say for it. At Norwich, Archdeacon Groome, proposing to refer it to a committee, doubted the necessity for alteration in the rubrics, and thought the Bill proceeded from a desire on the part of Convocation to usurp the rights of Parliament. Canon Ryle proposed an amendment condemnatory of the Bill; but after an animated discussion, during which several speakers, both lay and clerical, expressed a decided want of confidence in Convocation, which they considered must be greatly reformed before its decisions would be accepted by the Church, the amendment was lost by 100 votes to 56. In Lichfield, and other dioceses, the Bill has been, practically, condemned.

The condition of things in South Africa and in Ceylon, ecclesiastically speaking, is deplorable. The Bishop of Colombo has refused licences to the Missionaries recently sent out to Ceylon by the Church Missionary Society. He declared that if any one attended "schismatic" services he or she would be cut off from all the rites of the Church—that is to say, that their children and families would be denied the sacraments, marriage, burial, and every other Christian rite.

The Report on Patronage will satisfy, probably, a large portion of even enthusiastic advocates of Church Reform.

Mr. Mackonochie has neglected the orders of the Court of Arches for years, and, possibly, he will now neither submit to the Law nor secede from the Church. His case, at all events, has proceeded a step further. The intervention of the Queen's Bench, evidently irregular, proved a failure, and Lord Penzance, as the Dean of Arches, has issued the order which for seventeen months lay dormant. The Incumbent of St. Albans is suspended *ab officio et a beneficio* for three years. It is stated (Nov. 20) that at a meeting of the Council of the English Church Union, Mr. Mackonochie himself being present, a "policy of resistance" was agreed on.

The Archbishop of Canterbury has received at Lambeth Palace a deputation of fifty delegates from Trades Unions. In reply to their complaint concerning attacks upon Unions in certain Church School Books, his Grace stated that the "offensive" writings would be withdrawn from circulation.

# THE CHURCHMAN

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JANUARY, 1880.

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## ART. I.—NEW YEAR THOUGHTS.

WE hail the advent of a New Year. We change the date which marks the current of earth's fleeting time. Thus this morning can scarcely fail to be the parent of most solemn feelings. May the Holy Spirit visit our hearts with the plenitude of His sanctifying grace!

Let us not pass this threshold without holding close converse with our souls. It should be among our earliest exercises to review the past. Let our conduct, then, in the last annual course, be brought as a prisoner to a searching tribunal.

An address designed for general reading cannot comprise particularities. Broad outlines only can be drawn within which each reader may trace the specialities of his own case. Individuality must do its own work. But let it be suggested, that each one as he probes his heart should use the Heaven-taught prayer, "Search me, O God, and know my heart: try me, and know my thoughts: and see if there be any wicked way in me." Then let meek contrition bewail the sad disclosures. For surely the page of the past will record a mass of evil. No shred of self-satisfaction can remain, and distinct instances will humble us as miserable sinners.

If reflection should be imprisoned within these limits there could be no escape from uttermost despair. But it is our happy privilege from the depths of self-condemnation to look to the heights of glorious acquittal. On New Year's morning then, let faith act strongly, hope shine brightly, peace flow calmly, and praises superabound. We are privileged to see Jesus—the everliving, everloving Saviour, seated on the right hand of God, having entered heaven with the offering of His most precious blood. We are called to view Him

obliterating every past iniquity: and rejoicing ears may drink in the word "Son, be of good cheer. Thy sins are forgiven thee." Thus the condemning crimson becomes whiter than snow. Grateful adoration should swell within: and we may enter another year fervently breathing, Thanks be unto God for His unspeakable gift: thanks be unto Jesus for His full salvation: thanks be unto the Spirit for the revelation of this Gospel.

Next, gratitude for experienced mercies claims its place. The retrospect tells that some who began the departed year younger and stronger than ourselves have ceased their course. Their opportunities are buried with them. We yet live: and means to glorify the Lord are ours. This grace thus vouchsafed, "This is the way: walk ye in it." Memory too testifies that often in the past year we provoked the Lord to cast us away from His presence: but forbearing mercy beamed over us. Many temptations strove to roll us in the mire; but restraining grace kept us from polluting falls. Our feet often neared some fearful pitfall; but we escaped. Again and again we were enticed to stray into unrighteous paths; but a gracious voice counselled, "This is the way: walk ye in it." Our spirits were sometimes disposed to sink in billows of despondency: but a reviving smile raised us to go on our way rejoicing. Thus the sight of these Ebenezers gives proof that goodness and mercy followed us throughout the past year. Hence we are called loudly to utter the voice of praise.

Among our earliest acts it is our duty to fly on rapid wing to renew our dedication to the service of God. We feel with shame that in time past intruding lords have usurped injurious sway. Barriers should now be erected against recurrence of such invasion. Our God deserves our all. To our God all should be given. Vows thus early made will guard against declensions.

But general consecration may fail in particular force. It may be as the ascending smoke, the sport of sudden breeze. It is wise then to form definite resolves. Here the study of God's Word should be foremost in our determinations. We should early pledge ourselves to dig unweariedly in this field. Our primary search should be for the gem of gems, Christ Jesus. To learn lessons of Him is to grow in grace—to make each day a feast of joy, and to meeten for the inheritance of the saints in light. This exercise can never weary. It is a cup of inexhaustible delight.

It will be our wisdom not only thus to discover Christ as our full salvation—to rejoice in His finished work—to put Him on as the robe of justifying righteousness: but we shall thus be led to follow Him fully as our grand Exemplar. Let then the desire be kindled, that in this year Christ may dwell in us, our total life, and be our pattern in every step; and that in every transaction at home—abroad, His life should stand the sign-post of our path.

Each step will thus be raised above the mire of a defiling world, and each revolving day will witness in us transformation into heavenly likeness.

The year now dawning will probably give us leisure for instructive rambles in the fields of literature. Abundant choice is spread before us. No language exceeds ours in the treasures of grand and ennobling volumes. But amid the abundance calculated to elevate and delight, the annals of the heroes who have won triumphs in the fight of faith pre-eminently attract. Scripture presents holy precepts. In Christian biographies we see these precepts like a machine in motion. We learn in these pages what grace can accomplish in men of like passions and infirmities as ourselves. They were assailed by the arch-enemy who is ever active in his hostility against us. The same temptations which beset our path were not weak enticements to them. Our human nature was human nature in them. In their records we are taught how they used the weapons which are ready also for our hands: and we may daily learn to trust as they trusted—to hope as they hoped—to pray as they prayed—to fight as they fought—to overcome as they overcame—and thus fully to follow the noble company who through faith and patience now inherit the promises. These heavenly memoirs should not slumber this year on our shelves. It would be a pleasing task to supply a catalogue of these biographic portraits. But space utterly forbids. Suffice it to say, we walk with God when we walk in retrospective spirit with His favoured servants.

Perhaps foreboding thoughts may strive to mar our happiness on this morning. Apprehensions may intrude and ruffle the waves through which our barks must pass. We are entering on an unknown path, and it may occur that afflictions may be at hand. Let us bless our God that obscurity conceals the events of the coming days. If it were otherwise we should no longer walk by faith, but rather by sight. There would be no exercise for the sweet grace of hope; for “hope that is seen is not hope: for what a man seeth why doth he yet hope for?” Let it then be granted that we know not the future: but we do know that no blind chance turns the wheels of Providence, and that afflictions rise not from the dust. We do know that our “God worketh all things after the counsel of His own will”—that His will is love: and that “all things work together for good to them that love God: to them who are the called according to His purpose”: and “that all things are ours—things present and things to come.” We have the assurance that He “will never leave us nor forsake us.” We have heard the rapturous inquiry, “Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?” We know the reply, “Nay, in all these things we are

more than conquerors through Him that loved us." We have heard the exhortation, "Fear thou not for I am with thee." Shall we not each one reply, "I will trust and not be afraid." Let us then enter on our unknown career with trust in the Lord firmly ruling in our hearts, and joy in the Lord shining on our brows. Each trial may seem for a little while to be grievous, but it will afterwards yield the peaceable fruits of righteousness. Each will come as a messenger to call us to the mercy-seat where we shall realise the smile of God, which smile is Heaven begun. Soon shall all tears be wiped from our eyes; and joys will commence of which eternity will be the duration.

We must expect, too, that this year will not be without its peculiar difficulties. Satan will not slumber. We must be on our watch-tower, and ponder the import of current events. The sons of Issachar are commended as "men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do." It is to be feared our troubles will not be of pigmy form. They will stand as giants well armed and strong. In too many quarters we may see proneness to slide downward from the high ground of Protestant light, and to turn indulgent glances to Rome's bewildering errors. The blessings of the Reformation are not now universally and pre-eminently prized. They fail to awaken the rapturous and grateful commendation which is undoubtedly their due. Shame that any son of England should close his eyes to the glory of that work! It rescued us from the vilest degradation, and from dangers which imperilled never-dying souls. It broke the shackles of base bondage. It brought back the reign of spiritual and intellectual brightness. It ennobled our nation as the nursery of what is free, and great, and glorious. We may be called this year to hear in too many places sneers bespattering our country's brightest crown; and to witness declensions from pure truth.

Let a notable instance be adduced. How often now is the precious Sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood degraded into the mimicry of the idolatrous Mass. In too many churches our ministers imitate the dress and adopt the childishness of Sacerdotal imposture! To enumerate these signs of retrogression is pain from which we turn. But let us open our eyes widely to the fact that floods threaten to submerge our Protestant position, and let us take our station valiantly by the standard of the Reformation. Valour for pure truth is a good motto for this opening year.

From the clouds which overshadow us infidelity casts its gloom. Reason spreads conceited wings, and boasts that it can fly higher than the throne of God. It dreams that by some innate power it has discovered blemishes in revealed truth. It would uproot the grand foundation on which faith rests. It arrogates wisdom wiser than the All-wise. Thus

scientific researches have strayed into mazes of misleading fallacy. This infidelity, which is becoming the fondling of these days, is not of recent birth. Since man has lived, feelings have existed, striving to usurp the throne of God. These baneful errors have been often combated, and often wounded unto death. But they revive, and wield again their blunted weapons, and propagate again their oft-refuted follies. They will surely meet us this year. Let us be ready, clad in the panoply of truth, bold to maintain that "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God," and resolve to give place by subjection no, not for an hour, to those who would impugn the Bible—the Spirit's all-enlightening gift to man. May infidelity this year find undaunted and intelligent foes in us!

It is almost superfluous to exhort, that slumber should never be allowed to close our eyes without review of the preceding hours. As this morning we review the past year, so each evening we should review the past day. No words can be needed to enforce this duty. Let one inquiry never be omitted, "What good have I got—what good have I done to-day?" This search will quicken our steps to run with diligence—with zeal—with faith—with patience, our allotted course.

Moreover, when each morning dawns, the thought should solemnise our minds, we may have awakened upon earth for the last time. Death surely advances with ceaseless step. Let familiarity with its advent be encouraged. It is recorded of an eminent saint, that on each day, for a short interval, he reclined as on the bed of death, and closed his eyes as if things temporal had for ever vanished. He then arose, as if to enter on a resurrection-life. To him when death should really come, it would not be as an unknown stranger. He would extend his hand to meet an oft-realised touch. Such habit would utterly wean us from all attachment to fleeting things, and make each day the vestibule of things eternal.

But if death should not bear us hence, the heavens may part asunder, and our returning Lord descend. Longing expectation should daily anticipate this bursting glory. An elder in the faith stated, that he lived with the last trumpet ever sounding in his ears. Let us thus always be ready to welcome the glorious consummation. The song of triumph would thus be ready on our lips, "Lo! this is our God: we have waited for Him, and He will save us: this is the Lord: we have waited for Him, we will be glad and rejoice in His salvation."

Can there be a concluding desire for this New Year better than that each day should witness our use of the prayer ascribed to St. Patrick:—

"To-day, may the strength of God pilot me—the power of God preserve me—the wisdom of God instruct me—the eye of God watch over

me—the ear of God hear me—the Word of God give me sweet talk—the hand of God defend me—the way of God guide me. Christ be with me—Christ before me—Christ after me—Christ in me—Christ under me—Christ over me—Christ on my right hand—Christ on my left hand—Christ on this side—Christ on that side—Christ at my back—Christ in the heart of every person to whom I speak—Christ in the mouth of every person who speaks to me—Christ in the eye of every person who looks upon me—Christ in the ear of every person who hears me to-day.”

H. LAW.

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#### ART. II.—EGYPT AS IT IS.

THE interest felt in Egypt is much greater now than it was some twenty or thirty years ago ; and of course the facilities for travelling, and the influx of tourists, make it far better known. Yet a cursory view of a country, taken by strangers ignorant of the language, &c., gives but a very faint idea of anything beyond the merest outside ; and besides, thousands of our countrymen cannot obtain even this cursory view. English libraries, however, abound in works on Egypt—works of every degree of merit, from the admirable and reliable volumes of Sir Gardner Wilkinson, Lane, and others of the same class, down to the shallow observations of some youthful traveller who has accompanied a “Cook’s party” of excursionists for a three weeks’ trip on the Nile.

How is it, then, that after all, we know but very little of the people and their ways, or even of the country ? Probably it is the rapid life and the less studious disposition (of the average class, that is to say) in this generation ; so this number, especially of young people, scarcely ever really *read* anything longer than a magazine article. A solid book is merely glanced over. Otherwise, how should we hear such questions as these—“Are the Egyptians a black race ?” “Do they speak always in Coptic ?” “Do you understand the Egyptian language ?” “Are Copts Mohammedans or Christians ?” &c. &c. A few observations from one resident more than eighteen years in the country may therefore be not without interest, in spite of the mass of information within reach.

The people demand our first attention. They consist (besides the foreign inhabitants, who are very numerous, and quite distinct from the natives and from each other), of three divisions : namely, the Copts, the remnant of the old Christian Egyptians who escaped the sword of the Moslem invaders, and remained faithful to their religion—the Mohammedan Egyptians, and the Turks. The second of these classes, the Moslem Egyptians, constitute by far the greater number of the inhabitants, and are

descended from the Arab invaders, mingled with the native Egyptians who conformed to the religion of their conquerors through fear, and who must have been very numerous. The pressure on them was strong, and their language was driven out of the country by the enforced use of the Arabic tongue, not only in all legal documents, &c., but in the schools; so that Coptic soon became a dead language, only kept up by a few learned men; and though used in the Coptic churches, it is even less generally understood than Latin among Roman Catholics.

The generality of Moslem and Coptic Egyptians are not outwardly different from each other in type. They are dark-complexioned; in the northern provinces not more so than Italians or Spaniards, though black eyes are more universal. In the "upper country," as it is called, the peasants are much browner, almost approaching to mahogany-colour in skin, especially when exposed to the sun. In the cities a fair-haired person is now and then seen among the Egyptians, but it always appears that such are the children or grandchildren of a Circassian slave-wife; or if Christians, descended from an intermarriage with a Greek family, which, though not very common, does take place occasionally, as the Coptic and Greek Churches resemble one another closely.

There is a branch of the Coptic Church which has entered into communion with the Church of Rome, retaining, like the United Greeks, the marriage of priests. The greater number of Copts, however, are under their own Patriarch, who is always chosen from the inmates of one of the monasteries, and is also the head of the Abyssinian Church.

Formerly, the Copts were very much oppressed, and subjected to humiliating restrictions, even their dress being ordered by law (they were obliged to wear black turbans, instead of white or coloured); but these things are of the past: the Copts now having almost, if not quite, the same advantages as the Moslems.

The Turks, though a smaller minority by far than the Copts, are yet a very important one, as they are the latest conquerors of this oft-conquered land; and the "lion's share" of wealth and the richest portions of land are accordingly retained by them. But it is strange how little they have intermingled with the people of the country. They speak Turkish still in their families, and retain their dress and habits of life with scarcely any modification. The harems of wealthy Turks are supplied with Circassian slaves, and when a free wife is taken, she is almost always a Turkish lady. Being the dominant Power, they are looked on as a sort of aristocracy, and everything Turkish is considered fine and grand; but it is singular that their admiration does not lead to assimilation. The Arabic language reigns in every school, and Turkish is only learned by a few: French in fact, is more used latterly, in many ways.



There are in the larger cities, as before observed, a considerable number of foreigners, especially at Alexandria ; but for the most part they keep entirely distinct, the Syrians excepted, who having the same language (Arabic), of course mix more with the natives of the country, though intermarriages are not very frequent. The Arabic-speaking Jews are a large body, and are similar in dress and many of their habits to the Egyptians, but their belief keeps them, as ever, a people apart.

Egypt is a country full of interest, in spite of the monotony of a great part of the scenery. The northern provinces are all a dead flat, which in a cold, grey atmosphere, would be absolutely dreary. Not a hedgerow to break the level, as in flat parts of England—no smiling village, with its church-spire peeping from among venerable yew-trees, and its white parsonage house clustered over with roses, to enliven the monotony ; the vast plain, broken only by groups of miserable mud huts, stretches before the eye, scorched with heat in summer, and flooded in autumn till it looks like a marsh. Yet such is the magic of the atmosphere, that colour, light, and shade make a considerable degree of beauty where one would not expect it. The purple shadows on a half-ruined mosque—the group of palms waving their feathery foliage near the poor mud village—the rich green of the clover-fields, glowing like emeralds in the sunshine—the clear blue of the sky, and the soft pink and amber of the desert in the far distance, delight the painter's eye. Further south there is more variety ; the Nile valley is bounded by cliffs on one side, and the Mokattern range stretch away into the desert, presenting all the changing hues that exist in dry, pure air at different times of day. In the neighbourhood of the cities, or wherever there are *abbadeys* (or farms), there is foliage enough, for trees grow rapidly ; and the mulberry, and sycamore fig, and an Indian tree called *lebich* (introduced by Mehemet Ali, and prized for its quick growth and delightful shade), are abundant, as well as gardens of oranges and other fruits, and countless groves of palms, which in the early autumn (when very few travellers come to Egypt) are extremely beautiful, hung with immense clusters of dates, some kinds of a rich gold colour, others like polished red coral. Later in the year the luxuriant fields of maize, cotton, and sugar-canes, make the landscape rich with "garlands gay, of various green."

But it is the Nile on which the special charms of Egyptian scenery are concentrated, and not scenery alone, but the interest of the whole country. The Nile is its pulse, on which the well-being of the whole frame depends. In summer the people's talk is of their hopes and fears as to whether it will be a high or a low Nile ; from the wealthy pasha with acres upon acres of sugar and corn and cotton, down to the peasant whose little

plot is cultivated in the sweat of his own brow, all the root crops depend on the Nile,—or, as the common people always say, “the sea;” for they denominate the ocean by the name of “the salt sea.” The word “river” is rarely used among them at all, many of the ignorant women especially do not even know the word in their own tongue; and the name of “Nile,” though understood, is rarely heard from a peasant. It is a wonderful river, coming down from its distant mountain birthplace, far beyond the dominion of Egypt, and overflowing its banks just at the time when the land would be a desert but for its fertilising streams. The canals that intersect the Nile valley might be extended over a far larger space, and no doubt were so in ancient days, as the district now under cultivation is far too limited to make it conceivable that other countries should have been so largely supplied with corn from Egypt as appears to have been the case. But the desert sand creeps over the country, unless kept at bay, as surely, though more slowly, than water flows; and wherever canals are not kept up, if the land be *higher* than the level of the water-flow at the inundation, of course the “fruitful land becomes a desert,” as says the Psalmist.

It seems to the observer who can judge of the art of irrigation merely by observation, as if a better opening for reclaiming waste lands, and both giving and imparting to others valuable property, could hardly be found than by introducing some more widespread system of irrigation in the desert land bordering the rich but narrow valley of the Nile. It would, however, be necessary to carry on such an enterprise with the aid and counsel of Egyptians, as they understand better than any stranger their own soil and river, and the many peculiarities of both.

The principal cities of Egypt—Alexandria, its seaport, and Cairo, its capital—have been described so many times, that it is superfluous to add anything, perhaps, to the volumes of descriptions already existing. The foreign element has of late altered the aspect of both these towns; the first has long been swarming with foreigners from every country of southern Europe, Italy especially; but it is only of late years that Cairo has been filled with European shops, and that natives engaged in Government employments, as well as many of the better class of Copts and Syrian residents, have laid aside their gay costumes and appear in the dull greys and blacks which Europeans seem to think most suitable for this world of care and woe, and try to spread among their fellow-men with greater perseverance, or, at any rate, greater success, than they do with the extension of learning and civilisation. There are however vast multitudes, even in modern Cairo, who still don the rich and graceful garb of their ancestors.

A visit to the law courts shows a very picturesque assemblage of this kind, and amused me in its contrast to our sober black

gowns and grey wigs. The building is ancient, and the arched doorways, and long wide gallery where a crowd of persons were waiting their turn to go inside, made quite a picture.

There were a very few in European dress, but most of them wore their own costume—Arabs from Jeddo, in robes of deep crimson cloth and snowy muslin turbans—peasants from the villages, with huge mantles of brown homespun, sturdy bare arms peeping out from under them, and generally fine, handsome, bronzed faces—countrywomen, muffled in dark blue linen sheets with only the bright black eyes peering curiously at the spectator above the black face-veil: these were usually accompanied by a son or brother, but two or three were alone, except for some half-clad little children crouching at their knees as they sat in the corners of the gallery.

These lonely ones were no doubt widows, coming to besiege the judge day after day, to try and get their little rights, like the importunate widow of our Lord's parable. All over the East, a widow has hard work to get or to obtain any property at all; her brothers-in-law and all the husband's relatives generally taking the chief, if not the whole. The expressions in the Scriptures about "oppressing the widow and fatherless," are much more *realised* in the East than they can be with us. Passing through the gallery we come to a hall, with numerous rooms, small and large, opening into it, some up short flights of steps, all occupied by scribes and officials seated on divans with writing materials beside them. Small tables, indeed, there were in plenty, covered with papers, &c.; but each scribe writes on his hand, and folding back the paper, or, if it be a book, holding it up as he writes. To avoid blotting and to be able to write so beautifully as most of them do, seems quite a feat. If it be near noon, servants, black slaves, and even ragged street-sellers of provisions, enter the rooms quite freely, and deposit small trays of bread, cheese, pickles, eggs, &c., before the officials. I observed one who was in the midst of apparently an important piece of business, pause and keep the persons who were engaged with him waiting, while he coolly shelled a hard egg, and leisurely devoured the same. After which, and a draught of water, he resumed his pen and beckoned them forward again. There was not, in the three or four rooms I visited, a single European or Turkish official to be seen—all were genuine Egyptians; the chief was a fine-looking man of colossal proportions, wearing a robe of apple-green cloth with embroidered pockets, and a turban that might have been a roc's egg for size.

The leisurely way of transacting business is a disadvantage, which has, however, been modified in some degree, by the introduction of railways; and it is curious that though used to such slow ways, the people are very rarely behind time at a train, but,

on the contrary, are usually waiting long before it starts. Groups of ladies, slaves, and children, with goods tied up in cloths or great pocket-handkerchiefs, are seen sitting in corners for hours before the time; and men, literally as well as metaphorically, "smoking the pipe of expectation," sit calm and unruffled watching the bustling Frank come along with his leather port-manteau just in time to save the last bell.

In spite of slowness and waste of time, and of much mismanagement in many ways, there is a vast amount of wealth and prosperity in Egypt. The climate and soil make it extremely productive, and the distribution of property, though very unequal of course, is not more so than in other countries; while a native youth of average intelligence and very moderate education, can get employment and good wages with half the trouble and ten times the certainty, that an English lad similarly endowed can in any part of the British Isles. But the chances of being left *unpaid* by some irregularity of Government—the chances of being, if a peasant, oppressed, falsely accused, over-taxed, made to pay twice over, and even cruelly beaten to extort a bribe—all this makes the condition of the working-class far less advantageous in reality than it seems at first sight, or than it *ought* to be in a land blessed with so fine a soil and climate, and where the expenses entailed by cold and wet and variable seasons do not exist.

The peasant class of modern Egyptians are naturally a quiet, cheerful, and patient race—hardworking and affectionate, and susceptible to kindness. When their fanaticism is aroused, indeed, they are violent and savage; but this is always the case with ignorant fanatics of every race.

The poorer people can rarely afford more than one wife at a time; but the extreme facility of divorce is a source of much misery. A woman is not safe from being turned out to make room for a younger wife, when her only fault is getting old; and also on a trivial quarrel a divorce often takes place, or the ill-will of some of the husband's relatives drives away a woman without any real cause. I once met a touching instance of this in a village on the Nile, when reading aloud from the Gospel to a group of women in the court of a house belonging to a Coptic family, almost the only one in that village. The master of the house had assembled his relatives and the few other Copts, who with some neighbours of the Mohammedan faith were willing to hear the Scripture; the missionary was outside the house with these men, and the female part of the household within the walls with me. But some neighbours from curiosity scrambled over the wall to see and hear what was going on.

Two or three observed,—“She is reading a Christian book,” and withdrew; others said, “These are good words,” and stayed

to listen. One, a woman looking about thirty years of age, but probably younger, seated herself beside me, and kept gazing at me with the most beautiful black eyes I had seen, whenever I paused in the reading to explain and talk about the meaning. Seeing her interest, I addressed her, when the hostess pulled my sleeve and said, "She is a Moslem—don't talk to *her*; the Gospel is not for her!" Before I had time to expostulate, the woman said with tears on her sunburnt cheek—"I too like to hear the good words;" and she gave a deep sigh as she spoke. I hastened to assure her that the good Lord loved all sinners, and wanted to save and pardon all, and to comfort their sorrow; adding, "I am sure you are not happy." She rubbed her eyes with the end of her veil, without replying; but a girl on the other side whispered her story. It seems her husband and she had been particularly happy and attached, till a sister of his became jealous and at last contrived to poison his mind against her, and to get him to divorce her; "though," said the girl, "every one knows she was really a good wife, and she won't marry again, though *he* has taken another, and it is two years ago now, and she works hard and lives alone." The poor woman heard, for the whisper was not a very gentle one, and said, looking at me, with such a touching expression, "*I can't* marry, for I *loved* him—oh, how I loved him! my heart! my heart!" and she hid her face, sobbing softly, and trying to hide her grief as if every one did not know it, poor thing! Of course, I did my utmost to cheer her by telling of that Friend who is "above all others," who never forsakes and who never forgets us! I did not see her again, and do not know her subsequent fate; but doubtless the story is only too common.

Some families, however, make a rule never to divorce, and hold their heads rather high, and justly so, for not giving in to this odious custom.

The man's power is of course greater here than in Europe, as not only the strong arm, but public opinion and law, agree in giving him power, among the lower class especially—almost of life and death; in rich or influential families, on the contrary, the wife has great power, as her own people support her. A curious little tragedy happened in my own neighbourhood not many years ago, which reminded me of the old tale of "Blue Beard." A certain man had married two or three wives in succession, but, being reported well off, found no difficulty in obtaining a successor, and married a very pretty young widow, who was specially noted among female friends for her magnificent long and silky hair. Her new husband said he was but moderately well off, and so excused himself from bringing her the customary gift of jewels; however, they had not been married more than a few weeks before he was called away for some business, which

would detain him a few days away from home. The wife happened that morning to see a certain chest which she had often been vainly curious about, with the key in the lock—in his haste to start, her husband had forgotten it! she quickly unlocked it, and found it nearly full of gold.

"Now," thought she, "I see he is a miser, and this is why he never gave me bracelets;" so she resolved to get them for herself, and in her childish ignorance (for many Eastern women are not able to count beyond a very low rate, and have no practical knowledge) it never struck her that he would *count* his money, and thus detect her theft. She took a handful of the glittering coins, and immediately went to a jeweller and ordered a pair of gold bracelets; the man took the money, and promised to bring the articles next day. The husband was not expected for some time, but returned the very next day, and the first person he saw was a jeweller at his door; on being asked his business, he replied he had brought the bracelets his honour's wife had commanded for the fifteen guineas! Seriously the husband abused both the innocent jeweller and his unhappy wife; he flung the bracelets into the mud, and told the man to give him his money and begone, which he hastened to do. Then the house was in a turmoil with inquiries, curses, &c., and an old woman who was used to come occasionally, betrayed the poor wife; it seems she had spied her unlocking the chest, and feared to be herself suspected, unless she told what she knew. The man's fury now knew no bounds; seizing the plaits of long and beautiful hair he twisted them round his hand, and thus holding his victim, struck her with his stick while she screamed for mercy in vain. When he had dragged her round the room and beaten her till her shoulders and arms were black with bruises, he left her; but her little daughter had run in and seen all, and alarmed the neighbours; and her own friends, who found her nearly dead, insisted on bringing the doctor of the district. He came; but it was too late to save the unhappy woman, who died in a few days, and the husband then gave a bribe of twelve guineas to the doctor to conceal the truth and prevent him from being summoned for murder. The miserable doctor pocketed the bribe and told some lie in his certificate, which set all *right*. A year or two later the "Blue Beard" husband found another pretty bride—an innocent sweet young girl, sister-in-law to an old pupil of mine (which is how I know all the details). What her fate will be is still unknown; when I saw her before the marriage she had not yet seen her delightful bridegroom, the custom here making that ceremony subsequent to the one that ties the knot.

It may seem as if I were giving the dark side only in these stories, and it is quite true that I know several families where

there is a fair amount of domestic happiness; but they are the exception certainly, and though actual tragedies may not be the rule, wife-beating, quarrelling, and frequent divorces *are* the rule, and that not among the lowest of the people; the law of Mahommed gives a licence for these things, and man's nature is ready enough to take advantage of it, of course. There are some noble examples among the highest class of men who, instead of filling their palaces with scores of poor young white slaves purchased from Circassia, are married to a single wife and treat her with due respect and regard, and we must hope that, though as yet quite exceptional, their example will be followed by many, and the women given their right place as mistresses in their husbands' homes. But as yet it seems far enough off, and the example set by Europeans is not such in too many cases as to give a just and true idea of Christianity and Christian homes to uneducated Egyptians, or even to such as have some degree of European cultivation. The number of low people who come from Italy, the Greek islands, Malta, and France, &c., to get employment here, because they failed at home, give a bad impression to the natives. The recent introduction of French theatrical amusements, &c., are also calculated to do harm *even* greater here than in Europe, for various reasons. The higher class of modern Egyptians are frequently good French scholars, and some are unhappily imbued with French rationalistic views, but all profess strong attachment to the creed of their race and country, probably more from patriotic than really religious feelings.

The mass of the people cling fondly and blindly to the Moslem faith, however—that very faith whose tenets were forced on their ancestors by fire and sword—and are very far from imagining on how rotten a foundation its doctrines stand, or how their venerated book contradicts itself, and says things that may be differently interpreted from the ambiguity of some of the words used. Many who can read its fine flowing sentences with fluency, have but a faint understanding of the meaning conveyed, being accustomed to a more homely dialect in daily life. The students at the great college of the Azhar, indeed, are very learned, so far as the narrow round of studies permit men to be so, either the Koran itself or treatises upon it being the only books; there exist histories and other works, indeed, of great antiquity, but comparatively few read these, and copies are scarce. The oral traditions, like the Jews, “traditions of the Elders,” are nearly as much venerated as the book itself; and among the women, oral tradition is, generally speaking, all that they know of religion. They do not go to the mosques, and rarely pray, but rich devout women have, during the fast month—or at periods of bereavement in the family—a sheikh or

learned mollah to read aloud and recite passages of the Koran ; he sits behind a curtain, and the females assemble to hear him.

I have had a good deal of personal experience among Egyptian Moslem women, and have found that most have very faint and vague ideas of a future state, and *many* have none at all. "Only think!" exclaimed a devout Moslem woman of the wealthier class, who had visited Mecca in pilgrimage many times, addressing a sister when I was visiting her one day : "only think, this lady believes she has a *home* in Heaven ! is not that wonderful ? and very good also," she added. If you ask if they have such hope, they will not say plainly "*no*," but with an air of either indifference or of sadness will reply, "Inshallah !" (please God), "by the Prophet's help"—often adding, "Who knows?" and shrugging the shoulders expressively enough, try to leave the subject. As to a sure and certain hope there is really none : fatalism may give outward calm, and does sometimes ; but joy and peace belong only to those who have an unction for the soul.

Some English persons have a notion that the remnant of the old Egyptian Church ought to be the missionaries *par excellence*, to bring their countrymen to the knowledge of the Gospel ; but that Church needs reform itself as much, or very nearly as much, as ours did when the glorious Reformation brought the forgotten Gospel to light in the days of Ridley and Latimer ; and the corruptions of the Coptic Church are peculiarly offensive to Mahomedans, who among many errors of their own, are free from that of bowing down to pictures and similar things. They have, indeed, a good deal of saint worship in their own way, but both they and their Coptic neighbours need to be pointed to God's way of salvation in simplicity, and to put aside whatever is not found in His inspired Word. That Word is not now actually out of their reach, as in times past. The Church Missionary Society formerly, and the American now existing in Egypt, have been the means of making the Scriptures attainable at a reasonable price, as well as of instructing many young persons in reading and in the truths of the Gospel. This work has been carried on now for many years, chiefly among the Copts, and latterly among other Oriental Christians settled in Egypt, a few Mahomedans being occasionally reached also. My own schools and mission were specially directed originally towards these last, although after a time Coptic scholars joined the Moslems at my first little school, and at present, when we have upwards of 500 children in the Cairo school, usually called the Egyptian Mission, there are a good number of different Christian denominations and a few Jews, but the greater number are Mahomedans. On the short Nile trips, which I make in the winter with some of my missionary assistants and the missionary superintendent, the poor Moslem villages are



the places we chiefly visit, and most interesting meetings have been held in some of these among the peasantry. But it is not listening to the Scripture, or even reading it for himself, that is enough to make a Moslem give himself to Christ. The Spirit of God must work in his soul until he is ready to make real, and to him often terrible, sacrifices. He must give up his family and friends, be looked on as a man false to his country as well as his creed; for there is as much of patriotism as of religious belief in Islam here. In many cases he runs a real risk of either secret poisoning, or open persecution and imprisonment, if he makes the profession by baptism. He is, however, far better off than the seeker for truth in the days of the Inquisition, as no hindrance is put in the way of his obtaining and studying the Word of God. Some, we know, who from their youth and other circumstances could not enter the earthly fold by baptism, *did*, we feel sure, enter the heavenly fold by faith, and are now with the Lord, doubtless blessing the school where they learned to trust in Jesus. Others yet struggling with the difficulties of earth, are divided between love of truth and fear of man, and for such much prayer and much patience are needed. English travellers who visit the English Mission Schools can hardly fail to be pleased to see so many little ones with the Gospel in their hands, and learning to sing the praises of God in their native tongue, as well as receiving a secular education better than they could obtain at native schools; because, however large their pecuniary means are compared to mine, they need the constraining love of Christ and the blessing which accompanies the study of His word.

The Medical Mission which I have lately been privileged to add to the work in Cairo, is the first that city has yet known, and promises to be a great means of blessing. Already, though only a few months in existence, the poor gladly come in numbers to avail themselves of free medical aid—as much as possible they have their souls attended to as well as their bodies. The teaching can only be of a desultory kind from the circumstances, and much of the seed, no doubt, falls by the wayside; but some will, we feel sure, bring forth fruit one day for the Master, some thirty, and some a hundred fold.

M. L. WHATELY.

### ART. III.—CONVOCATION, SYNODS, AND DIOCESAN CONFERENCES.

#### I.

WHEN in future years the historian records the fortunes of the English Church during the Victorian era, four distinctive features will claim inquiry at his hands—viz., internal controversies, Missionary efforts, Church and School extension, and the revival of Diocesan organisation. Of the four it is the last with which this Paper is mainly concerned, and whilst it is being written it is the one which prominently occupies the minds of English Churchmen. Its sounds are everywhere in the air. In the spring of this year thousands of our Easter vestries were summoned, not merely for the due election of fit persons for the time-honoured and well-understood office of churchwardens, but also for the selection of representatives in the Ruridecanal and Diocesan Conferences. Now in the late autumn whilst our November skies glitter with the unusual light of meteoric showers, our Church horizon also gleams with the strange illumination which Diocesan Conferences diffuse in every part of the ecclesiastical firmament. If the clouds drop water the columns of the secular as well as of the religious press overflow with the utterances of Dioceses in Convention. London is the notable exception; but there also the Bishop states, in his recent Charge, that the establishment of an Annual Diocesan Conference is under careful consideration, its adoption having been discussed with considerable favour.<sup>1</sup>

Whilst, however, these phenomena will prove matters of interest to the future historian, they demand at the present time most careful consideration on the part of those who have at heart the well-being of the body ecclesiastic, and through it the spiritual interests of Christ's cause. As the movement, of which they are manifestations develops form and gathers strength, it will be seen that the agency is one which for weal or woe will do much to control the immediate future of the Established—and it may be in the more distant future to mould the fortunes of our disestablished—Church. It would be suicidal to the influences of Evangelical truth, and utterly unworthy of a party which justly boasts that the historic lines of the National Church are based on Evangelical principles, if we were to say nothing and to do

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<sup>1</sup> Bishop of London's Charge, October, 1879, p. 31.

nothing because we thought nothing, whilst changes, revolutionary in their effects, were being thus enacted before our eyes. All who take a comprehensive view of our religious activities cannot but recognise that, in common with other religious bodies, the Church of England throbs with quickened energies in every part, and is stirred by noble impulses of which she knows not herself the full purport. Like other bodies she recognises her corporate strength, and she longs to "go out as at other times before and shake herself." On the great problems which wait for solution she yearns for occasions of common counsel, and for opportunity for the expression of her deliberate voice.

For those who have not fully studied this outburst of conciliar movements, and who might therefore distrust the estimate here formed as to their potential character, I will quote an extract from the most impartial and best informed organ of public opinion :

Diocesan Conferences are the symptoms of a striking movement by which the Church of England is being affected. Within very recent memory nothing could be less conceivable than such assemblages. The result is that the Church now finds itself provided with the working machinery of an organisation which is capable, if well managed, of bringing all its parts and members into direct relations with each other, of constituting in each Diocese an appreciable public opinion, of compelling each class within the Church to listen to the others, to understand them, and to consult their wishes. These Conferences are still to a great extent in their infancy, but that they or some assemblies like them have a great part to play in the future of the Church cannot be doubted by those who can appreciate the course of current events and the natural tendencies of a great institution. Corporate life is essential to the full vigour of any society of men, and it is now fairly reawakened within the Church of England. The form it may ultimately take may still be obscure, but it can never again be repressed.<sup>1</sup>

Such a movement may, under God, be wisely guided, but cannot, with due regard to our common safety be wholly ignored. If the vessel be lost on the rocks surely it is the consolation of a coward that he shirked the responsibility by shunning his turn at the wheel. If the vessel be found at last safely in port, it is the act of a braggart to boast if his help were wanting when the sails were to be set. The motto of a mediæval monk who sought only present ease might well be "*Sinere omnes res eo vadere quo vadent*," but a great party, such as the Evangelical body, can never divest itself of its responsibility to the master of the ship. Not less to our care than to others its keeping and safe conduct have been entrusted. We know His help will not be wanting, for He has given the compass, and with it all necessary sailing instructions, whilst His Own counsel when sought is never with-

<sup>1</sup> Leading Article *Times Newspaper*, Weekly Edition, Oct. 31st, 1879.

held. In this crisis, then, let us, so far as we are concerned, see to it that our hand is on the helm to steer, our hand on the sail to speed the good ship to the haven where we would have her to be.

I have spoken of "the Revival of Diocesan Organisation," and it will be well to keep in mind that the English Church had in her earliest ages her diocesan, provincial, and national synods. If the Archbishops gathered their suffragans in their provinces, and if the whole body of Bishops with some of the clergy were occasionally called together in national synods by *their* rulers, it is a fact absolutely attested that the Bishops also in their respective dioceses were in the habit of assembling their Presbyters at stated times. The records which have come down to us of all these assemblies are very scanty, but they suffice to prove the independence of the British Church, and to show that for ages the Bishop of Rome had no authority in our ecclesiastical councils. St. Albans, which must always possess a peculiar interest as the traditional scene of our first English martyrdom, and whose grand abbey-church within the last few months constituted the cathedral of a new diocese, is in itself an eloquent illustration how our English Church can bring forth fruit in her old age, claims the additional interest of having, under its older name of Verulam, witnessed the first English Council of which any record survives.<sup>1</sup> There, in 446, according to Matthew of Westminster, in a great gathering of Presbyters and laymen, the heresy taught originally by Pelagius, a British convert, was condemned by the Bishops then assembled.

Interesting, however, as any historical review of conciliar gatherings in our own country would be, it will have more weight if we go back to that sacred soil whence all these movements trace their first roots. In the very earliest days of the Apostolic Church prompt and vigorous action amid circumstances of peril and perplexity, difficulty and danger, was impossible then as now without that guidance which arises from consultation and prayer. In the simple phrase, "the apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter,"<sup>2</sup> we have the germ from which all similar movements in later ages have sprung.

In this preliminary Article I propose to investigate the narratives of Acts xv. and xxi., in search of certain general principles which may thence be deduced. In a future Article I purpose briefly considering the present position of the conciliar assemblies which, under the guise of Convocations, Diocesan Synods, and Diocesan Conferences, seek to gain our suffrages and to enlist our sympathies. And, in the last place, being firmly convinced that a recognition of the due rights of Presbyters, and of

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<sup>1</sup> Lathbury's "History of Convocation," chap. i.

<sup>2</sup> Acts xv. v. 6.

the spiritual character of the laity (points ever dear to the Evangelical section of our Church), lie at the very foundation of a Diocesan Conference, I will urge that, whilst reforming Convocation and letting Diocesan Synods sleep, we should, as Evangelical Churchmen, heartily develop and cordially, though watchfully, support the Diocesan Conference.

The precise title to be assigned to the first general assembly recorded in Acts xv. 1-31 is a matter of dispute; but whether it be called a Council, a Provincial Synod, or a Diocesan Conference, it must rightly take its place as the first in the long series of councils or synods which mark the course of the Church's history, and as "the model of all succeeding ones," says Bishop Wordsworth. From a careful consideration of the narrative the following facts are to be derived in reference to its constitution and character:—

(1) *Presbyters or Elders had their place in its deliberations.*—Their presence, v. 6—their participation in the discussion, v. 7—their hearty assent to the final arrangements, v. 22—the promulgation of the decree in their name as well as in that of the Apostles, v. 23—these are facts beyond dispute. In full accordance with these statements we find that when, seven years later, St. Paul once more arrived at Jerusalem and was received by St. James, "all the Presbyters were present" (Acts xxi. 18) at a meeting, which has been fairly regarded as a true and proper Diocesan Synod. Of this assembly Benedict XIV. testified that it possessed "*speciem quamdam et imaginem synodi.*" It must further be remembered that at this latter gathering the Presbyters "ventured to advise St. Paul, Apostle though he was, to perform a certain ceremonial act in the Temple. So Paul acted on their advice, and evidently did not think that in proffering their suggestion they had encroached on any prerogative that belonged either to him or to St. James." Further, let it be borne in mind that these same Presbyters recalling the former Council seven years before claimed that they had written and concluded the decree on the question of circumcision (Acts xxi. 25). Full justice is rendered to this remarkable claim in the interesting Article in *The Church Quarterly Review*, from which I have just quoted. "We have written and concluded—not simply *ἐπιστείλαμεν* but *ἡμεῖς ἐπιστείλαμεν*. No doubt the *ἡμεῖς* included St. Paul and St. James, but it most certainly includes the Presbyters too. And on referring to the account of that Council we find this statement of theirs fully borne out. Whether the Presbyters of the Church at Jerusalem sat in the Council by right or by privilege, they no doubt sat in it, and sat in it as *bona fide* members of it. 'The Apostles and Presbyters,' not the Apostles only, were the board of reference or court of final appeal, to which the cause of dissension was referred." Nothing can be more satisfactory than this admission, remembering the quarter in

which it is made, but, unhappily, the admission graciously made, is in the course of a few pages as ungraciously withdrawn. "If Presbyters were present (says the same writer) in the Council at Jerusalem, and spoke in it, as most likely some of them did, it was because the Apostles were pleased that it should be so. But to infer from thence that they had the power of voting against the Apostles would be to introduce a principle into Church Government at variance with the Apostolical commission and destructive of Apostolical authority."<sup>1</sup>

Without doubt, the fact brought out in reference to the presence and active participation of the Presbyters at the first Church Council must constitute a difficulty to those who, accepting the high views of Cyprian concerning the Episcopal office, regard Bishops as not only indispensable channels of grace, but as indispensable bonds of Christian brotherhood; and who therefore believe that the unity of the Church must consist in the unanimity of the Bishops as appointed directly by God—inspired directly from God and responsible directly to God. The temperate conclusion of Professor Plumptre is one however which will commend itself to all but those who have some special theory to be upheld at all costs. This Council "bore its witness that the government of the Christian society was not to rest in the autocracy of a single will, but in the deliberate decision of those who, directly or indirectly having been appointed by the choice or with the approval of the people, represented the whole community. Presbyters had an equal voice with the Apostles whose position was analogous to that of the later Bishops."<sup>2</sup>

(2) *Lay Members of the Church had their place in this first Assembly.*—Those who hold that Bishops are the only pastors of the Catholic Church, and that as a consequence every office of the priesthood is but a delegated function when otherwise exercised, will not be very ready to admit that laymen, if present at the first Council, were there in any other capacity than that of simple spectators. The precious ointment that ran down Aaron's beard is not said to have descended lower than the skirts of his priestly garments, and as laymen, according to this theory, have not received the grace, so they cannot share the responsibilities of the priesthood, nor can therefore be expected to be fit advisers concerning those sacred functions that pertain essentially to the priestly office. "There are spiritual questions of exceeding difficulty, and pastoral questions of exceeding delicacy, on which a Bishop would naturally desire to have the opinion of his clergy, but on which the laity from the very nature of the case would be most unfit to give counsel."<sup>3</sup> In simple reply to

<sup>1</sup> *Church Quarterly Review*, October, 1879, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Ellicott's "New Testament Commentary," *in loco*.

<sup>3</sup> *Church Quarterly Review*, p. 171.

all this assumption of special fitness on the one hand, and assertion of special unfitness on the other, it may suffice to remark that it is a matter of historic certainty that in the first Council the lay-members not only were present but did exercise some such responsibility. So far as the true rendering of the words in our own version translated "The apostles, and elders, and brethren send greeting" (Acts xv. 23) is concerned, it may readily be conceded that by the variety of readings the exact position of the laity is lost in clouds of textual criticism. The present Bishop of Lincoln in his note on the passage has adduced in a brief compass all that can be advanced in favour of the reading which omits the conjunctive "and" leaving the word "brethren" not to indicate a third constituent portion of the Council, but to comprehensively describe the before-mentioned "apostles and elders." When all has been said that can be advanced, and, without doubt, very much can be said, the weight of authority inclines in favour of the English rendering "and the brethren" as the correct reading. This judgment may, in the opinion of some, be strengthened by the fact that such a rendering as the one advocated by Bishop Wordsworth—viz., "the apostles and elders brethren" is entirely foreign to the usage of the New Testament, and may naturally have originated in a desire to bring the text into harmony with that usage of the Church, whereby the laity had been excluded from all participation in the Synods.<sup>1</sup>

It is, however, to be remembered that the settlement of the principle as to the position of the laity in our Church Councils does not depend upon a single phrase. We will omit this passage from our discussion, and it is still claimed that the part taken by the multitude of the disciples in the election of deacons (Acts vi. 2) as well as the expressions employed in reference to the Council "all the multitude kept silence" (Acts xv. 12), "then pleased it the apostles and elders with the whole Church to send chosen men" (v. 22), abundantly justify the conclusion of Canon Norris, "That this Council included the laity is clear for—the whole Church is mentioned as taking part in the consultation with the Apostles and Presbyters" (Key to the Acts of the Apostles, p. 72), and also the fuller statement expressed on the passages, in Bishop Ellicott's

<sup>1</sup> The last opinion given by an expert may here be adduced. "Although *καὶ* is omitted (N, A, B, C, the Vulgate and Armenian versions, Irenæus and Origen, and the *καὶ* by D), I still believe them to be genuine. The diplomatic evidence seems indeed to be against them, the weight of the above uncials, &c., being superior to that of E, G, H, the majority of Cursives, and the Syriac, Coptic, and Ethiopic versions. But objection to the apparent parity assigned to the brethren might have led, even in early days, to their omission, while, if not genuine, it is not easy to see why they should have been inserted."—*Farrar's Life and Work of St. Paul*, v. i. p. 429, Note.

"New Testament Commentary." "The latter words are important as showing the position occupied by the laity. If they concurred in the letter it must have been submitted to their approval, and the right to approve involves the power to reject, and probably to modify. The exclusion of the laity from all share in Church Synods, though it may be defended as a safeguard against the violence of a barbarous or faithless age, must at any rate be admitted to be at variance with primitive and Apostolic practice." To those who would sum up the whole duty of a good Lay Churchman in matters ecclesiastical under the two brief tables of "pay" and "obey," it may conclusively be urged that the old rule "*Illud quod omnes tangit ab omnibus comprobari debet*" is a rule of Scriptural precedent as well as of Canon Law, and of that still more binding authority—viz., common sense.

(3) *The decision of the Council was the result of no immediate revelation.*—This point is one which must be kept in mind by those who might be disposed to object that in this first Council we ought not to look for any principles as precedents, inasmuch as all its members were specially inspired. The decree when sent forth ran in the name of those who were assured that they had been Divinely guided. "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us" (v. 28), but the decision was finally attained by such exercises of prayer and discussion as are equally available for any gathering among ourselves where opinions are divided on subjects of pressing and vital interest. It is under this conviction that the decrees of Councils have been commonly prefaced by the phrase "*Sancto Spiritu suggerente*," and that the English Convocation invokes the help of the Holy Spirit on their deliberations in the words "*Concede ut Spiritus tuus, qui concilio olim Apostolico, huic nostro etiam nunc insideat*." The entire history of the first Council is most worthy of careful study for the light which it sheds on the way and manner in which such assemblies should be conducted. At the very outset, the attendance of St. Paul and St. Barnabas, ascribed as due to revelation by St. Paul himself (Gal. ii. 2), is, in the narrative of St. Luke (Acts xv. 2), represented as due to the determination of the Church at Antioch. Arrived at Jerusalem, St. Paul employed the interval before the assembling of the Council, as he himself informs us, to discuss the vexed question privately with the leading Apostles, a course of conduct which, under similar circumstances, in our own day would be described as a manifest proof of tact and wisdom. It was thus that St. James and St. Peter were convinced that to insist on Gentile Christians being conformed in all respects to orthodox Jews would break up the very foundations of the Christian Church. With the touching appeal on behalf of their own poor, they wholly resign to St. Paul, the mission to the Gentiles, and he enters the Council with the know-



ledge that his purpose would not be shipwrecked by Jewish prejudice, and that he had not run in vain. In the Council itself there is "much disputing" (v. 7), and as in all other similar gatherings of the Church to settle disputed questions, "there would be mutual recriminations and misunderstandings, instances of untenable argument, of inaccurate language, of confused conceptions. The Holy Spirit, indeed, was among them then, as now, in all gatherings of faithful Christian men. But neither then nor now, as we see by the clearest evidence of the New Testament then, and as we see by daily experience now, did this influence work to the miraculous extinction of human differences or obliteration of human imperfections."<sup>1</sup>

(4) *Mutual Concession was a distinctive feature of the ultimate decision.*—When on the ground of the logic of facts, relating his own experience in the case of Cornelius, St. Peter had argued the question of the admission of the Gentiles, and Barnabas and Paul had testified how God's blessing had crowned their labours among them with signs and wonders, James, the Apostle of the Circumcision, having reminded the Council how the calling of the Gentiles was in accordance with the teaching of their own prophets, gives his sentence: "For the Jews, whose prophets are read publicly every Sabbath Day, he makes it abundantly clear that there can be no desire to abrogate that Law in which they made their boast: For the Gentiles, on the other hand, it is expressly declared that this same Ceremonial Law shall in no wise further be binding than charitable regard for the prejudices of their Jewish brethren may demand." Some topics are then enumerated on which this restraint of Christian liberty is to be observed. That this Concordat was not intended to be of universal, much less of perpetual, obligation a little consideration will make plain. The decree itself is addressed only to "the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia." The decreed abstinence from things strangled and from blood would entail considerable inconvenience and conspicuous singularity among the Gentiles in days when food thus prepared was in frequent Greek and Roman use, and where, therefore, the disputed questions had not been raised no such obligations are imposed. In his future dealings with the members of the Churches in Corinth and in Rome, St. Paul treats the eating of things offered to idols as an open question to be decided by each man's conscience on principles of Evangelical expediency, and makes no reference to the decree of Jerusalem. Against fornication he urges stronger pleas than those which any Council can furnish in its canons—viz., the eternal decrees that "the will of God is our sanctification," and by reminding his converts that

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<sup>1</sup> Farrar's "Life and Work of St. Paul," vol. i. p. 421

their bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost, and that as they have been bought with a price so they ought to glorify God in their bodies and in their spirits which are His. It is from this decree of the Council at Jerusalem that Hooker, in his "Ecclesiastical Polity," illustrates the truth that though commands be Divine, they are not of necessity perpetually binding, inasmuch as they can only be regarded as of obligation so long as the circumstances continue under which they were originally given.<sup>1</sup>

Among those who would promote conciliar action in Church affairs in our own time, are some who would never stir a step without a solemn precedent. There are others who regard all such reverence for precedent as ecclesiastical red tapeism. Whilst to the one we admit that it well befits a great Church to move cautiously and claim with the other that our Church can well afford to make precedents, so that the changes introduced are not contrariant to but based on the lines of great historic principles,—we would say to both that the four lessons which the Council at Jerusalem thus illustrates can never be safely overlooked by those who, through conciliar action, would strengthen the foundations and enlarge the functions of our English Church.

JOHN W. BARDSLEY.

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ART. IV.—THE CHRISTIAN SABBATH:

OR,

IS THERE NO SABBATH DAY DIVINELY PROVIDED FOR  
CHRISTIANS?

**D**IFFERING views upon any point cannot, it will be admitted, be all equally near to the truth. One of the points upon which Evangelical Churchmen differ from the Ritualists (not from the Old High Churchmen) and from the Broad Church School, is, regarding the sanctity, under the Divine authority, of one day in every seven for Divine worship. The Ritualists, in particular, would convert the Sunday from a Holy Day into a holiday, after the example of the School of Laud, and of their prototypes in the Church of Rome. The Broad Church School esteem the Sunday as no more sacred by Divine sanction than any other day of the week; only they would observe it on the ground of expediency, though not as of Divine authority. Are either of these parties borne out by Scripture, rightly interpreted? We think not.

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<sup>1</sup> See Bishop Ellicott's Commentary on the whole passage.

But though it should be proved, as we think it can be, that the Sabbath Day is still obligatory in its *principle*, it is fairly open to question, we admit, whether it is to be a Puritanical Sabbath, or an Evangelical Sabbath, under the Gospel; a Jewish Sabbath, with its rigid restrictions and bondage, or a Christian Sabbath, to be observed in the spirit and in the liberty of the new Law of Love.

Our object in this Paper is to investigate the question, and to endeavour to put it in its true light; also to bring forward proof that a Sabbath Day has been provided for Christians in the New Testament. It may be that we shall advance some positions respecting it which will appear to be new; but a thing may be new, let it be remembered, without its being a novelty; and at all events, we hope to show that we have given the whole question our thoughtful consideration. We will first examine the Scripture grounds upon which the modern opinion about the non-obligation of any special day for religious worship professes to be founded.

The only two passages in the New Testament upon which either of the before-mentioned parties can ground their opinion, are Romans xiv. 5, and Col. ii. 16. In the first of these we read, "*One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike.*" In the second the words are these: "*Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holiday, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days.*"

The important point to be observed, in regard to the interpretation of the first of these passages, is, that it must, by every rule of reason, be ruled by the general principle laid down in the first verse of the chapter, namely, that we are "*to receive him that is weak in the faith,*" but not to judge him for his doubting thoughts about such indifferent things as meats and drinks and days. This determines all the matters here intended to be included to be questions in which there existed doubtfulness of obligation, giving rise in the minds of weak Christians to differences of opinion between them and others. The primary question, then, in relation to it is, Was there any such doubtfulness with the Jew about the obligation of his seventh day Sabbath, or with the Christian about the Lord's Day, which had become his day of sacred rest? There is no evidence of anything of the kind: and before the passage can be applied to subvert the obligation of one day in seven, as set apart for religious observance, he who would make use of it for this purpose must first prove that what we term "the Sabbath" was intended to be included. For, to quote the words of Robertson, of Brighton, only for a different end, "We may be sure that St. Paul would never have risked so certain a misconstruction of his words," as not to have specified the Sabbath or

Lord's Day, had he meant us to understand that that day was included, and was not obligatory upon a Christian's observance. On the other hand, if it was known to be obligatory, that alone would render it unnecessary that he should tell the Roman Christians expressly that that day was excepted. St. Paul was wont to deal in broad general statements, like the one before us, and to leave it to others to supply the exceptions. The best interpreter in all such cases as this is common sense. If, for example, we heard anyone say, "Here is one man who judges it right to fast every Friday; and there is another man who thinks it not necessary to fast on any day, esteeming every day alike;" should we take the Sunday in the latter case to be included, that being known to be always, and in every case, an excepted day? That day is, in fact, excluded, by the very definition the Apostle gives of the questions that he supposes to be matters of doubt. He is speaking here *avowedly* only about things that are matters of *indifference*; but the observance of one day in seven, as set apart for Divine worship, was most certainly not one of these matters of indifference in the eyes of the Apostle, for he himself observed the Lord's Day, as *κατ'ἑξοχὴν*, sacred—a day standing apart from all other days, and to be observed by all believers in Christ. Unless, then, we would make the Apostle contradict himself about all days being "*alike*," including the Lord's Day, we cannot, with reason, put the construction upon his words which some now put. The wish must with them have been father to the thought. There were other days known to be open to questionable obligation, just as there are such days among ourselves, and these were, obviously, the days to which the Apostle referred, without including the one day in seven known as a day of sacred rest. At all events, the contrary is all *assumption*, not *proof*.

But let us not be guilty ourselves of prejudging: there is the second passage touching the matter to be considered.

The first point to be observed in respect to this is, that there is a manifest reference in it to Isaiah i. 14. The very words, "new moons and Sabbaths," and "appointed feasts," answering to "holidays," are there in a similar manner denounced. If, therefore, the seventh day, or Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment were included in this, as by parity of reason it would be, then it would be God denouncing the very day, the strict observance of which, He had elsewhere, in this very Prophet, commended and enjoined (see Isaiah lvi. 2-4, and lviii. 13). Similar injunctions occur in Ezekiel xx. Even if the Sabbath Day was included in the words of Isaiah i. 13, it would be only as denouncing the abuse of its observance as made a covert to iniquity; just as our Lord afterwards denounced the misapplication of the law of the Sabbath by the Pharisees; and, at the utmost, all that the Apostle intended in

the two passages referred to, might be to guard Christians against laying too much stress upon days, and other periodic observances, as he had done also in Gal. iv. 10. To infer more than this from the Prophet's words would be to prove that the Sabbath Day was not obligatory, even under the Old Testament; and just the same kind of argument applies to the inference which some would draw from the similar expressions of the Apostle (supposing them to relate to the Lord's Day) under the New Testament—namely, that it would prove too much.

To our view, the inference sought to be established from the two passages referred to in St. Paul is broader than the premises. It is, in fact, begging the question. It is even false reasoning. At all events, it exhibits reasoning without reason. For what man, in the true exercise of his reasoning faculties, would ever, if he heard the counsel given, "Let no man judge you in respect of vestments, or of postures, or of Saints' days," infer from this, that no vestment of any kind was obligatory to be worn, when the surplice, in the "ministrations" of the Church is known to be obligatory; or that it was not obligatory to kneel in prayer when receiving the Holy Communion, though it is ordered to be received "kneeling;" or that even the Sunday, being, like the Saints' days, a Feast day, might be set aside as of no obligation to be observed! Would not the man who drew such an inference from the words be set down as deficient in logical acumen? And such reasoning as this, if reasoning it could be called, would carry us even further into the region of absurdity. For the Apostle includes "meat and drink," as things by which we are not to judge others, nor to allow others to judge us. If, then, the words "Sabbath Days," as falling into the same category, justified the conclusion that no Sabbath Day, in any sense of the word, need be observed, then, by parity of reason, the words, "Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink," would justify no kind of eating or drinking, not even to the partaking of the Lord's Supper! A conclusion for which, I suppose, no Christian would be prepared.

In neither of the two passages relied upon is *the* Sabbath (*το σαββατον*) of the Jews mentioned, much less can the Lord's Day be included. It is of "Sabbath *days*," *σαββάτων* (without the article, in Col. ii.) not of that which the Jews, by way of distinguishing it from all other days, commonly designated distinctively by the definite article *το* (*το σαββατον*); and the plural form, it cannot be denied, included a number of other less sacred days observed by the Jews. "Judge no one by the observance of these," the Apostle seems to say; which is as if he should say to us, "Judge no one by the observance, or the non-observance, of the Saints' days of the Church."

The very different way in which the Apostles and their Lord

speak respecting things that were to be abolished or superseded, such as circumcision, the Temple, the Priesthood, the sacrifices, &c., under the Law, as compared with what they do *not* say respecting the Sabbath, ought to be particularly noticed. Here there is no want of explicitness, or of decisiveness: we are not left here to doubtful or negative grounds for our conclusions.

If we go direct to what the "Lord of the Sabbath" has Himself said upon the subject, we do not find the case of the All-days-alike-party in any degree confirmed, provided we restrict ourselves to just inferences alone from His words. It is true, He put a different construction on the Commandment respecting the Sabbath Day from what the Pharisees had done, and He vindicated it from their abuse; but how He could, with any consistency, have vindicated, as He frequently did, the right observance of the Sabbath, if He knew that the obligation of its observance was altogether to cease under the Gospel, we must leave others to explain. The very fact, that He vindicated it from its *mis-use*, is, to our mind, one of the strongest arguments for its *use*, as of perpetual obligation in its *principle*. Nor can we understand how our Lord, and His Apostles, could have so frequently referred to the Decalogue *as a whole*, and quoted some of its Commandments separately, without making an express exception of *any one*, if any one of them had ceased to be morally binding upon Christian men. They never give the slightest intimation that the Fourth Commandment was to cease to be part of the Ten Commandments or Law for Christian people. In speaking of the Law *as a whole*, as well as in mentioning most of the Commandments separately, without making an express exception of this or that one, they recognise all its parts, just as a person quoting any parts of an Act of Parliament recognises the whole as being, unless expressly repealed, the law of the land. The principle, indeed, in this matter is the same as that laid down by St. James in its *consequence*: "He that offendeth in one point, is guilty of all" (he is speaking of the Law of the Ten Commandments), because, as he adds, "He who said, Do not commit adultery, also said, Do not kill:" he might have added, said also, "Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath Day."

The reason why the Fourth Commandment is not quoted separately (it is referred to several times) by our Lord and His Apostles, or included with the other commandments in their quotations, probably is, that this was not one of the points in which the Jews needed correction, except in the matter of over-strictness: and to correct this over-strictness in the observance of the letter to the neglect of the spirit, all their rebukes were directed. Our Lord, in fact, did not quote the Commandments of the First Table at all, except as they were included in His generalisation of the First Table. Was the second, or the third,

then, of these Commandments void in consequence of this ? or, was not the Fourth Commandment also included, as a part of the whole ? That our Lord never contemplated its cessation, as long as man exists upon the earth, is plain from His Own declaration, "*The Sabbath was made for man.*" From this it clearly follows that, under the present conditions of man's nature, the Sabbath rest is necessary, and is to be enjoyed.

Even Robertson, of Brighton, though he asserts that "there is not in the Old Testament a single trace of the observance of the Sabbath before the time of Moses" (an assertion the truth of which we utterly deny), yet he maintains most strongly that the Sabbath "*was made for man as a necessity of his nature ;*" and if so, why, we may ask, was it not necessary for man before Moses as much as after ? That the Sabbath existed from the time of the Creation is evident, without any other evidence, from the reason given for it in the Fourth Commandment. It was re-enacted to the Jews after they were brought out of Egypt, for reasons having special respect to them, and with restrictions added that were to be peculiar to themselves : it was made a part of their national law ; but, so far as its *principle* is concerned, it is as much binding upon Christians as ever it was upon the Jews, in so far that one day in every seven is to be observed as a sacred day of rest. All this follows by just inference, we submit, from the proofs which we have advanced in the way of argument.

Very few persons, however, can be made to see that negative evidence is, in some cases, much more conclusive than positive. Where a practice has existed before, and has become generally recognised, it is usually taken for granted, and not named. So it has happened with respect to the Sabbath Day. Its observance having been enjoined as a command, in the Moral Law, it needed no fresh enjoinder. Seeing that the thing had been long before ordained, and observed, express *abolition*, and not renewed *enjoinder*, is what we ought rather to look for, if its observance was to be discontinued, as a thing no longer obligatory.

But though, on these grounds, no direct mention or enforcement of the Sabbath Day was to be expected, yet we might expect to meet with it incidentally somewhere in the Epistles of the Apostles, in the way of allusion, or of argument, supposing its continued observance to be obligatory. And one instance of this we are prepared to adduce.

It is quite possible, let it be remembered, that we, like the Jews of old, may have suffered ourselves to adopt views of some passages of Scripture which, upon a closer or more critical examination, may be seen to involve a mistake. One such passage we conceive to be Hebrews iv. 9. The well-known words, "*There remaineth therefore a rest to the people of*

God," have come to be generally, if not universally, assumed in our day to relate solely to the future, the celestial condition of God's saints. We think we shall be able to show that, to prove this, was not the writer's object; and that, in these words, taken in connection with the Apostle's argument, we have proof of a Divinely-provided and a *present* Sabbath rest for us as Christians.

This fourth chapter to the Hebrews is, confessedly, one of the most obscure and difficult in the whole of the New Testament. All the commentators show themselves at a loss for a connected and conclusive exposition. It seems, indeed, almost impossible to make out what the writer is aiming to prove. His quotations from the Old Testament Scriptures are so brief, his transitions of thought so sudden, that it is hard to follow him with the clue of any guiding sense. It is not my intention to be dogmatical upon the point; my aim will be only to examine, both the argument of the Apostle, and the terms he uses, with a view to discover, if possible, and to show his true meaning and object.

Let it be borne in mind, then, in the first place, that the writer was addressing *Jews*, who certainly could not need to have it proved to them that there was a future rest in Paradise, or Heaven, for the people of God; for this was what the faithful among them already fully believed. This fact alone might suggest to any thoughtful mind that the inference here drawn by the Apostle has some other relation. To discover his meaning, we must carefully observe the object and drift of his argument in this whole Epistle. What, in the other parts of the Epistle, is he seeking to establish? His object is to show these somewhat unsettled Jewish converts that everything of a ceremonial nature in the Mosaic economy was typical, and that, for everything done away in Judaism, or changed, as being only type, there was the anti-type—the reality, in a substantial substitute in Christianity. He begins by showing them the superiority of Christ, as a Lawgiver, to Moses; and then he goes on to show the superiority of His Priesthood to their High Priest; the superiority of His sacrifice to their sacrifices; the superiority of the Temple of His Body to their Temple; the superiority of the Christian Covenant to their Covenant; the superiority of the Christian's Altar to their Altar; "Your Lawgiver," he says, in effect, "was human, ours is Divine; your High Priest is done away, but we have a permanent High Priest in God's Own Son, who ever lives; your sacrifices are done away, but we have a better sacrifice in the Lamb of God, who actually takes away sins; your Altar is done away, but we have an Altar, at which they have no right to eat who serve the Tabernacle; your Temple service is done away, but we have a truer Temple in the human heart, consecrated by the indwelling of God's Holy Spirit; your Sabbath is done away, which was the



type of a *real* rest to come." Is there to be a hiatus here, by the absence of any substitute for that, we might ask, if it be not filled by the better Sabbath denoted by the word *σαββατισμός*, "that remaineth," not "*for*" (this is the gloss unconsciously put upon it by those who have become possessed with a wrong idea) but "*to the people of God.*" This is evidently the line of the Apostle's argument. It is of a thing to be realised *now*, though never realised before, he speaks; for, as he had just before stated (verse 2), "We which have believed *do* (not *shall*) enter into rest." Of the heavenly state he does not speak at all, till he comes to chapter xii. 22; and there, even of that, he speaks, not as a state *to come*, but as already *present* (as in its commencement it is in "the kingdom of heaven," the Christian Church), and as it is in its *σαββατισμός*, and other spiritual and supernal advantages. And if there were not, in some sense, and that a higher sense, a present keeping of a Sabbath, and enjoying it, Christians would, obviously, be in a worse condition than the Jews, and the Apostle's argument would fail in one particular.

The question now is, How far do the terms, the writer makes use of, bear out this interpretation. First, there is the Greek verb used, to be noticed, which is here translated "*remaineth.*" In what sense remaineth? Is it in the sense of something *to come in the future*, or is it in the sense of something *left behind from and after* some other thing has been done away, and that is now existing to be enjoyed? The Greek verb *ἀπολείπεται* means, beyond question, *left behind*, as a thing now existing; for it is the very verb used by St. Paul, when he writes (2 Tim. iv. 13), "The cloke that I left (behind) with Carpus, bring with thee." This is also its frequent sense in classical authors. According to the verb used then, "*the keeping of a Sabbath,*" *σαββατισμός*, is a thing *left remaining from* something that is gone, as a present blessing to the people of God.

There is another point which appears not to have been noticed in connection with this verb. In the first verse of this chapter the writer had used the compound *καταλειπομένης*, in relation to the rest *to come*; and here, in the ninth verse, he changes the preposition from *κατα* to *ἀπο* in the verb *ἀπολείπεται*, as he had also done in verse 6. Now, there must be some reason for this change. What is the difference? When he uses the form *καταλειπομένης*, he is speaking of the *promise* of the rest in question as a thing left to come *down* (*κατα*), as an *heirship* to us; but when he comes to speak of the *inheritance itself* as a thing to be entered into, and possessed, then he changes *κατα* to *ἀπο*; it is then *ἀπολείπεται*, *is left remaining*. This sense here, it is also to be observed, is borne out by the necessary sense of *ἀπολείπεται*, in verse 6; for there this verb is used

in relation to what was *left* for others *actually to enter into now*; consequently, the same verb in verse 9 must have relation to an *actual entering now into* the kind of rest denoted by the substantive σαββατισμὸς.

What the kind of rest is intended to be expressed by this new-coined term will appear on a careful examination of the word used by the writer in this chapter for "*rest*;" and also by the use he makes of the word "*day*." Throughout, the word for rest is *κατάπαυσις*, expressive of *ceasing from* one thing, and *resting down upon* another. It is applied by the writer to God's rest on the seventh day at the Creation, when He ceased from all His works and rested. This rest of God is made the ground of all the Apostle says about "*rest*" in this chapter. This being so, do not they who deny a Sabbatical rest "from the foundation of the world" (verse 3) leave no foundation for his argument, nor occasion for what the Psalmist afterwards says about a *κατάπαυσις*, a *rest to come*, and to be really enjoyed? They do, in fact, take away the foundation-stone in the building, and make the Apostle's argument a "baseless fabric." For, if there were no Sabbath rest from the foundation of the world, as some assert, on a special day, what need was there for him to prove that the rest foretold in David was not that which, upon this assumption, never had any existence at all? He is arguing, it appears to us, from what the rest was at the Creation, to what the Christian's (not the Jew's) rest would be. It is contradistinguished by him from that proposed under the Law. For the Apostle proves from the Psalmist that there is *another* rest yet to come, under the Gospel—the rest of faith. This rest the Jews entered not into, as a Body, in the wilderness, as he shows, nor in Canaan, nor under the Jewish economy at any time. It is another than the Mosaic Sabbath rest the Psalmist intended, when he spake of "*a certain day*." And the Apostle's argument goes to prove, on this ground, that the Jews had no true ground for continuing in Judaism. He meets one of their assumed objections to Christianity by saying, in effect, "Do not suppose that, because your seventh day Sabbath is abolished, there remaineth no Sabbath rest to the people of God, there remains a Sabbatism, a better rest than yours—a rest not for the body only, but for the soul, through faith in the work Christ has now finished; and this intended better rest, I prove to you, out of your own Royal Prophet David."

This view of the Apostle's argument is strengthened by the application he afterwards makes of the word "*day*" as used by David. He observes that David does not say, "There is to be another *rest*," but only that "*another day*" was determined, the rest being included in the day (v. 7, 8). And in speaking of it,

not as a *rest*, but as a "*day*," it is worthy of notice that he makes the antitype correspond to the type, which, without a special day for it, it would not. The other day of rest referred to was the seventh, both from the foundation of the world, and also under the Law. But the Psalmist speaks of "*another day*" than this, and what day could that be but the Lord's Day? "*Another day*" is of itself an intimation of another *rest*, or *keeping of a Sabbath*," to come. As there was a *day* for the one, so it seems to follow there must be a *day* for the other. If this were not so, the introduction of the seventh day rest into his proof, and then going on to designate the Christian's rest by the term "*a day*," would only have confused the Apostle's argument; there would have been no *parallelism* had he not designed to prove that there was to be a *day* for rest, as there had ever been before. There was a particular *day* for the *κατάπαυσις*, so there must be a *day* for the *σαββατισμὸς*. The word *σαββατισμὸς*, in fact, includes both a spiritual rest and a day for this Sabbatism, or enjoying of rest.

What this new kind of rest, implied in the word *σαββατισμὸς*, is may be thus defined, as distinguished from the Sabbath of the Jews under the Law. The Jew could rest only *after* working, the Christian rests *before* working. His six days of labour *preceded* his Sabbath or day of rest; whereas the Christian's Sabbath, or day of rest, comes *first*, and he works afterwards. The Jew *worked in order to rest*, the Christian *rests in order to work*; the one sought rest *in* working, and found it not, the other finds rest *without* working, or in ceasing from his own works.

In this change of the day from the last to the first of the week, a very important principle is involved, for it involves the grand distinction between the Law and the Gospel, and was designed, we may believe, to teach it. To observe the seventh day now would be to put ourselves under the Covenant of Works. The "*another day*," as the Apostle terms it, (verse 8,) let it be noticed, immediately precedes his inference, "There remaineth *therefore* a rest (*a keeping of a Sabbath*," as it is expressed in the margin) "to the people of God," and implies that it is not the same rest as the first—a rest *after* works—but "*another*," namely, a rest *from* works. And in the very next verse he gives this, as the very reason why there is a new Sabbatism introduced and established: "For he that is entered into his rest, he also hath ceased from his own works, as God did from His." Whether we take the pronoun "*he*" here to mean Christ, or the believer in Him, the principle is the same. Christ, as the Redeemer, has ceased from working, as the Father ceased when Creation was completed. The expression here, "*his rest*," not *our* rest, seems to imply what we know to be a fact, that

our rest comes through His. We have still a Sabbath ensured to us, in the best and highest sense of the word. If there is to be a rest to the Christian, in body as well as in soul, there obviously must be a day for it, for any time would be no time. A known day for it is evidently implied in the exhortation to these Jewish Christians, further on in this Epistle (chapter x. 25), "not forsaking," literally, not *utterly leaving off* (ἐγκαταλείποντες) "to meet at the synagogue" (τὴν ἐπισυναγωγὴν), or, as we should say, to meet at Church. Then follows (verse 26), "for if we willingly sin" (meaning, evidently, as the first step to apostacy, in the leaving off to assemble for Divine worship) "after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth (ἀπολείπεται, again), there is *left behind* for us no more sacrifice for sins" (chapter x. 27). Ἀπολείπεται must have this sense here, because he has already told them (chapter ix. 26, 28) that the sacrifice offered has been offered *once for all* (ἅπαξ), and that there is no other to come. Had he intended to say that there was another to come καταλείπεται would have been the verb required.

It is remarkable, as confirming our view of chapter iv. verse 9, that the Syriac version renders it, "wherefore it is certain that the people of God ought to keep a Sabbath." The day of the Resurrection was the day on which Christ rested from all His works of Redemption and entered into His rest, and consequently this became the day appointed for the Christian's Sabbath or rest. The best evidence of this is that Christ observed it Himself in all His appearances to His disciples afterwards, which must be viewed as giving it His sanction. Christ sent the Spirit on that day also (Rev. i. 10). In the post-resurrection period, too, *μία σαββάτων* *one*, or *the first* day of the week was the notation adopted for what we term now "*the Lord's Day*." (See Matt. xxviii. 1; Mark xvi. 2; Luke xxiv. 1; John xx. 1; 1 Cor. xvi. 2; also Rev. i. 10.) The conclusion, therefore at which I arrive from all this evidence is, that there is still a day provided, ordained, and "that remaineth to the people of God" in which for them to observe and enjoy a *Sabbatism*, or period of sacred rest.

But if this be so some may think, What is the difference between being under the Law and under the Gospel? If the observance of one day in seven be obligatory, is not this the very principle of the Law? The difference, I conceive, lies in this—that the one kind of Sabbath was to be observed as a matter of *Law*, and the other is to be observed in the spirit of *Love*. To the ungodly, even this is to be, and will be, viewed still as *a law* (see 1 Tim. i. 9); but to them that believe, it is not so much a law as a *principle*. We, as Christians, are not under the law of bondage, but the law of liberty; it is in the *spirit* of the commandment we are to act, and not merely in the letter. The

believer, indeed, enjoys this rest in his spirit every day, but his body can have the rest only one day in seven, and, by the Divine provision, is still to have it. This sufficiently vindicates for the Fourth Commandment the place which it still occupies in the Decalogue, as maintained by the Christian Church.

Our condition now may be thus described:—It is as if a father should say to his children, when come to full age, “Hitherto I have required you to observe my commands as a matter of law; henceforward I shall trust you, as you are no longer children, to observe what you know to be my will out of love.” To put ourselves into bondage to the letter of the Law now, would be to fall into the very error of the Jews, with far less excuse for it. We have been called unto liberty, only we are not to abuse that liberty. We should abuse our liberty, if we devoted the Sabbath to somnolent sloth, secular occupation, or the chase of worldly pleasure; but, on the other hand, we are not required to make it a day of gloom and moroseness, under self-imposed restrictions; rather, it is to be a day of restful action, in the exercises of devotion, in holy joy and realised freedom in Christ Jesus. This, in our view, constitutes what we may term the *Evangelical Sabbath*. That the Jewish ordinances were only shadows (their seventh day Sabbath included), and that the “body is of Christ,” we should contend as earnestly as the broadest Broad Churchman. But with us it is the shadow of a reality, not of a nonentity. It was a shadow, according to our own interpretation of Hebrews iv., of the Christian σαββατισμὸς, and this, again, we believe to be a further shadow—a type and pledge of an eternal Sabbath or rest to come. The rest, in short, of which the Apostle speaks here, of which the original Sabbath and the rest in Canaan were the foreshadowing, may be viewed as consisting of two parts—spiritual and eternal; the rest of *faith* here, and of *fruition* hereafter; the one a rest *in* trouble, the other a rest *from* trouble; the one *in* Christ on earth, the other *with* Christ in Heaven.

Not to pursue this question any further, I may observe that, if my exegesis of Hebrews iv. stands good,<sup>1</sup> it settles the whole question of Sabbatism; it proves that a Sabbath is provided for us under the Gospel; it shows also what the Christian Sabbath is, as distinguished from the Jewish Sabbath; and I submit my arguments in its support to thoughtful men, not because I wish to restrict their liberty of opinion, but only in the hope that it may help to ascertain truth.

STEPHEN JENNER.

<sup>1</sup> Lest any one should hesitate at my view of the import of Hebrews iv. 9, under the idea of its being entirely novel, I may state that the same interpretation is given of it by the great Dr. Owen, in his learned and voluminous work on the Epistle to the Hebrews; only that even he has missed the evidence latent in the Greek terms used by the Apostle, and also several other points of importance.

## ART. V.—THE HAPPY VALLEY.

*The Happy Valley : Sketches of Kashmir and the Kashmiris.* By W. WAKEFIELD, M.D., Author of "Our Life and Travels in India." With Map and Illustrations. Pp. 300. London : Sampson Low and Co. 1879.

WE fear that during the last twelve months, owing to the famine, the so-called "Happy Valley" has been the scene of great suffering, all the more terrible that the appliances which existed, or were created for the relief of our famine-stricken districts of India, had no existence in Kashmir, and that such efforts as were made to assist the people in their desperate distress largely failed of their object through the combined incapacity, indolence, and venality of the Kashmir officials. Nature is very bountiful in Kashmir both on land and water, but occasionally, as in Hindustan, the crops fail from drought or other causes, and then the direst results follow. No great store of grain exists in adjacent countries, and even if it did, the difficulties in the way of transport are described as almost insurmountable. The people, from their rulers downward, true to the Eastern character, scarcely trouble themselves to guard against these evils, and when they come just submit to them with a dogged fatalism. In fairly abundant years, the produce of the Valley seems almost illimitable. Vegetables and fruit are sold at ridiculously low prices. This, of course, makes the reverse all the more keenly felt when it comes. Dr. Wakefield visited it under prosperous circumstances, when everything was seen at its best and happiest. So seen, it is evident from every page of his volume that everything made upon him a vivid impression. Nor can we be surprised at this, for certainly there must be few places which can compare with the "Happy Valley" in beauty and variety of scenery. Our author seems never to weary of describing its luxuriant beauty. Here is his opening picture:—

Kashmir is a theme well worthy of a poet. Nowhere in Asia, nor even, perhaps, in the remaining quarters of the globe, can the parallel be found of such an earthly paradise ; a paradise in itself as formed by Nature, but made doubly beautiful by its surroundings. For these are bare, rugged and frowning rocks, a wilderness of crags and mountains, whose lofty summits tower to the sky in their cold and barren grandeur—a solitary and uninhabited waste. Yet in the midst of this scene of unutterable desolation, there lies spread out a wide expanse of verdant plain, a smiling valley, a veritable jewel in Nature's own setting of frightful precipices. Everlasting snows, vast glaciers, which,

while adding to its beauty by the contrast, serve also as its protection. Shielded from the cold and piercing blasts of the higher regions that surround it on the north, it is equally protected by the girdling mountains on its other sides, whilst its elevation places it beyond the reach of the fiery heat of India's sunny plains, and thus it exhibits in the midst of a wide waste of desolation a scene of almost constant verdure and perpetual Spring.

Of the value of Kashmir as a protection to our Indian territories, Dr. Wakefield naturally entertains a high opinion. It is easily defended, and the possibilities of an invasion on this side are but scanty, since even if a hostile force should succeed in penetrating the few passes of the surrounding mountain range, it would only be at the beginning of its difficulties. The author once and again speaks with mournful regret of the short-sightedness of the Indian Government in not retaining Kashmir as a part of our Indian possessions, alike for its strategical and political importance, as well as for the benefit which must have resulted to the people from our rule. The architecture of the ancient temples now in ruins, which are met with by the traveller at various points of his route, gives rise to speculations equally interesting and equally difficult of a positive conclusion, one great authority thinking that their builders were Hindu imitators of the Roman style, while another believes the Kashmir architecture to be not a copy, but a prototype. It can hardly, however, be disputed that these sacred buildings are evidences of the populous and prosperous condition of the country in former days. What with wars, pestilence and famine, there has been, no doubt, a serious depopulation of the Valley. Formerly its inhabitants were numbered by millions, now the estimated number is barely half a million, and of these more than a third are found in Srinagar, the capital and its environs. The pure Kashmiris are physically a fine race, "the finest perhaps existing in this part of Asia, and the type of the old Aryan race, the stock from whence they have sprung." In cast of countenance they are described as somewhat like the Afghans—Jewish in character. At the capital, which includes in its population some 38,000 Hindus, chiefly Brahmans, there is a tendency to split up into castes. The army is almost entirely composed of men drawn from the hill-country outside the Valley, which is under the sway of the Maharajah, the proverbial cowardice and timidity of the Kashmiris in the presence of danger preventing them making good and reliable soldiers. The hill tribes, called *Dográs*, are, in fact, the ruling class, the head being the present Maharajah, and Jamoo, the capital of their territory, where the Maharajah resides during the greater part of the year. Dr. Wakefield speaks confidently of him as an enlightened and

studious ruler, anxious to act fairly towards his people, but with the best intentions unable to accomplish much, owing to the incapacity and selfishness of his advisers.

In the absence of hotels, there are provided, at Srinagar, good bungalows for the accommodation of strangers, which are the subject of special regulations. These buildings are in two ranges, one for married people, the other for bachelors. The occupants are expected to provide themselves with furniture. The married visitors are allowed to leave their houses for seven days, without being required to permanently vacate them. After that time, the native official, having charge of the arrangements, is empowered to assign the house to another visitor, the contents being removed at the owner's risk. Bachelors are allowed three days' absence, under the same conditions. The capital itself extends for three miles along the banks of the river Jhelam, and on this account may be regarded as the Venice of the East. The river is the great highway of the city, the supplementary canals answering, as in Venice, the purpose of communication with the parts removed from the river. Wheeled vehicles are unknown, boats taking their place. But to whatever uses the water is applied, personal ablution, according to Dr. Wakefield, is not one. "Familiarity with water must have bred contempt for one of the greatest, if not also the most useful, of its many virtues; personal washing is unknown, and from childhood to old age the people never so employ it; and instead of a people that one would expect to find the cleanliest of the cleanly, they are veritably the dirtiest of the dirty."

The author was fortunate in the time of his visit to Srinagar, as during his stay he received an invitation to a fête given by the Maharajah, at the Shálimar Bagh, on the Dal Lake, on the occasion of launching a small steam vessel on the lake. The Shálimar Bagh was the favourite residence of the Great Moguls when visiting the Valley, and though shorn of much of the splendour which invested it in former days, it retains its prestige as one of the "lions" of Kashmir's central capital. The Dal Lake is the chief scene of the localities which have been immortalised in Lalla Rookh, and around it are to be found some of the most attractive spots of the whole neighbourhood. It abounds in luxurious aquatic vegetation, the most striking plant, especially when in flower, being the lotus.

Lilies of various colour peep from amidst the verdant covering, the leaves forming which, rest lightly and gracefully on the water; while the queen of all this species, the magnificent lotus, with its gigantic leaf and tall and quivering stem, drooping under the weight of the exquisite and noble tulip-shaped pink and white flower, appears in the midst of this floating garden, like a reigning beauty, bowing with modest yet dignified grace at the homage and admiration of her gaily-bedecked, but less favoured, rivals.



But we have wandered from the launch of the steamer and its attendant festivities.

A memorable day indeed it was to the inhabitants of the Valley, and long-talked-of both before and after; for steam power was a mystery to them, and never before had the mountains surrounding their homes echoed back the sound of the whistle, the shrill scream of that invention which proves, wherever it is introduced, the [? a] most civilising agent, and the potent uprooter of old ideas and prejudices. At an early hour of the day which was to mark the first step of the onward march of progress in Kashmir, the city was full of people, and the river crowded with boats of every size and description. The entire population of the Valley were gathered together, all thrilling with excitement, and all actuated by the same motive, that of getting as good a place as possible near the scene of action, so as to obtain a sight of that mystery of mysteries, a boat moving over the water without the usual, and to them well known, agency of hands.

The hour fixed for the important ceremony was four o'clock; and arriving at the scene about that time, we found ourselves in a mass of boats, all wedged closely together and ranged in double line, so as to keep a space of clear water in the centre for the steamer to proceed on her triumphant way. On the bank of the lake at one extremity of this space a grand stand had been erected, which was occupied by the Maharajah, his Court, and the majority of the strangers then visiting the Valley.

The boat was one of the steam launches usually carried by ships of the Royal Navy, and was a present to the Maharajah from our gracious Queen, having been sent to his country in pieces, which were finally put together under the direction of an European engineer, who accompanied the gift, and remained in charge to instruct the recipient and his attendants as to the management of the machinery. Very soon after our arrival, the occupants of the boats that surrounded us became if possible more excited than ever, and shrieked, gesticulated, and swayed about on their frail crafts, each laden with human beings to the utmost extent of its carrying power, and we knew the crisis was at hand. The Maharajah took his seat on the deck in a solemn and dignified manner, but having withal an anxious appearance, as if not quite certain what was going to happen. Probably he had been told that steam, like fire, is a good servant but a bad master, and that boilers sometimes burst, and accidents will happen, despite every reasonable precaution. This may have had some effect as he was that day brought into personal contact with the power of steam for the first time, for he looked grave: but with the courage worthy of his royal descent he took his seat, and gave the word to start. The whistle sounded, the musicians blew their loudest, the drummers smote their drums until their arms ached, and the people shouted so that the mountains echoed back the sound. Yet, with all this, the old adage of "man proposes" was exemplified, but the vessel would not move.

It may suffice here to say that happily the next day the defect was remedied, and the steamer was brought out of the lake into

the river Jhelam, where the Maharajah steamed up and down the watery highway, pleased as a child with his new toy, and to the delight of his faithful subjects, who clustered like bees at every point which afforded a view of the royal progress. Meanwhile, the author and his friends reached the gardens.

Myriads of lamps illuminated the whole place, causing the jets from the countless fountains to fall apparently in showers of flame. By the side of the walks, on each side of the canal that runs through the centre of the garden, soldiers were stationed, motionless and erect, about a yard apart, each holding in his right hand a blazing torch. The entire structure at its upper end, and the surrounding garden, was literally bathed in light, the tanks and watercourses appearing like fiery lakes, and when viewed from below, the nature of the ground and the terraced form in which it was laid out added much to its beauty. This was, however, seen at its best from the uppermost terrace, on which the pavilion stood. From this elevated standpoint we could take in the whole scene, and observe the lines of fire descending in regular gradation, tier after tier, until lost in the calm dark waters of the lake, and standing in this hall of a thousand lights, could picture to ourselves that evening, where—

The Imperial Selim held a feast  
In his magnificent Shālīmar.

It was truly a lovely spectacle, and the numerous servants and soldiers of the prince, in their gay and fanciful costumes, added to its charm. Imagination was carried back to the days of childhood. The fairy-tales one had read at that time appeared to be realised, and the elfin land of our dreams, so often pictured in our thoughts, stood revealed at last.

For an account of polo-playing, which is said to have its home in Ballistan, and to be a game engaged in by all classes of society, as if it were one of the chief objects of their life, much as cock-fighting is in the Manillas, we must refer to the author's pages. His account of the arts and manufactures of Kashmir is full and interesting. Among the latter he very naturally gives the largest share of his description to the celebrated shawls which come from its looms. At the present time the decrees of fashion, as Dr. Wakefield remarks, have almost banished them from Europe, and in the race of competition they are far too costly to stand against the clever imitations of France and Scotland. But their importance as necessary appendages to rank and state in the East ensures a steady demand for them there, and by the Treaty of Amritsar, 1846, which wisely or unwisely transferred Kashmir to Golab Singh, the Maharajah, in token of the supremacy of the British Government, is bound to present annually one horse, twelve perfect shawl-goats of approved breed, and three pairs of Kashmir shawls.

These productions of the Kashmirian loom are made from what is termed "pushmeena," which is the short under-coat or fleece of the

Kashmir goat, a variety of that animal remarkable for very long, fine, and silky hair, but whose appellation is evidently a misnomer, since it is not so generally found in the country whence it derives its name as in Western Tibet, where immense herds are reared upon the mountains. The under-fleece, called "pushm," is a cotton-like down, which grows close to the skin, beneath the usual coating of hair, and is evidently a provision of Nature against the effects of the intense cold experienced in these inhospitable regions; for it does not exist on the same or any other animal in warmer latitudes. Each goat possesses but little "pushm," a single one not yielding more than three ounces, which is of a white colour if the animal be white, and dun-coloured if it be black or any other shade. The shawls are woven in pairs, in very rudely constructed looms. The weaving takes some considerable time, more than a year being occupied by three or four hands in producing a pair of good size and quality. They are woven in many pieces, being afterwards joined together with great artistic skill. The pattern is worked in with wooden needles, a separate needle being required for each colour. There are a great variety of patterns worked on the various shawls and on their borders, but the one with which we are most familiar, is the well-known "pine" or Kashmir pattern, and the "fool's-cap" or cypress-shaped ornament.

The curves made by the windings of the river Jhelam before it enters the city are said to have afforded the idea of the first-named pattern, and the second is an imitation of the aigrette of jewels worn on the turban of every great man in the East. The manufacture of shawls being under Government control, a duty is imposed on every pair made, heavy penalties being also inflicted if a genuine article is not produced. The manufacture is carried on in the city, in single houses, or in factories, and the weavers, or "wabster-bodies" as they would be termed at Paisley, are easily distinguishable from the mass of the population by their stunted frame and sickly look, the usual characteristics of those who follow this occupation in every other part of the world.

Were the capabilities of Kashmir better appreciated, and its resources thoroughly developed, there is little doubt that it would be found to contain all the elements of commercial and domestic prosperity. The finest breeds of horses could be reared on its extensive mountain pastures, where every variety of temperature could be ensured. Veins of lead, copper, silver, and gold, are known to exist in the hills of the Valley, only waiting for the experienced hand of a Cornish miner to rifle their rich and precious treasures. Aware of the existence of all this mineral wealth, the inhabitants have made no attempt to ascertain their extent, or work them in any way—iron, and that of bad and indifferent quality, being the only metal as yet produced at their hands. The richest soil in the Valley is said to be at Pampoor, about eight miles from the capital Srinagar, and advantage has been taken of the fact for ages past to cultivate there the *Crocus sativus*, the stamens of whose flowers, known as saffron, is not

only a chief article of commerce, but yields a large revenue to the Government. How ancient is the cultivation may be inferred from the current traditions which have been embodied in the native histories of Kashmir, that when the armies of Alexander invaded the country, the soldiers were lost in admiration at the extensive beds of the beautiful and delicately-tinted purple flowers which lay spread out before them. From the fact that saffron is used largely in Cornwall as a flavouring and colouring principle, and has been so used, according to Dr. Wakefield's information, from time immemorial, and is also extensively employed in Asia, and especially in India, he suggests the ingenious inference that we have here a further proof of the supposed direct Asiatic origin of the Cornish people, "connecting their race with the first swarm of the primitive Aryan stock on their migration to Europe, which subsequently became almost entirely colonised by the successive streams that poured down from the mother nation on that part of the Iramian plateau near the Hindu Koosh!"

The author's account of the commerce of Kashmir with neighbouring countries presents but a poor prospect of anything like material development and prosperity. Between the Happy Valley and the Punjab there is some slight interchange of its native production for such things as English piece goods, cotton, tea, sugar, copper, tin, dye-stuffs, and other articles foreign to the country. Great hopes, he tells us, were entertained a few years back of an increase of the trade between Eastern Turkistan and India through Kashmir; but though the Punjab traders were sanguine, and treaties had been negotiated, the actual results do not as yet appear to be very appreciable.

Dr. Wakefield has given us in this volume not only a readable but an interesting book. The illustrations are good, if not numerous, and the map leaves nothing to be desired in the way of route-outlines, &c.



ART. VI.—HOMER'S ODYSSEY IN ENGLISH PROSE  
AND VERSE.

1. *The Odyssey of Homer done into English Prose.* By G. H. BUTCHER, M.A., and A. LANG, M.A. Macmillan and Co.
2. *The Odyssey of Homer in English Blank Verse.* By WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT. 2 vols. Osgood: Boston.

DR. BENTLEY, the prince of English classical critics, gave the world no inappropriate distinction between the *Iliad* of Homer and his *Odyssey*, when he laid it down that "Homer composed the *Iliad* for men and the *Odyssey* for women." All that is most heroic in the heart of man is stirred to its lowest depths by the *Iliad* of Homer as by no other poem, as the poet sings of the shock of battle, the horrors of the ghastly field of fight, and the glory and the rapture of triumphant and heroic patriotism. But it is in the *Odyssey* that we see mirrored, as in no other poem of classical antiquity, a reflection of conjugal and filial affection in its strength and beauty, as well as of the surpassing loveliness of maiden love, pure as the sunbeam, and ardent as its warmth. All the leading heroes and heroines in this marvellous poem, as well as all its incidents, are more or less made subordinate and subservient by the poet to his consummate design to ennoble the domestic virtues, as the truest and purest source of human happiness. In the *Odyssey*, therefore, even more than in the *Iliad*, are found the best exemplifications of the commendation of Homer by Horace and St. Basil, that he was a better teacher of morality than the professors and philosophers of morality. As we come to measure the magnitude of the family life and the family affections which fill up a large portion of the *Odyssey*, we shall all the more fully appreciate Bentley's description of it as "a lady's book," and Fénelon's practical insight into its character, when he based upon it the adventures of Telemachus and gave to the world the most popular of all French text-books in girls' schools. The charming picture of Ulysses, the hero of the story, who is tossed so long from sea to sea, and from temptation to temptation, but whose "heart untravelled" always turns to his true wife, Penelope, and yearns for the old home in Ithaca, is only equalled by the charming portraiture of that truest of true wives, whose all-enduring love no temptation can lure away, no distance of place or time can diminish. Add to this the blooming youth of Telemachus, their son, and his unfailing devotion to his parents, the faithful domestic Eumæus, "faithful alone among the faithless found," and further

the dog Argos, who knows his returning master even when disguised in a beggar's garb, after so many years' absence and dies of very joy at the welcome sight, and we have a perfect picture of domestic affection and fidelity, painted by a master-hand in colours as fresh and as powerfully appealing at the present hour to the human heart as when it was painted more than two thousand years ago.

The two translations of the *Odyssey* before us are to our mind the most worthy of all recent reproductions of the great original in prose and verse, and typical as they are, they naturally force upon us the comparison between the choice of prose and verse as the most adequate form of presentation of Homeric poetry to the English ear. The prose version by Messrs. Butcher and Lang, two of the most eminent Oxford scholars of our day, is avowedly made on the model of the archaic simple style of the Authorised Version of our English Bible. The contention of these translators is that the verse translation either adds to Homer or takes from Homer, while, as prose translators, they profess to give Homer as he is, "without modern ornament, with nothing added or omitted." While we accord to Messrs. Butcher and Lang the praise of having written by far the truest and most faithful prose rendering of the *Odyssey* in English, we must at the same time take leave to say, that we cannot endorse their theory of translation, which lays it down that prose is the most fitting vehicle for the Homeric poetry, and further we must say that their own version does not secure to the English reader Homer without addition or subtraction. They have given us the story without the song, or rather, we may say, the song without its accompanying music and its appropriate tune. The manner of the *Odyssey* is more essentially its poetry than its matter, and any attempt to present the *Odyssey* in an unpoetical form without metre or rhyme is sure to reduce its poetry to prose, and to present it as Ulysses presented himself to the Suitors, disguised, if not disgraced, in the tattered garb of a beggar. The American poet, Mr. Bryant, on the contrary, with a true instinct of a poet, has rendered the *Odyssey* into English blank verse, half Miltonic and half Shakspearian, the noblest form of presentation ever used by our greatest poets, and one we hold to be the most capable of reproducing the marvellous music and the majestic movement of the grand old hexameters of Homer.

Let us now take, for the sake of comparing these rival methods of reproducing Homer, the beautiful scene in the sixth *Odyssey*, which describes the abode of the gods and the appeal of the gentle and guileless Nausicaa to her father.

MR. WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

—Olympus! where the gods have made,  
So saith tradition, their eternal seat,

The tempest shakes it not, nor is it drenched  
 By showers, and there the snow doth never fall.  
 The calm clear ether is without a cloud;  
 And in the golden light, that lies on all,  
 Day after day the blessed gods rejoice.  
 Thither the blue-eyed goddess, having given  
 Her message to the sleeping maid, withdrew.

Soon the bright morning came. Nausicaa rose,  
 Clad royally, as marvelling at her dream  
 She hastened to the palace to declare  
 Her purpose to her father and the queen.  
 She found them both within. Her mother sat  
 Beside the hearth with her attendant maids,  
 And turned the distaff headed with a fleece  
 Dyed in sea purple. On the threshold stood  
 Her father going forth to meet the chiefs  
 Of the Phœacians in a council there;  
 Their noblest asked his presence. Then the maid,  
 Approaching her beloved father, spake:—

“I pray, dear father, give command to make  
 A chariot ready for me, with high sides  
 And sturdy wheels, to bear to the river brink,  
 There to be cleansed, the costly robes that now  
 Lie soiled. Thee likewise it doth well beseem  
 At councils to appear in vestments fresh  
 And stainless. Thou hast also in these halls  
 Five sons, two wedded, three in boyhood's bloom,  
 And ever in the dance they need attire  
 New from the wash. All this must I provide.”

She ended, for she shrunk from saying aught  
 Of her own hopeful marriage. He perceived  
 Her thought and said: “Mules I deny thee not,  
 My daughter, nor aught else. Go, then; my groom  
 Shall make a carriage ready with high sides  
 And sturdy wheels, and a broad back above.

MESSRS. BUTCHER AND LANG.

Olympus, where they say is the seat of God, that standeth fast for ever, not by wind is it shaken, nor ever wet with rain, nor doth the snow come nigh thereto, but real clear air is spread about it cloudless, and the white light floats over it. Therein the blessed gods are glad for all their days. Anon came the throned morning, and awakened Nausicaa of the fair robes, who, strange to say, marvelled on the dream, and went through the halls to tell her parents, her father and her mother dear. And she found them within, her mother sitting by the hearth with the women, her handmaid spinning yarn of the purple stain, but her father she met as he was going forth to the renowned kings in their council, whither the noble Phœacians bade him. Standing close by her dear father, she spoke, saying, “Father dear, could'st thou not lend me a high waggon with strong wheels, that I may take

goodly raiment to the river to wash, so much as I have lying soiled? Yea, and it is seemly that thou thyself, when among the princes at council, should have fresh raiment to wear. Also, there are five dear sons of thine in the halls, two married and three trusty bachelors, and these are always eager for new-washen garments, wherein to go to the dances, for all these things have I taken thought." This she said because she was ashamed to speak of glad marriage to her father; but he saw all, and said, "Neither the mules nor aught else do I grudge thee, child, for thy will, and the thralls shall get thee ready a high waggon, with good wheels, and fitted with an upper frame.

In the prose version we have quoted "the *white* light floats over it," is by far too prosaic a rendering of the original, which is literally the "white *splendour* (αἴγλη) is wont to overrun it" (ἐπιδίδρομεν), with which we may compare Propertius' "*percurrit luna fenestras*." Then, again, the rendering *renowned kings* leaves out of sight the real force of the original (κλειτοῦς), which here means "*summoned*," and as well as its structural harmony with the cognate verb which follows—the council to which the glorious Phœacians *summoned* him (κάλεον). With a like disregard to Homeric literal phraseology, these literal translators altogether omit the cognate expression βουλᾶς βουλευέιν, "to counsel." Nor can, "to *speaking of glad marriage*," be accepted as a literal equivalent for the Greek, which here means "to *speaking out* (to her father) of marriage *in the bloom of her youth*." If we turn to other passages of this literal prose version, many errors and inadvertences will be observed which call for revision. We have, for example (I. 13 and elsewhere), "Those that live by bread," the old and altogether misleading rendering of ἀλφῆσαι, forgetful of the fact that Homer uses σιτοφάγοι for "bread-eating," and that the most acceptable sense of ἀλφῆσαι to the best scholars of our day is that of "gain getting," formed as the word really is for the root αλφ, as in ἀλφαίνω, to *earn*. Again and again, too, are the Homeric particles and compounds which play so important a part in the development and force of the Homeric poetry either altogether omitted or slurred slovenly over by the translators, who give us "*fair handiwork*," for "handiwork of *surpassing beauty*" (περικαλλέα ἔργα). The opening of the 22nd Book, which details the vengeance of Ulysses on the vile suitors of his wife, is a very swarm of inaccuracies and inadvertences on the part of these literal translators, who, for example, translate an intensive and frequentative verb in Greek, which means "ye have again and again maintained," by "ye said," and render "the *righteous retribution*" (Nemesis) of the original by "*indignation*," and give us "pale fear got hold of the *limbs* of all," for "pale fear gradually or secretly (ὅπως) stole upon all," where the original says nothing at all of "*limbs*."

Then for "*terrible trial*," we prefer "*awful ordeal*" as closer



to the poet, and "poured out" instead of "poured forth" for the same reason. We regret to have to point out these inaccuracies in detail, but a translation which claims public attention and challenges public criticism on the merit of literal accuracy, must be judged by the standpoint and according to the standard to which it appeals. Of Mr. Cullen Bryant's version, which makes no claim whatever to verbal accuracy, we have little to say on that score. The chief merit of the American translator lies in the simplicity of his language, the measured music of his perfect form of presentation, and the Homeric spirit which animates so much of the body of the translation. We are far from saying that in the beautiful verse of the American poet we can recognise all the characteristics of the Homeric muse, convinced as we are of the truth of Dryden's dictum that everything translated suffers except it be a Bishop; but we can truly say that there is no version of the *Odyssey* in English which possesses so many attributes of Homeric poetry as this work, although, we regret to say, it is so little known and appreciated in England.



#### ART. VII.—THE LIFE AND WORK OF ST. PAUL

*The Life and Work of St. Paul.* By F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S.  
Cassell, Petter and Galpin.

EVERY review we have seen of this work has contained a protest against its faults of style. The complaint is thoroughly justified. In what is, and will probably continue to be, Dr. Farrar's great work, "*The Life of Christ*," some literary defects of the kind lay open to remark. There was too much fine writing in it; it was, if one may so term it, overwritten; the word painting was exceedingly vivid, but there was over much of it. The mind longed for some repose. The very exuberance of descriptive power wearied the sense of admiration, and the reader longed, every now and then, to be left alone to realise for himself the conditions of the scene, and fill up out of his own living experience the broad outlines of time and place and circumstance. But the fault was one of which the mass of popular readers would not be conscious. There was, moreover, nothing in the language itself to offend the most exact taste. It was ever graceful and ever natural, simple and unaffected, and betrayed no sign of effort or of a conscious straining after effect.

The same credit cannot unfortunately be given to some parts of "*The Life and Work of St. Paul*." Throughout, and as a rule, there is a superabundance of technical terms, familiar enough to the scholar and to the theologian, but only impressive to the general reader on the principle "*omne ignotum pro mirifico*." There is

too much display of learning everywhere, and it is forced upon the attention, instead of being simply engrained into the structure of the thought. There is, moreover, an almost affected use of hard words and unfamiliar forms of expression, which contrasts not agreeably with the slipshod vernacular with which they are intermixed. The work abounds in such words as "forthrightness," "connotes," "athleticism," "glossolalia," "isopolity," "eponymous," "flaggelated," "antipathetic," "volitional," "subterraneous plots," etc. Nor does the fault end with this choice of forced and strained words; it extends also to the illustrations employed. It requires, for instance, no small effort to follow the meaning of such a sentence as the following: "No ages are worse, no places more corrupt, than those that draw the iridescent film of an intellectual culture over the deep stagnancy of moral degradation." Again, on the same page we find the following: "What religion there was at this period had chiefly assumed an orgiastic and oriental character, and the popular faith of many, even in Rome, was a strange mixture of Greek, Roman, Egyptian, Phrygian, Phœnician, and Jewish elements. The wild fanatical enthusiasm of the Eastern cults shook with new sensations of mad sensuality and weird superstition the feeble and faded despair of Aryan paganism." The fault is most apparent in the first volume, but it extends throughout both. In the description of Ephesus, in the second volume, the author writes, "Even the poor simulacrum of the Senate came in for a share of their fulsomeness, and received its Apotheosis from their complaisance." Such passages may appear to some people to be very fine writing; to our taste they run into verbiage; the diction is not rich but rank. It is much to be regretted that one who can write so admirably as Dr. Farrar, should not maintain a tighter discipline over his vivid imagination and exuberant command of words. Nor must we omit a few expressions of passing notice to the excessive ornamentation of the whole work. We remember hearing a man of very distinguished learning and ability, remark in regard to Canon Liddon's "Bampton Lectures," that he seemed to have made use of everything he knew. So in the present work, the whole stores of a wide and multifarious reading, and of a learning more varied than accurate, and of a scholarship more versatile than solid, have been used by the author to give variety to his matter, and to relieve, with the lighter graces of literature, the deeper discussions of theology.

But, after all, these faults lie upon the outside. They are the minor imperfections which mar what is, upon the whole, a work of much beauty and excellence. The book will not be so popular, indeed, as Dr. Farrar's "Life of Christ." There the grandeur of the Divine figure, and the narrow local circle in

which our Lord lived and preached, give a unity and concentration to the portrait of His life and labours, which the more incomplete history of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, the more varied interests with which he came into contact, and the wider sphere of his labours do not possess to the same degree. Nevertheless the present volumes, however inferior to the others, will be read with great interest, and may convey much valuable knowledge and many useful lessons. The whole biography of St. Paul is illustrated by a vast mass of information, alike historical, philosophical, and descriptive. Much of it is, indeed, to be found in other books, such as Conybeare and Howson's and Mr. Lewin's "St. Paul," but not presented in the vivid pictorial manner in which Dr. Farrar presents it. This brings us to the characteristic principle of the book. It is the identification in expression, thought, and feeling of the biographer with the subject of the biography. Everything is viewed from the standpoint of the Apostle, and described as it must have been presented to the Apostle's eyes, and to the Apostle's experience. Thus the central figure is St. Paul himself, and all the accumulated details are subordinated to it. What the Apostle must have seen, what he must have done, what he must have suffered; above all, what he must have thought and felt, hoped and feared, remembered and expected, constitutes the very substance of the whole. It is the man everywhere. Hence the beauty and charm of the book. But, at the same time, such an identification is not without its dangers. For an author to throw himself into the position and the habits of another man, especially if that other man lived nineteen hundred years ago, in a very different stage of the world's development, and under external conditions which have been utterly changed in the vicissitudes of centuries; above all, if that other man was one of such extraordinary mark, such force of genius, such depths of inward experience, and of such a special mission as St. Paul—needs an immense effort both of the thought, as well as of the imagination. The American, Theodore Parker, in one of his eloquent passages, makes the striking remark, that none but a Christ could have conceived a Christ. The remark is equally applicable to a lower subject. None but a St. Paul could have understood a St. Paul. The eloquent author of these volumes has endeavoured to do it, and to identify himself with the Apostle. So far as he has succeeded, his work is admirable. But it is only slight dispraise to say, that he has not altogether succeeded. The effort is evidently full of risks, and it must have been impossible altogether to avoid them. There is the danger lest the picture presented should not be St. Paul himself, but Dr. Farrar in St. Paul's place, and in St. Paul's name, and thinking, speaking, and feeling as Dr. Farrar in such

a position would have thought, spoke, and felt. The danger has not been escaped. There is one somewhat curious illustration of this. The author makes the discriminating remark that St. Paul appears to have had no love of scenery, no eye with which to observe the beauties of the material world. He notes the fact that in the whole of the Pauline epistles, not "by one verse, scarcely even by a single expression, does he indicate the faintest gleam of delight and wonder in the glories of Nature." He places this peculiarity in contrast with the feelings of other men :

Mungo Park, in a touching passage, has described how his soul, fainting within him to the very point of death, was revived by seeing, amid the scanty herbage of the desert, a single tuft of emerald moss, with its delicate filaments and amber spores ; and the journals of those, whose feet in recent days have been beautiful upon the mountains, over which they carried the message of peace, abound in passages delightfully descriptive of the scenes through which they passed, and which they regarded as aisle after aisle in the magnificent temple of the one true God (p. 367, v. i).

But such feelings appear to have been unknown to the Apostle of the Gentiles. Canon Farrar conjectures with much probability that this insensibility to æsthetic impressions extended from natural objects to works of art, such as the temples and statues that adorned Athens, and with which the eye was greeted in every direction, from the Forum to the Acropolis. The reason of this is to be found in the absorption of a soul filled with the world unseen, and so agitated with deep concern for souls as to leave no room for any lower impressions. Yet along the whole course of St. Paul's journeys Dr. Farrar depicts every object that must have met the eye with that pictorial fullness and vividness which a creative imagination and a pliant pen enables him to give to every scene. But, if the Apostle himself was comparatively insensible to such impressions, the eye that has thus recalled them is evidently not the eye of St. Paul, but the eye of Dr. Farrar.

We do not in the least degree impute this as a fault. To the reader it is an infinite advantage ; for it enables him to see, not only the Apostle, but also his surroundings ; and if the mind is led to view the Apostle himself, passing on in his deep pre-occupation in Divine things, with little notice of the material forms that met his outward eye, this very indifference does but add another feature to the portrait of the man, another element to his character.

But there is another danger inherent in the conception Dr. Farrar has formed of his task. It is that of an unconscious exaggeration. It is no easy task to fill up all the outlines of an eventful and suffering life. In order to reproduce to the mental eye of the nineteenth century, not gifted always with the active

faculty of realisation possessed by Dr. Farrar, it is necessary that the lines of the picture should be strong and broadly drawn. If the drawing be indistinct, there can be no distinctness in the impression produced by it. There must therefore be a clear picture with strong lights and shadows in it. But do the materials exist for such a biography, we may almost say for such an autobiography of the great Apostle? The Acts of the Apostles certainly does not furnish them, and in our opinion the character of that book is mistaken, if it supposed to be in any sense a complete history, or any thing more than a collection of illustrative instances, chiefly drawn from the life of one Apostle, explanatory of the mode in which the primitive churches were established, and of the conflicts through which they passed. If these scanty outlines are to be filled up into an orderly and consecutive history, it can only be done from materials furnished by the Apostle himself, in the epistles which have issued from his pen. But these materials are rather hints than statements, and the hints depend in many cases of single words. There is consequently the greatest possible temptation to an author to press these words into the service of his own theory, to place a meaning of his own upon them, and then to lay on this supposed meaning a weight it will not bear. Into this mistake we think that Dr. Farrar has not unfrequently fallen. For instance, he endeavours to show that St. Paul's views as to the absolute freedom of the Gospel, and the spiritual equality of Jews and Gentiles in the sight of God, grew upon him by degrees; that on his first visit to Jerusalem, he was not himself clear upon the subject, and that he was anxious to submit it to the Church, not as a certain truth of revelation to which he desired to conciliate their acceptance, but as a probable truth on which he wished to get their opinion. In support of this idea he lays stress on the wording of Gal. ii. 2, translated in our version, "Then I went up by revelation, and *communicated* unto them that Gospel which I preach among the Gentiles." For "*communicated*" Dr. Farrar substitutes "*referred*," as if it were a reference to their authority for a decision. He appeals in support, to Acts xxv. 14, where our version has "*declared*." This is really the meaning of the word, and any other notion is fixed on the word by the theory, not gathered out of the word. The word is "*ἀνεθέμην*" and Cremer in his "Biblico-Theological Lexicon," states its meaning to be, to "lay a thing before a person—*i.e.*, to communicate it, to leave it for consideration." We do not mean for a moment to deny Dr. Farrar's assertion, that St. Paul's knowledge grew, as all human knowledge grows. The length, and breadth, and depth, and height, of the truth may have grown on the Apostle in the course of thought and by the light of experience; but the truth itself is the mere corollary of justification of faith, and

was an essential part of the Gospel which St. Paul preached from the time of his conversion, and which he emphatically asserts himself to have received "by the revelation of Jesus Christ." To reduce it into a principle, worked out by the Apostle's reason, even though it was an enlightened reason, and which he only gradually adopted as the great master principle of his apostolic career, is to reduce the divine authority of the truth itself, and to substitute a human element for a divine. The same uncertainty attaches to much of the reasoning conjecturally assigned to St. Paul. A not inconsiderable portion of the book, so far as bulk is concerned, is occupied by matter purely hypothetical. What might have been done, and was not done; what might have been said, and was not said, what might have been recorded, and has not been recorded, are topics treated over and over again, with unlimited diffuseness and rhetorical amplification. There are passages of very considerable length, which end in phrases like this: "To all these questions we can return no certain answer." "Over all these scenes the veil of oblivion has fallen." A notable instance is afforded in chapter eighteen, headed, "Judaism and Heathenism." The chapter contains fourteen pages, and no less than eleven of them are occupied with a purely conjectural train of reasoning, which might have been condensed with ease into two pages, instead of being multiplied into eleven.

We have spoken of the danger of exaggeration, inherent in the attempt to reproduce out of very imperfect materials a complete history of the life and work of the greatest of the Apostles. The accuracy of a portrait largely depends on the skill with which the artist seizes on some characteristic features. A definite conception must have existed in Dr. Farrar's mind, and be reproduced with more or less of exaggeration in his pages, since to make the picture effective to others it is necessary to heighten the lights and deepen the shadows, beyond the simple truth. To this conception we now turn. With what degree of success has Dr. Farrar realised to himself, and presented to others, the grandest human figure of all the saintly heroes of the Bible. To some degree he has succeeded; and if in some respects we still think the picture unworthy, and if faults, such as we have stated, are found in the workmanship, the failure is due to the inherent difficulty of the task; we may say the inherent impossibility of its successful accomplishment; for how shall the thoughts and emotions of an inspired man be fully comprehended by a man who is not inspired. Certainly, there has been no lack of both reverence and admiration in the biographer, who profoundly appreciates the intellectual and spiritual greatness of St. Paul. He lavishes the stores of his burning eloquence in exalting the unparalleled nobility of the

figure he portrays. No loftier conception of mere man can be expressed in words. There has been no lack of diligence in studying every word of the Pauline epistles, and collecting from every side the varied information which can illustrate the history, or throw light upon the writings. There is no lack of that retrospective force of the imagination which throws itself back into the past, and reproduces in the warm colours of life the outward form and inward self of the mighty dead. If entire success had been possible, no person could be better fitted to attain it, so far as intellectual gifts are concerned, than Dr. Farrar; though we doubt whether the same can be said for spiritual sympathies. To a certain extent he has succeeded, and we should do injustice to ourselves, no less than to the author, if we did not express our cordial admiration for many parts of the work. All that portion which deals with the conversion of St. Paul appears to us to be specially admirable. A deep insight into the working of the human heart stands side by side with a devout and adoring acceptance of the sovereignty of the Holy Spirit of God, and the freedom of His operations. No one can read the book without being charmed with its many beauties. But it is the duty of a critic to be critical; and what is needed in an organ of religious opinion is to point out mistakes, and state for the guidance of others how far an author may be safely followed, and how far he may not.

We recur therefore to the conception of the Apostle formed by Dr. Farrar, and represented in these pages. We take St. Paul in the first place as a man, and here his bodily appearance and constitution, powerfully affecting as they necessarily did the character and work, first claim attention. All tradition represents him as a small man in comparison with the full proportions and powerful frame of the Apostle of the circumcision; as a man, likewise of feeble bodily strength, and as one who suffered much from ill health. His own language to the Corinthians establishes the accuracy of the tradition. "His bodily presence weak and his speech contemptible." Conybeare and Howson describe him thus:—

His stature was diminutive, and his body disfigured by some lameness or distortion, which may have provoked the contemptuous expressions of his enemies. His beard was long and thin. His head was bald. The characteristics of his face were a transparent complexion, which visibly betrayed the quick changes of his feelings, a bright grey eye under thick, overhanging united eyebrows, a cheerful and winning expression of countenance which invited the approach and inspired the confidence of strangers. It would be natural to infer from his continued journeys and manual labour, that he was possessed of great strength of constitution.

The first part even of this description appears to be somewhat extreme; for there is nothing in the Apostle's own

language to imply that his bodily appearance was in any way repulsive; he speaks of weakness, not deformity, ἀσθενής; ἀσθένεια. The word *πειρασμός* (Gal. iv. 14) evidently refers to the moral side of his infirmity and implies nothing as to its nature. But substantially the description we have quoted is probably true. But in the hands of Dr. Farrar the whole is exaggerated, and every shadow indefinitely deepened. He has apparently written under the idea that a depreciation of the Apostle's personal gifts would involve a corresponding exaltation of his genius and heroic force. But this is by no means the case. At all events, Dr. Farrar appears to us to go far beyond the truth when he makes the person of the Apostle painfully repulsive. He does not shrink from making use of, and applying to him the sceptical phrase, "the ugly little Jew." The thorn in the flesh, "the stake," as he somewhat pedantically insists on calling it, he believes to have been acute ophthalmia, taking its origin in the first place in the blinding vision on the road to Damascus. The paroxysms of pain arising from this disease were accompanied according to our author by "cerebral disturbance," a phrase which suggests an occasional touch of insanity—a most dangerous admission, as it is a most gratuitous assumption. He further imputes to him "fits of delirium." In another place further on, he states that he was subject to fainting fits, which would imply an affection of the heart, but he suggests no authority whatever for the idea, beyond the highly nervous constitution of the Apostle's frame. Further on yet, he adds the further particular that he was liable to epileptic fits. In an excursus on the thorn in the flesh, he states that epilepsy is a probable conjecture. But surely there is no ground whatever for adding all these things together, accumulating epilepsy on a disease of the heart and a disease of the heart on ophthalmia. He may have suffered from one of these causes, but scarcely from them all. In short, Canon Farrar imputes to the Apostle a whole complication of disorders, which we agree with Conybeare and Howson in thinking, would have made his laborious journeys and indefatigable exertions an absolute physical impossibility. He is further described as sensitive, even to fretfulness, plunged into the most hopeless despondency, a sad, careworn, depressed man, bowed down with sorrow, and eating away his very heart with ceaseless anxiety. There is of course, a measure of truth in all this—men of great energy suffer no doubt from fits of depression, as did the lion-hearted Luther; but they are only the passing clouds of a clear firmament, the passing weaknesses inseparable from the greatness even of the greatest of men. The brave heart, and the noble constancy, and the animating, exalting and refreshing influence of a grand call, and a grand work, which underlay the Apostle's infirmities, have, we think, been too much



forgotten by his biographer, nor has sufficient allowance been made for their effect on the happiness of St. Paul's life. In short, Dr. Farrar seems to have taken one-half of the double-sided description which St. Paul left on record of himself. He depicts the Apostle as troubled, perplexed, persecuted, cast down; but there he stops, or at all events depicts with far too feeble a touch, the other side. The Apostle himself does not stop there, but makes the triumph yet more conspicuous than the suffering—"troubled on every side, but not distressed; perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down but not destroyed." In spite of all the author's eloquent eulogiums and genuine admiration, this conquering aspect of the Apostle's life is most inadequately represented.

But from St. Paul as a man, we pass on to St. Paul as an Apostle, and here, again, we think, that the author errs by defect in that he sees only one side of his subject. He traces with great fulness and discrimination all the causes which must have determined the course of St. Paul's life, and the influences which must have shaped his views and moulded his character. But the human side is prominent, and the divine side of the apostolic call is thrown into the background. Too much stress is laid all through on the personal qualities and consequent "personal ascendancy" of the man, and too little on the equipment of the Apostle by the overruling will of God, and the inspiring influence of the Holy Ghost. The Apostle himself does not overlook this side of his own history. There is a pregnant passage in the Epistle to the Galatians, to which, so far as we recollect, there is not a syllable of reference in the whole of these two bulky volumes. We allude to the words "when it pleased God who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by His grace to reveal his Son in me." Did not God, whose electing purpose rested on the Apostle from the first moment of his being, determine all the conditions of his life and order the bounds of his habitation? Was not every detail of place and time and circumstance, which moulded the future Apostle, as much predetermined and prearranged by God, as the potter determines by the choice of his mould the form of the plastic clay which he is about to frame into a thing of beauty? Is it conceivable that God should have elected the Apostle from his mother's womb to that great mission which has given shape to all the religious thought of the world, and yet should have left him alone to himself till the moment of his conversion? God's dealings are not thus divided by gaps, and separated into isolated bits; but they are a connected chain, out of which no single link is left without the superintending control of His will. The entire education of the future Apostle, including in the word education every influence, from the smallest to the greatest, which went to

make him what he was, was divinely ordered and entered into God's intelligent scheme for the man who was "a chosen vessel" unto him. The instruments which trained the Apostle were indeed human ; but the wisdom which ever ordered them was the will of the only wise God, and that will takes up into itself, as it were, all the human elements, and places on them the seal of his own authority. Now the human instruments which made up the education of St. Paul, Dr. Farrar sees with great clearness, and has described with great force ; but the Divine purpose which providentially shaped the whole course of his life and the formation of his character, and which at the set time revealed to him the Gospel he was to preach, and by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost enabled him to make known the "whole counsel of God," Dr. Farrar does not equally recognise. Hence the most unsatisfactory chapter in which he deals with the Apostle's mode of quoting the ancient Scriptures. The author sees in it simply the result of St. Paul's Rabbinic training—a human habit taught in a human school and received from an earthly master ; and on this ground he labours to show that the quotations of St. Paul are used as mere illustrations of the truth which was present to his own consciousness, and not as arguments or authoritative proofs. Well, let us suppose that all which Dr. Farrar says on this subject is true. Let it be granted that St. Paul's mode of quotation is, in principle, the same as that of the Rabbis at whose feet he sat in his early years. What then ? If, after his conversion and instruction by the Holy Spirit of God he still uses the same method, why should the mode in which he was first taught it detract from its authority ? If the Apostle, by inspiration of God, thus uses Scripture, his quotations carry with them the sanction of God Himself as much as if they had been spoken in the audible voice of the Deity out of the clouds of heaven, instead of being imbibed from human teachers in the course of his early education.

This opens the large subject of the inspiration of the Scriptures, on which the limits of space compel us to say very little. The references to it found in these volumes are most unsatisfactory. The author sees the human side, which we recognise as fully as he can do, but he fails to see the Divine side ; nor on his principles is there any possible mode of ascertaining what is true in the Word of God, and what is not true, unless it be decided by a verifying faculty in the individual, and as this faculty must differ in different men, what is one man's truth will be another man's falsehood. Nor has any mode been ever suggested in which certain truth can be conveyed in uncertain words, or by which it can be separated from the words that convey it. As to Dr. Farrar, the very mention of a plenary verbal inspiration acts upon him as a red flag on a mad bull.

He can never refer to it, and he does so not unfrequently, without the use of some contemptuous phrase. It would become him to be a little less self-confident, and less fond of charging those who differ from him on this subject with ignorance and folly. In some degree, at all events, the ignorance is with himself; for it is evident as the daylight from his own language, that, like others of his school, he does not understand the doctrine of a plenary and verbal inspiration, or the meaning of those who hold it. For ourselves, we are content to be followers of St. Paul. That the great Apostle believed in a plenary verbal inspiration, and held, in short, that very doctrine on the authority of the Scriptures which Dr. Farrar himself takes every opportunity of holding up to ridicule, Dr. Farrar does not attempt to deny. He says, "The controversial use which he (St. Paul) makes of it (the Bible) is very remarkable. It often seems at first sight to be wholly independent of the context. It often seems to read between the lines. It often seems to consider the mere words of a writer, as of conclusive authority, entirely apart from their original application. It seems to regard the word and letter of Scripture as full of divine mysterious oracles, which might not only be cited in matters of doctrine, but even to illustrate the simplest matters of contemporary fact. It attaches consequences of the deepest importance to what an ordinary reader might regard as a mere grammatical expression" (I. 478). In the face of this admission, how can he go on to say, "This extreme and mechanical literalism; this claim to absolute infallibility, even in accidental details and passing allusions; this superstitious adoration of the letters and vocables of Scripture," as though they were the articulate vocables and immediate autograph of God, finds no encouragement in any part of Scripture. Here appears the ignorance to which we have just alluded. The advocates of plenary verbal inspiration do *not* hold a "mechanical literalism;" nor do they maintain that the Scriptures are the immediate autograph of God, in such a sense as to exclude the freest possible action of the human element. But leaving these words out of the question, what is to be said of the assertion that plenary inspiration "finds no encouragement in any part of Scripture," when he had admitted only a few lines before, that it had the high authority of the Great Apostle of the Gentiles?

With these unsatisfactory passages in mind, we approached with considerable anxiety that portion of the work, which treats of the doctrine embodied in the Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians. We were thankful to find the treatment much more satisfactory than we had feared; that it is entirely satisfactory we do not say. But in the broad meaning of the word, Dr. Farrar maintains justification by faith with great fullness and decision. He adopts in a note Hooker's definition—"The

righteousness wherewith we shall be clothed in the world to come is both perfect and inherent ; that whereby we are justified is perfect, not inherent ; that whereby we are sanctified, inherent, not perfect." He sums up his estimate of St. Paul's doctrine in the following formal proposition : " In the Gospel is being made known to the world that inherent righteousness of God, which by a judgment of acquittal pronounced once for all in the expiating death of Christ, He imputes to guilty man, and which beginning for each individual with his trustful acceptance of this reconciliation of himself to God in Christ, and in that mystical union with Christ, whereby Christ becomes to each man a new nature, a quickening spirit." There are not absent important ambiguities in this statement ; but he adds, in regard to faith and its place in the scheme of Salvation, the following satisfactory explanation : " When St. Paul says that this righteousness of God springs *from faith*, he does not mean that faith is in any way the meritorious *cause* of it, for he shows that man is justified of free grace, and that this justification has its *ground* in the spontaneous favour of God, and its *cause* in the redemptive work of Christ ; but what he means is that faith is the receptive instrument of it—the personal appropriation of the reconciling love of God, which has once for all been carried into effect for the race, of the death of Christ." With this declaration of a true faith we are content to stop. There are some expressions used which might awaken a suspicion that the words " justification by faith " are not used by Dr. Farrar in precisely the same sense as we should use them ourselves ; as, for instance, where he repudiates the doctrine of Anselm, that the atonement was an act of satisfaction to the Divine justice. But into these possible suspicions we do not care to enter. The subject would admit of endless discussion, and the author has not stated his own views with sufficient fulness and precision to enable us to discuss them in detail.

We turn to the more pleasant duty of paying a tribute of honour to Dr. Farrar, for the undeviating firmness with which he maintains throughout these volumes the authority of the Canonical Scriptures, against the speculative and destructive criticisms of the Tübingen School. Here there is no wavering ; no indecision ; no ambiguity. He stands firm from first to last. Thus he vindicates the authority of the Acts of the Apostles against Baur, Zeller, and Hausrath :—"Honesty of course demands that we should admit the existence of an error where such an error can be shown to exist ; but the same honesty demands the rejection of all charges against the accuracy of the said historian, which must be nothing better than hostile prepossession. It seems to me that writers like Baur and Zeller—in spite of their great learning and great literary acumen—often

prove, by captious objections and by indifference and counter considerations, the fundamental weakness of their own system." Speaking of the Epistle of St. James, he writes: "The notion that it was written to counteract either the teaching of St. Paul, or the dangerous consequences that might sometimes be deduced from that teaching, is indeed extremely questionable; and all that we can say of that supposition is, that it is not quite so monstrous a chimera as that which has been invented by the German theologians, who see St. Paul and his followers indig- nantly, though covertly, denounced in the Balaam and Jezebel of the Churches of Pergamos and Thyatira, and the Nicolaitans of the Church of Ephesus, and the "synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews and are not, but do lie," of the Church of Philadelphia. He vindicates St. Paul's references to the age of Timothy, against Hausrath (p. 460), and his description of Athens as full of idols, against the sneers of Renan (p. 528). He firmly rebukes those who have ventured to call the Apostle's arguments into question, in words which we venture to commend to his own attention, in regard to the subject of inspiration. "As regards St. Paul's style of argument, those who deem it a falsifi- cation of Scripture, a treacherous dealing with the Word of God, which St. Paul expressly repudiates, should consider whether they too may not be intellectually darkened by suspicious narrow- ness and ignorant prepossessions" (II. 228). On the Epistle to the Philippians we find the following remarks:—

The Tübingen School in its earliest stages attacked it with the monotonous arguments of their credulous scepticism. With those critics if an epistle touches on points which make it accord with the narrative of the Acts, it was forged to suit them; if it seems to dis- agree with them, the discrepancy shows that it is spurious. If the diction is Pauline, it stands forth as a proved imitation; if it is un- Pauline, it could not have proceeded from the Apostle. The notion that it was forged to introduce the name of Clement, because he was confused with Flavius Clemens, and because Clement was a fellow- worker of St. Peter, and it would look well to place him in connection with St. Paul, and the notion that in Philippians ii. 6-8, the words *form* and *shape* express Gnostic conceptions, and that the words refer to the Valentinian Æon Sophia, who aimed at an equality with God, are partly founded on total misinterpretations of the text, and are partly the perversity of a criticism, which has strained its eyesight to such an extent that it has become purblind" (II. 421).

In the same decided tone the author deals with the theory of a reaction against St. Paul's teaching in Asia (II. 466); with De Wette and his followers, in regard to the Epistle to the Colossians (II. 484); with what he calls the "astonishing objections" urged against the Epistle to Titus (II. 531); and he maintains against a whole army of critics the Pauline authorship of the Epistles to Timothy. On all these points, and others of the same character,

the treatment is most satisfactory, and leaves nothing whatever to be desired.

But we must close, yet not for the want of matter. This review might be indefinitely extended, if we attempted to discuss even a tithe of the questions relative to the Apostle and to his work opened in these pages. We have freely criticised some of the blots, as we conceive them to be, which mar their excellence. There are especially many points of interpretation in which we totally disagree with the author, and his paraphrases of St. Paul's Epistles we think to be the feeblest portions of the whole work, unsatisfactory in conception and poor in execution, neither anglicised Greek nor idiomatic English. Still, we wish to acknowledge again the many excellences of the book, and the loving labour and diligence which the author has evidently expended upon the varied materials brought together to elucidate the person, character, history, and work of the great Apostle of the Gentiles.



ART. VIII.—THE MAGNIFICAT ; OR, SONG OF THE  
BLESSED VIRGIN MARY.

THE Magnificat is the first voice of joy before the sun-rise.

Sweet is the breath of Morn ; her rising sweet,  
With charm of earliest birds.

And as it is in Nature so it was with the breaking of the day of grace. It dawned on the world which was not awake to see it ; yet were there songs and canticles, thanksgiving and the voice of melody. The Virgin Mother, Zacharias, Simeon and the choir of angels sang at the dawning of the day, and their utterances having been preserved for us by the reporter chosen of God, form a little psalter of the Holy Incarnation and Nativity.

In this collection the Song of the Blessed Virgin Mary stands first, so that she who brings the Lord into the world, also leads the praises of His Church, and gives the key-note to the universal choir.

The song, like many other words in Scripture, may either be read as the speaker's utterance of personal feeling, or recited as the Church's expression of permanent truth. Regarding them in the one way, we consider how the speaker meant them ; but in the other, what the Spirit made them. We find in them, as used at the time, more lively emotion ; as used afterwards, more ample meaning. For a due appreciation they must be considered from both points of view. On the present occasion we shall consider them in the first point of view.

1. "Mary arose in those days and went into the hill country with haste, into a city of Juda, and entered into the house of Zacharias and saluted Elizabeth." Who can tell the thoughts of that journey, or the relief of that meeting?

The expressions show the journey as taken soon; yet not instantly on the angel departing from her; else, why should the words "in these days" (*ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις*) be interjected? Alford thinks that time enough had passed for Joseph to have learned that his betrothed was an expectant mother, to have received the Divine direction, and to have taken her to his home. But the reason given for this long delay—viz., that a betrothed maiden could not travel, seems insufficient in a case where so much more than social custom is to be taken into the account. Lange's supposition that she herself immediately made the communication to Joseph, and left Nazareth, while he was intending the divorce, is still less admissible. Bengel suggests that she went at once, in order that the announcement of the angel might take effect on the sacred soil of Judæa, but the salutation of Elizabeth implies that she was then already in that first sense "the mother of the Lord."

However these things were, and however the journey was made, she was certainly urged to it by the great secret which could not be explained, and which, if explained, could not be believed, thus bringing on her soul an oppressive weight of glory and on her name an impending burden of reproach. What a load for a young mind to bear! Was there, in all the world, a person to whom this confidence could be made, and to whose sympathy it was possible to appeal? Yes, there was one; "Behold thy cousin Elizabeth." She, too, has a part in the history which is begun. She will understand. She will believe. Far off, in the hill country of Judæa there is a house where relief may be found from the silence of secrecy and the solitude of the heart.

Therefore she "arose and went with haste;" setting out, we must suppose, as soon as some sort of escort could be found, and then pressing forward on her way. For about four days she would travel through the thickly-peopled land, passing through the great city to which her southward road would naturally lead, and from which again it would proceed towards the region which she sought. The secret in her heart would cast a strange light on all she saw; on the multitudes scattered abroad, and the stir and movement of the world; on the haughtiness of spurious religion and the eagerness of money-making business; on Pharisees at their ostentatious devotions, and publicans at the receipt of custom; on the stately Herodian buildings, and the cohorts marching by; on the signs of Israel's vassalage, in the pomp and circumstance of Roman supremacy and Idumæan

rule. She looked around in the consciousness, confined to her solitary breast, that the hour was about to strike which was (as she expected) to change it all. He that should come was at the door, and she was herself His Mother. She knew not, indeed, the real greatness of the mystery of which she was the instrument; she knew not the course which things would actually take, nor the vast depth and long range of the plan of God; but she knew that the promised hour was come, that "the holy thing which should be borne of her should be called the Son of God, that the Lord God would give to Him the throne of His father David, that He would reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and that of His kingdom there should be no end (v. 32, 33). The scene without, and the thoughts within, wrought together in her soul, possessing it with the ideas and feelings which the song reveals.

She has reached the priestly city; she has entered into the house of Zacharias and saluted Elizabeth. What an unexpected welcome! No need to think how she shall explain her coming, or how the almost incredible communication will be received. It has been anticipated by inspiration. She hears, "The mother of my Lord is come to me,"<sup>1</sup> and is greeted with words which are the voice at once of womanly fellow-feeling and of high prophetic blessing. "She that believed" has found that her faith is shared and sealed afresh. Her joy has leave to speak, and exalted feeling vents itself, as it naturally would, in lyric tones and rhythmic cadence.

"And Mary said," so St. Luke reports, with exquisite discrimination between the two speakers. The one "was filled with the Holy Ghost, and spake out with a loud voice," as under the sudden illapse of a revealing inspiration. Of the other he only writes, "And Mary said," as uttering thoughts which, however guided by the Spirit, had yet become her own. Indeed the song, if regarded, not from an English, but from a Jewish point of view, contains nothing which is not natural to the situation. The thoughts, the words, are those of a high-souled Hebrew maiden of devout and meditative habit, possessed with the ideas and familiar with the language of the Scriptures, in which she had been nurtured. We feel the breath of the Prophets; we catch the echoes of the Psalms; we recognise above all the vivid reminiscences of the song of Hannah, who, in her time, by special gift of God, had been made the mother of the Great Restorer of Israel. This is not a case of artificial imitation. Natural it was, most natural, that there should have been floating in Mary's mind the words which belonged to the situation, and expressed the feelings most nearly approaching to

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<sup>1</sup> "*Mater*" inquit, "*Domini mei*," *non tamen*, "*Domina mea*," Bengel.



her own, of all which were depicted in the beloved records of her faith.

It has been pointed out that the Canticle falls into four strophes ; but its course of thought divides itself into two parts, the one personal and the other general.

Of herself the speaker says (46-50) :—

My soul doth magnify the Lord,  
And my spirit rejoiced in God my Saviour;  
For He looked on the lowliness of His handmaiden.  
For behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed,  
For the Mighty One did me great Things:  
And holy is His Name,  
And His mercy is to them that fear Him, unto generations of generations.

Where, in so few words, shall we find blended together such assured faith, exalted joy, reverential adoration, sweet humility, and modest reserve ? These feelings, in minds of a more common cast, are not easily combined in their due proportions ; but here they breathe together in entire unison, expressive of a mind attuned to the perfect harmony of truth. The faith, the joy, the triumph, are apparent, but chastened by humility, which dwells on "the low estate of the handmaiden," and by the reverence which speaks in "God my Saviour," "He that is mighty," "Holy is His Name;" while a veil is cast over the great fact, which is left unspoken and only implied in such vague terms as "He looked upon me," "He did to me great things," "all generations shall count me blessed." Swiftly, too, does the mind pass on from self to that great company among whom she takes her place—the fearers of God, who in all generations share in His mercy.

With these words all personal reflection ceases, and the strain becomes general, breaking out in high prophetic tones, as of one beholding the work of God in its actual fulfilment, and already such as it would some day prove to be :—

He wrought strength with His arm;  
He scattered the proud in the imagination of their heart;  
He pulled down the mighty from thrones,  
And exalted the lowly;  
Hungry men He filled with good things,  
And rich men He sent empty away;  
He took hold on Israel His servant,  
To remember mercy, even as He spake to our fathers, to Abraham and to his seed for ever.

Thus does a high-toned mind rise above personal experience, however wonderful, to the great principles of the kingdom of God, those principles which the personal experience may illustrate, and the actual events exhibit. So it is here. Some may have felt (as the writer once did) that the turn of thought is scarcely what might have been expected from such a person in such

circumstances. Was it quite natural for *her* thus to sing, not only of the lowly exalted and the hungry filled, but of the victory of the arm of God, the overthrow of things as they are, the reversal of the world's judgment, and the confusion of its pride? Yes! quite natural to a child of the Covenant, who beheld the domination of the heathen and the humiliation of her people Israel; quite natural to a child of the sunken and forgotten house of David, who had been passing by the palaces of Herod; quite natural to a child of God who saw in Israel itself the reigning power of worldliness, hypocrisy, and pride; and who also knew that on all this scene the kingdom of God was coming, with that utter reversal of its state, of which all the Prophets had spoken, and which was celebrated in the inspired song then, for other reasons, present to her mind.

But what these words imply, the following words express—namely, that all is seen in the light of prophecy and of the promise spoken to the fathers. The exact expressions are of great interest—"He helped Israel, His servant"—(ἀντελάβετο Ἰσραὴλ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ). So St. Luke gives it, using the Septuagint words for Isaiah xvi. 9—"Thou Israel art my *servant*. . . . Thou whom I have *taken*," &c.—(σὺ δὲ Ἰσραήλ, παῖς μου . . . ὃν ἀντελάβόμην representing the Hebrew, which signifies the taking firm hold in order to strengthen or support). The concurrence of these two significant words directs us to that passage, and so to the promises into which it expands, promises entirely in harmony with the preceding thoughts in the Song (Is. xli. 8-14). But the title παῖς αὐτοῦ of itself recalls the whole range of prophecy in which it so frequently occurs, and intimates the view which it has taught the speaker to take of the true office of her people, as the servant of God appointed for the very purposes now at last to be fulfilled. The "mercy" to be shown is nothing new, but that which, though it might seem forgotten, is "remembered" in its due time. The "remembrance of mercy to Abraham and his seed for ever, as spoken to the fathers," brings with it a cloud of references, such as to Ps. xcvi., where (as in the song) the Lord's "holy arm has gotten Him the victory, and He hath remembered His mercy and truth towards the house of Israel;" or to the last words of Micah (vii. 20), "Thou wilt perform the mercy to Abraham, which Thou hast sworn to our fathers from the days of old."

Finally, let it be observed that the closing words give a vast expansion to the whole meaning of the Song. If spoken within the circle of Jewish ideas, it yet looks far beyond their horizon, for the promise cited is, that "in thee and in thy seed shall *all families of the earth* be blessed;" and this too "*for ever*" (ἐς τὸν αἰῶνα), the mind of the speaker ranging away into the unmeasured future, as the words of the angel had taught her,

"He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of His kingdom there shall be no end."

The Virgin's thoughts are thus uttered once for all, for they are never heard again. But we know the habit of her mind (Luke i. 29 ; ii. 19-51). This observant, apprehensive, reflecting spirit, enlightened at the first in the measure which this Song discovers, has thenceforth to follow the unfolding of the great history of grace. She who retires from our sight receives, through the thirty unknown years, impressions which it is not permitted to divine, and afterwards watches, from without, the course of the manifestation to the world, till "the sword pierces through her own soul, in the sight of Israel rejecting and rejected, and of the cross of shame in place of the throne of David. Then all is interpreted by the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the coming of the Holy Ghost. "The darkness is past and the true light shines." Nowhere could it shine more serenely than in the silent home where Mary shared with the beloved disciple, his clear apprehension of the manifestation of the Son of God, and his sublime intuition of the glory of the Incarnate Word: Who now liveth and reigneth with the Father and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end.—Amen.

T. D. BERNARD.

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#### THE ABIDING COMFORTER.

I will pray the Father and He shall give you another Comforter that He may abide with you for ever.—St. John xiv. 16.

##### 1.

ABIDE with us ; for our dear Lord is gone,  
And we are left in this bleak world alone ;  
But who shall dare to murmur, Ichabod,  
While Thou art with us, Spirit of our God ?

##### 2.

O Holy Comforter, with us abide ;  
Are we not of His suffering sorrowing Bride ?  
He pleads in Heaven : in answer to His prayer  
Vouchsafe Thy presence here, as He is there.

##### 3.

We need Thee, or the morning dews too soon  
Are dried and lost before the sultry noon ;  
But spring Thou up within our heart always,  
A fount of penitence and prayer and praise.

##### 4.

We need Thee, for the world is lapp'd in sleep :  
Thy voice must wake them ; we can only weep.  
Come, Light of Life, and breathe Thy quickening breath  
In hearts o'ershadowed with the gloom of death.

5.

Come, Lord, to us in this Thy mercy's hour,  
Come in Thy plenitude of grace and power ;  
No wayfarer be Thou, no transient guest ;  
But ever here vouchsafe to reign and rest.

6.

O Spirit of the Father and the Son,  
Thou in the everlasting glory One,  
We worship Thee, we love Thee and adore.  
The Lord of Life, our life for evermore.

E. H. BICKERSTETH.

Tune, DALKEITH.

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## Reviews.

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*Through the Light Continent ; or, the United States in 1877-8.*

By WILLIAM SAUNDERS. Cassell, Petter & Galpin. Pp. 409.

WRITING of the Conservative feeling which prevails in a population of farmers owning their own land, Mr. Dale, in *Impressions of America*, says :—"If a couple of millions of American voters were suddenly transferred to English constituencies, the Conservative reaction would probably receive a great accession of vigour. Of course the Church would be disestablished within a few months after the first general election." What effect the suggested importation of American voters would have upon the Conservative reaction I do not propose to discuss, but the statement that it would of course lead to the disestablishment of the English Church, or have any tendency in that direction, involves a view of American opinion entirely opposed to anything which I was able to discover. Before I visited America, I had been constantly told that I should find there such a liberal voluntary support of religious teaching and services as would at once prove the non-necessity for any State aid for religious purposes. I did find throughout the States—in the North, the West, and the South—remarkable illustrations of vigorous and liberal voluntary support ; but I also discovered that personal voluntary efforts were constantly assisted by State aid in the shape of grants, the aggregate value of which is enormous. I was unable to discover the slightest indisposition on the part of any persons to give or accept State aid for the support of religious or benevolent institutions ; on the contrary, it seemed to be regarded as the most natural thing that the State should assist institutions which were found to be of public advantage. It was not an uncommon circumstance for the State to vote supplies for the support of schools or asylums which had been established by voluntary efforts, and in which religious teaching was an essential part of the scheme. . . . This friendly feeling all round toward the State may lead to concurrent endowment, and in fact it has tended to this, but as to disestablishment it would not be thought of as a principle. If an institution supported by the State becomes useless or corrupt it must be reformed or given up, but it would appear to an American quite natural that the State should continue to support an institution, provided that it continued to be worthy of support.

The preceding paragraph we have quoted from the volume before us. Mr. Dale, in his sketchy—not to say—prejudiced “Impressions,” we believe, is wrong; and Mr. Saunders, in his carefully written impartial work, we believe, is right. Mr. Saunders sums up his conclusions as follows:—

If an American had to consider the question of Disestablishment in England he would look at the subject from a practical point of view; he would make himself acquainted with what the Church was doing, how far her work was useful, and what it cost the State. It would not occur to him that the existence of an Established Church was of itself a standing injustice to Catholics or Dissenters; for as a Quaker is aggrieved by the existence of an army, so may a Catholic or Dissenter be aggrieved by the existence of a State Church; but in each case the Government are bound to regard the safety and welfare of the community from their own point of view, and it would be upon a balance of advantages to the community that an American would decide for or against Disestablishment.

The change in the so-called “Liberationist” policy during the last few years gives to such testimony as that of Mr. Saunders a peculiar value. It is now asserted among extreme “Radicals” in this country that “an Established Church is a naturally vicious institution;” and too often men of undoubted Christian principles are found allying themselves with Sceptics, Secularists, and downright Infidels, in action tending to the destruction of a National Religion in any shape or form.

*Through the Light Continent* contains readable information, with valuable statistics, on many points specially interesting as between ourselves and the United States at the present time.

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*Evangelical Opinion in the Nineteenth Century.* By the Rev. DAVID DALE STEWART, M.A., Rector of Coulsdon. Pp. 40. Hatchard's.

THE substance of this Essay was read before two Clerical and Lay Societies some three months ago. On the title-page appears the well-known sentence from Sir James Stephen's “Ecclesiastical Biography”:—“The system called Evangelical—that system of which (if Augustine, Luther, Calvin, Knox, and the writers of the English Homilies may be credited), Christ himself was the Author, and Paul the first and greatest interpreter.” From the starting point that the Evangelical movement of last century was a Divine gift to the Church, Mr. Stewart dwells upon its growth, and then proceeds to point out how the present position of the Evangelical movement is endangered and disturbed. He also writes some practical suggestions. “The old principles of Evangelicalism, which are independent of all times and of all places, should be steadily revered.” To many questions of detail, however—e.g., Should the choir wear uniform dress? “the proper answer can only be given when the peculiar circumstances of each locality are fully known.”

Heartily commending this pamphlet to the attention of our readers, we cannot refrain from quoting two of its pages. Mr. Stewart writes:—

Two more than commonly excellent men—now, for many years, fallen asleep in Christ—who were resident in Oxford during my University career—were for a time steadfast to Evangelical views, and afterwards supposed they had bettered them by adopting, the one High Church, the other Broad Church, opinions. But when I came to read their memoirs, with loving interest (for I had the advantage of being acquainted with both of them at the University), it was intensely instructive to me to perceive, as I thought I could perceive, that, though the biographer of each set himself to show that each had gained much by his change of school, it was the essence of Gospel Grace, as the Evangelicals had originally taught it, which each, himself, revealed as his real and abiding comfort. The one was WALTER

KERR HAMILTON, some nine years my senior, whom I knew, in the respectful intercourse which an undergraduate could hold with a clerical M.A. The other was FREDERICK WILLIAM ROBERTSON, a man of my own standing, whom I had the privilege of knowing as a friend. Hamilton, after having been a conspicuous upholder of Evangelical opinion in Oxford, became, as we may all remember, the much-admired High-Church Bishop of Salisbury. And Canon Liddon, his biographer, though speaking highly of Evangelical sentiments, has set himself to show that they were but a fragment of the creed which had come from heaven, of which he says Hamilton afterwards discovered the un mutilated whole; *but*, when we come to the affecting story of Hamilton's last illness, which, as men would say, interrupted prematurely his self-denying, zealous life, a brief utterance which fell from him on his last day is richly suggestive: "*The only thing I want*," he said, in accurate accordance with his original Evangelical training, "*is to place my whole confidence more and more perfectly in the Precious Blood.*"

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*The First Epistle of St. John: a Contribution to Biblical Theology.* By ERICH HAUPT. Translated, with an Introduction, by W. B. POPE, D.D., Didsbury College, Manchester. T. and T. Clark.

*The History of the Passion and Resurrection of Our Lord considered in the light of Modern Criticism.* By Dr. F. L. STEINMEYER.

THE work before us on the *First Epistle of St. John* does not profess to be a Commentary. Much is wanting in it that is ordinarily looked for in that kind of work; and, on the other hand, it contains much that goes beyond the design of a Commentary in the ordinary sense. The author's aim has been, he tells us, to unfold, with the New Testament only in hand, the order and the substance of thought in this Epistle. Labours of a critical, philosophical, polemical, and historical kind, he says, are only the preparation for the proper business of exposition. His pages, therefore, are not cumbered with references or replies. Evidently a deeply-read divine, as well as an independent thinker, he has desired simply and solely to extract from the hidden depths of Scripture its pure gold. As is remarked in the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung*, Haupt places every expression of the Apostle, so to speak, under a microscope, and traces it back to its premisses and forward to its conclusions. His eye is always fixed on the process of thought. Dr. Pope, the translator, justly observes that although "a certain Platonic philosophy and the theology of Lutheranism underlie the exposition, these are not unduly obtruded. The reader and his guide are together in the presence of St. John as an independent witness of the truth of God." As a specimen of the style we quote the following from the exposition on Chap. ii. v. 2:—

Of the few meanings which have been assigned to this word *παράκλητος*, Comforter and Advocate, the former, in the sense of *παρακαλῶν*, the latter in that of *παρακληθεὶς*,—most decidedly the second is the only one admissible here; it alone answers to the passive form of the word, by the explicit use of the term in classical Greek. Now as, apart from these reasons, it is inappropriate to assume that in the same author, in the same general period of his writing, and especially in the case of an idea so very important, the same word has few distinct meanings, one passage must be regarded as shedding some light upon the passages in the Gospel where the word occurs. It is true that there it is the Holy Ghost that is spoken of, while here it is the Son; but apart from the fact that in John xiv. 16, the Holy Ghost is mentioned as *ἄλλος παράκλητος*, which indirectly at least calls the Lord a *παράκλητος* also, the difference is only an apparent one; for the Holy Ghost is in the New Testament the Spirit of Jesus Christ.

In Professor Steinmeyer's preface to the English translation of his work we notice some interesting remarks concerning Strauss, the author

against whose destructive tendencies the work was primarily directed. Strauss printed his "Confession" in the year 1872. "The views of that most melancholy work," says Steinmeyer, "did not offend the majority of his followers; but the openness with which the confession was uttered was vexatious—it did not suit them!" They would fain have the appearance of honouring religion, and valuing religiousness. Christianity is respectable. German "Liberals," therefore, though they may throw overboard principles, yet make use of phrases, and while denying revealed facts, seek to satisfy themselves with religious feelings. Naturally, to such the outspokenness of Strauss was annoying in the extreme; it was inconvenient as well, forsooth, as unphilosophical. Strauss ceased, accordingly, to be the hero of the day; his influence had been waning for some time, but his "Confession" of Nihilism offended "Liberals" of many shades. "Strauss made an end," says Dr. Steinmeyer, "of all half-way positions, and gave all concealment the *coup de grâce*. Without hesitation and without compunction, without phrasing, and without scruple, without moving a muscle of his face," he drew the last consequence clearly and surely. "Are we still Christians?" he asked, and his answer was "No!" "All action of mind and spirit must be identified with the changes in the material of the brain." This is "the New Religion" which Strauss offered to Germany.

Steinmeyer's History and Haupt's Commentary form the second issue of Messrs. Clark's "Foreign Theological Library" for 1879. This "Library" was commenced in the year 1846, and from that time to this four volumes yearly—136 in all—have been published with regularity. It is proposed, we observe, to begin a new series with 1880.

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*Analytical Concordance to the Bible, on an Entirely New Plan, containing every Word in Alphabetical Order, arranged under its Hebrew or Greek Original, with the Literal Meaning of each, and its pronunciation; exhibiting about Three Hundred and Eleven Thousand References, marking 30,000 Various Readings in the New Testament; with the Latest Information on Biblical Geography and Antiquities. Designed for the Simplest Reader of the English Bible. By ROBERT YOUNG, LL.D. Pp. 1100. Edinburgh: George A. Young & Co. London: Hodder and Stoughton.*

THIS Concordance, without question, is a work of singular merit and value. Dr. Robert Young, to whose scholarship, ability, and research, we owe it, is known as a Biblical scholar of high rank; and it may be permitted to us to congratulate him cordially and gratefully on the completion of his great work, the noble quarto before us. We have examined its pages, here and there, with respectful care; and we have no hesitation in earnestly recommending it as trustworthy, and in all respects worthy of praise, a very valuable help to students of Scripture.

In his prefatory note, Dr. Young gives an interesting sketch of Concordance history, beginning with Cardinal Hugo's work in the thirteenth century. The Concordance of Alexander Cruden, whose third and last edition was issued in 1763, has been reprinted (generally abridged) in very many forms. Dr. Young observes:—

The present Work is the result of very many years' labour, and is designed to lead the simplest reader to a more correct understanding of the common English Bible, by a reference to the original words in Hebrew and Greek, with their varied shades of meaning, as explained by the most recent critics—Fürst, Robinson, &c. Every word in the English Bible is cast into proper alphabetical

order, these are then arranged under their respective original words, all in their own proper alphabetical order. To each of these the *literal* meaning is prefixed, and the *pronunciation* appended, with certain figures which indicate the number of the Hebrew conjugation; which latter sign is of great value, since each conjugation has more or less a *definite* signification of its own. Thus Nos. 1, 3, 5 are *active*, Nos. 2, 4, 6 *passive*, and No. 7 *reflexive*. So that if QATAL in the first conjugation is "he killed," the second is "he was killed," the third "he killed violently," the fourth "he was killed violently," the fifth "he caused to kill," the sixth "he was caused to kill," and the seventh "he killed himself." Though many exceptions are found, the general formula holds good, very distinctly.

As Cruden's Definitions, though many of them interesting and good, often express too decidedly his own specific view of religious truth to be satisfactory, the present Work confines the definitions strictly to their literal or idiomatic force; which, after all, will be found to form the best (and indeed the *only safe and solid*) basis for theological deductions of any kind.

Dr. Young's Concordance, then, is an entirely independent work, and in no sense an edition of Cruden, either in its plan or its execution. Its great object, as Tyndale says of his New Testament, is to enable every "ploughboy" to know more of the Scriptures than the "ancients," by enabling him at a glance to find out three distinct points—*First*, What is the *original* Hebrew or Greek of any ordinary word in his English Bible: *Second*, What is the *literal* and primitive meaning of every such original word: and *Third*, What are thoroughly true and reliable *parallel passages* :—

In carrying out these three important Points, the following plan has been adopted: *First*, One Hundred and Eighteen Thousand references have been given, which are not found in Cruden. *Second*, Every passage in the New Testament which critical investigators, like Griesbach and Tischendorf, have noted as doubtful, or as having a *Various Reading*, has been marked by brackets. *Third*, The Proper Name of every Person and Place has been given, with the literal meaning. *Fourth*, The date or era of every Person, so as to distinguish him from every other of the same name. *Fifth*, The location of every place in its tribe, with the modern name (if identified), so as to form a complete Scripture Geography and Gazetteer.

The predominating feature, however, of this work, is the analytical arrangement of each English word under its own proper original in Hebrew or Greek, with the literal meaning of the same. As a specimen, we may quote the following :—

**FORM, without—**

A ruin, vacancy, יָרֵחַ *tolu*.

Gen. 1. 2 And the earth was without form, and

Jer. 4.23 and, lo, (it was) without form and void

**FORMED, thing—**

Thing moulded or shaped, πλασμα *plasma*.

Rom. 9.20 Shall the thing formed say . . Why hast

**FORMED, to be—**

1. To form (*cause to writhe with pain*), יָצַק, יָצַק, 3a.

Job 26. 5 Dead (things) are formed from under

Isa. 43. 10 before me there was no God formed

2. To be formed, fashioned, framed, יָצַר *yatsar*, 2.

Isa. 54. 17 No weapon that is formed against thee

3. To be formed, fashioned, framed, יָצַר *yatsar*, 6.

Job 33. 6 Behold . . I also am formed out of the clay

4. To be moved, kneaded, formed, יָצַר *qarats*, 4.

We need only add that the work is well and carefully printed.



## Short Notices.

*Our Present Needs and How to Meet Them.* A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Meath at his Third Visitation, October, 1879. By the Most Rev. LORD PLUNKET, D.D., Bishop of Meath. Dublin: Hodges, Foster & Figgis.

We have read this Charge with lively interest, and, in the main, with gratification. We earnestly recommend those of our readers—we hope there are many—who desire to know the real state of things within the Church of Ireland, to study this pamphlet. The words of the amiable and accomplished Bishop are well weighed, and they have an interest for English Churchmen with regard to our own Church. Referring to his own diocese, Lord Plunket affirms that “tokens of vigorous life and steady progress present themselves on every side.” The statistics of Confirmation supply an example: “We know that there is no surer sign of a wavering allegiance to Church principles than a dislike to the rite of Confirmation. Is it then the case, as some would affirm, that Plymouth Brethrenism is spreading so rapidly amongst us and honeycombing the Church of Ireland with its doctrines? The facts I have instanced do not certainly look like it.”

*The Capercaillie in Scotland.* By J. A. HARVIE-BROWN, F.Z.S.  
Pp. 150. Edinburgh: David Douglas.

This tasteful volume will prove within a certain circle, probably a very small one, a right welcome guest. As to the *Capercaillie* or *capercaillie* (*capercaillie*, according to the Scotch Bellenden; *capercaillie*, according to the English Pennant), “the old bird of the wood,” its history—we mean with regard to Scotland, the extinction and restoration of the species—its customs and its food, curious and interesting information is given. Perthshire is the headquarters of the capercaillie population; Forfarshire is the next favoured county. In the year 1842, as we learn from “Her Majesty’s Journal,” Prince Albert shot a capercaillie at Taymouth. Mr. Charles Buxton, in his “Memoirs of Sir T. F. Buxton” (p. 333, foot-note), claims to have shot, along with his brother, “the first of these birds that had been killed in Scotland for a hundred years.” On the title-page, with a pretty etching, appear the lines of Gisborne (“Walks in a Forest”):—

And from the pine’s high top brought down  
The Giant Grouse, while boastful he display’d  
His breast of varying green, and crowd and clapp’d  
His glossy wings.

*The Difficulties of the Soul.* By W. HAY M. H. AITKEN, M.A.  
Hodder & Stoughton.

Many of our readers, no doubt, have already read these twelve papers; they appeared in our excellent contemporary *The Clergyman’s Magazine* during the year 1879. Deeply reverent earnestness and practical common sense, with singularly wide experience, are the chief notes of this ably written treatise.

*Yesterday, To-Day, and For Ever.* A Poem in Twelve Books.  
By E. H. BICKERSTETH, M.A. Twelfth edition. Rivingtons.

We gladly welcome a new, cheap, edition of Mr. Bickersteth’s great work. According to the *Times*, “this Poem has made its way into the religious world of England and America without much help from the

critics." That it has made its way is undeniable, for the edition before us is the twelfth; and the sale of the book in other countries has been very large. Now, for a shilling, any English working man can get a well-printed copy of this standard Poem.

*Bible Hygiene, or Health Hints.* By A PHYSICIAN. Pp. 240.  
Hodder & Stoughton.

A sensible and suggestive work; it shows that the secondary trendings of modern philosophy run in a parallel direction with the primary light of the Bible. The force of Scripture health-hints is brought out clearly and simply enough for any "general reader."

*Side Lights of the Bible.* Indirect Evidences of its Truth. By the Rev. WILLIAM BURNET, M.A., Rector of St. Michael's, Norwich. Pp. 86.  
Jarrold & Sons, 3, Paternoster Buildings.

With this little book we are much pleased. Sound and suggestive, its six chapters—two of which appeared a few years ago in the *Christian Observer*—may be read with profit.

*From Bethlehem to Olivet.* A Course of Lessons on the Life of Jesus Christ. By JOHN PALMER. Church of England Sunday School Institute, 34, New Bridge Street, Blackfriars.

A series of ably-written Lessons for Sunday School Teachers. At the commencement of each Lesson are printed "Passages for Reading," a "Text to learn," and then a "Central Thought" which "should be the object of the Teachers to develop and to keep in view in the application;" while every Lesson is concluded by a "Blackboard," Questions, Notes, and a Hymn. This little book is likely to prove most acceptable to Teachers, the divisions of each Lesson being *natural*, both simple and striking. The arrangement, indeed, is admirable; and there is an originality about the work which gives it a peculiar value.

*Prayers and Responses for the Household.* Fourth Thousand.  
W. Skeffington & Son.

A short, low-priced, well-printed Manual of Family Devotion; the prayers are sound, fervent, and useable.

*Jonah.* With Notes and Introduction. By the Ven. T. T. PEROWNE, B.D., Archdeacon of Norwich. Cambridge Warehouse, 17, Paternoster Row.

A volume of that very useful series, "The Cambridge Bible for Schools." The work of a well-read divine, its interest and value will be acknowledged by many students of Scripture who have long ago left school.

*The Cross: Heathen and Christian.* A Fragmentary Notice of its Early Pagan Existence and Subsequent Christian Adoption. With Illustrations. By MOURANT BROCK, M.A. Pp. 90. Seeley.

An interesting little volume. For those who have not access to elaborate treatises, its facts and arguments will have an attraction.

*Adventures in Many Lands.* By PARKER GILLMORE, "*Ubique*," author of "The Great Thirst Land," "Gun, Rod, and Saddle," &c. Marcus Ward & Co.

A new "improved" edition of Colonel Gillmore's adventures is likely to

obtain fresh favour in a wide circle of "general readers." To most of the elder lads, at all events, it will prove irresistible, as they read such chapter headings as "Spearing a Wild Boar," "Catching a Shark," "Being Chased by a Buffalo," "Tricking an Alligator," "Hunting down a Bengal Tiger," and "Shooting a Grizzly Bear." The book contains several spirited sketches.

*Day of Rest.* Family Year Book of Sunday Readings for 1879-Strahan & Co.

In this attractive volume—850 pages—appear contributions from Professor Blaikie, Dean Vaughan, Rev. W. Fleming Stevenson, Rev. H. Downton, and several other well-known writers. With an interesting "Story of Christianity in Pagan Rome," containing graphic sketches of life and manners; some suggestive Scriptural papers, and records of Missionary struggles and successes, we are much pleased. A paper on Shoreham, Kent, of which parish good Vincent Ferronet was instituted in 1728, a sketch of Shoreham, Sussex, and other bits of home scenery by pen or pencil, are interesting. The illustrations, of which there are some 300, are, as a rule, exceedingly good. Several pages of "Characters and Scenes in the Pilgrim's Progress," by Mr. F. Bernard, deserve especial praise. The volume, we must add, has a very handsome cover.

*Strahan's Grand Annual for the Young, 1879.* Strahan & Co.

In this beautifully bound Annual appear Adventures, Tales, Biographies, Papers on Natural History, and Short Stories, by writers who are famous in this line; and there are upwards of 500 drawings on wood from designs by eminent artists. At a glance one can see that the volume will prove a veritable treasure for young readers. In the opinion of one "Nursery" critic, the fairy stories are really delightful, and all the tales are good. Forty years ago, surely, no such "splendid" stories, with pretty pictures to match, were in existence anywhere.

*Chatterbox, 1879.* W. Wells Gardner. *The Prize for Girls and Boys, 1879.* Gardner.

The annual volumes of two favourite Magazines; cheap and good. In the "Prize" appear twelve illustrated papers, "The Gentile Rulers of Scripture." The woodcuts are exactly what, in such books, they ought to be.

*Lady Rosamond's Book. Dawning of Light. The Stanton-Corbet Chronicles.* By ELLEN GURNEY, author of "Lady Betty's Governess," &c. Pp. 345. J. F. Shaw & Co.

A cleverly written, interesting, and instructive story, showing the evils of the conventual system, and the blessings of the Reformation. Many aristocratic houses, no doubt, supplied material for chronicles such as those of the "Stanton-Corbet" family. "Celibate," writes Jeremy Taylor, if we remember right, "dwells in a perpetual sweetness"; but over the door of many a monastery or nunnery such a motto might seem to its inmates merest mockery.

*Muriel Bertram.* A Tale. By AGNES GIBERNE. Seeley.

Miss Giberne's tales are sure to be good, and may very safely be strongly recommended. There is nothing of what is called "goody-goody" about them, and yet the pearl of great price is their chiefest ornament. Here and there the tale before us in some respects reminds us of Elizabeth Sewall and of Jane Austen. Happily married was its heroine Muriel, and the strain of the story is pleasing all through.

*The Story of Stories, and other Sermons to Children.* Preached in Trinity Church, Dublin. By the late JOHN GREGG, D.D. Edited by his Son, R. S. GREGG, D.D., Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross. Dublin: Geo. Herbert.

We heartily recommend this attractive book. Some sermons to children are sound and suggestive, but decidedly dry; others are full of anecdotes, but lack instruction and point. The sermons before us are both interesting and instructive. An admirable New Year's gift book.

*Holiness: its Nature, Hindrances, Difficulties, and Roots.* By the Rev. J. C. RYLE, M.A. With Preface, Introductory Essay, and Supplementary Extracts from Old Writers. Pp. 470. W. Hunt & Co.

A valuable book, in all ways excellent. The preface and introduction contain some cautions for these times, in regard to Sanctification, keynote of the whole work, which is eminently practical. The gift of such a volume as the one before us—interesting all through—brings a treasure-house of good within a family circle.

*Sun, Moon, and Stars. A Book for Beginners.* By AGNES GIBERNE. With a Preface by the Rev. C. PRITCHARD, M.A., F.R.S. Pp. 300. Seeley, Jackson & Halliday.

"The tale of the Stellar Universe," writes Professor Pritchard, "is herein told with great simplicity, and perhaps with sufficient completeness; in an earnest and pleasant style, equally free, I think, from any considerable inaccuracy, or any unpardonable exaggeration." The Professor, therefore, "heartily commends" the book; and, for ourselves, we have read it with the greatest interest. The illustrations, coloured, are charming; the cover and printing deserve warm praise. *Quid plura?*

*Daily Readings for a Year.* By ELIZABETH SPOONER. Pp. 312. S.P.C.K.

In this book appear extracts—as a rule sound and helpful—from Barrow, Bunyan, Howson, Leighton, Carlyle, Farrar, Robertson, and others. Well printed.

*The Story of our Sunday Trip to Hastings.* Related by one of the Party. S. W. Partridge & Co.

A well-written story, published under the auspices of the Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association; likely to do good.

*The Broken Looking-Glass. Dorothy Cope's Recollections of Service.* By MARIA LOUISA CHARLESWORTH. Seeley.

There are few books of this kind, and none, we think, so good as the little book before us. Not only servants, but many others, will read it with pleasure. Mrs. "Dorothy Cope" is a charming companion. Several illustrations.

*The World of Moral and Religious Anecdote. Illustrations and Incidents gathered from the Words, Thoughts, and Deeds in the Lives of Men, Women, and Books.* By EDWIN PAXTON HOOD. Fifth Thousand. Pp. 750. Hodder and Stoughton.

The title-page explains this book. We quote two of its anecdotes:—"What is your opinion of your two sons as preachers?" inquired a friend of Mr. Clayton, an old dissenting minister. "Well," he replied quaintly, but pleasantly, "George has a better show in his shop-window than John; but John has a larger stock in his warehouse." When Henry Venn Elliott called upon Simeon at King's College, Simeon said, "My dear friend, I am delighted to see you; but *have* you rubbed your shoes

upon the mat?" "Yes," said Elliott, with corresponding gravity, "upon all four."

*Stories of the Cathedral Cities of England.* By EMMA MARSHALL.  
Pp. 330. Nisbet & Co.

With these "Stories" we are much pleased. Mrs. Marshall's writings, are, happily, well known, and deservedly valued, as really interesting, with a natural graceful style, and in the best sense of the word suggestive. The book before us has many charms, and we heartily recommend it. Thoughtful children will read it with pleasure, while the "general reader" class, as a rule, are likely to praise it. The "Cathedral Cities," are Canterbury, York, London, Westminster, Winchester, Durham, Carlisle, Chester. There are several good illustrations.

*Homiletical and Pastoral Lectures.* Delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral before the Church Homiletical Society. With a Preface by the Right Rev. C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D. Pp. 530. Hodder & Stoughton.

In this portly octavo appear Lectures by Archbishop Thomson, Bishops Thorold, Goodwin, Ryan, and Titcomb, the Deans of Ripon, Chester, and Peterboro', Archdeacon Perowne, and several other dignitaries. The subjects are Preaching, Preparation of a Sermon, Cottage Lectures, Parochial Temperance Work, and such like. It is hardly necessary to remark that the book has a singular value for clergymen; so far as we know it is unique.

*Times before the Reformation. With an Account of Fra Girolamo Savonarola, the Friar of Florence.* By W. DINWIDDIE, LL.B. Pp. 380. Nisbet and Co.

This is a well-written work. Its account of the great Friar, who beheld cultured refinement together with appalling licentiousness and ferocity, is clear and correct. No wonder that Savonarola, as he wept over the wickedness of blinded Italy, "virtue everywhere despised and vice honoured," lost courage—

Heu ! fuge crudeles terras, fuge littus avarum.

The Renaissance only gilded the pagan superstitiousness and licence which pervaded all classes from Pope and nobles downwards.

*Ten Addresses at the Triennial Visitation of the Cathedral Church and Diocese of Lincoln in October, 1879.* By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D. Rivingtons.

We have here much that is interesting, and much with which we thoroughly agree. But certain observations of the pious and learned Prelate with regard to Vestments we greatly regret, and we are compelled to contrast them with the remarks of such High Church Bishops as Drs. Durnford and Mackarness.

*Little Folks in Feathers and Fur, and Others in Neither.* By OLIVE T. MILLER. First series. John F. Shaw & Co.

A charming volume, full of pretty pictures by pen and pencil. "A Bear with a Bed-quilt," "A Little Dark Nursery under the Ground," "A Funny Family," "The Baby that Lives in a Box"—such headings are sure to attract all children who have a liking for natural history chats. The description throughout is a really clever pencil-painting, so that little folks, like Molière's character, may read "prose" without knowing it.

*The School of Grace. Expository Thoughts on Titus ii. 11-14.*  
By W. HAY M. H. AITKEN, M.A. Pp. 384. Shaw & Co.

Thoughtful, deeply spiritual, affectionate, impressive. The Epiphany

and Mission of Grace; the Negative Teaching of Grace; the Positive Teaching of Grace; and, lastly, the Practical Results—are the chief notes of this eloquent exposition.

*The Voice and Public Speaking.* J. P. SANDLANDS, M.A., Vicar of Brigstock. Pp. 180. Hodder & Stoughton.

A book well worth reading. One chief principle, "open the mouth well in speaking," will be insisted on by all who have watched such speakers as the late Bishop Wilberforce, and the present Bishop of Peterborough.

*Golden Childhood.* Ward, Lock & Co.

The Annual of a very attractive Magazine for little people. The stories are remarkably good; the instructive papers are not dry; and the illustrations are numerous and pleasing. For girls of say eight or ten years, the volume will prove a delightful New Year gift-book.

*Harrison Weir's Pictures of Birds and Family Pets.* R.T.S.

Twenty-four coloured Plates from original drawings, printed in oil colours by Leighton Brothers; beautifully done. The letter-press is not unworthy. A charming volume.

From Messrs. Hatchard we have received Canon Hoare's valuable little book, published last year, entitled *Redemption*, with a third edition, of the companion volume *Sanctification*; also a fourth edition—just issued—of Mr. Bourdillon's *Short Sermons*, plain and pointed; also Canon Garbett's brief treatise *The Immortality of the Soul*, a real *multum in parvo*; also two little books which we have much pleasure in recommending—the Rev. A. R. Fausset's *The Church and the World*; and the Rev. J. Richardson's *Fraternal Suggestions*, an *ad Clerum*.

From Messrs. Seeley, Jackson & Halliday we have received two very choice gift-books:—*Stories from the Greek Tragedians*, by the Rev. Alfred Church, M.A., a companion volume to *Stories from Homer*, and *A Traveller's True Tale*, after the *Vera Historia* of Lucian. Mr. Church is evidently a ripe scholar; and these interesting adaptations show a rare fidelity and finish. The coloured illustrations in these beautiful books are exquisite. For boys with the slightest classical taste these "Stories" are the best prize-books we have ever seen.

We have received from Messrs. John F. Shaw & Co. several volumes, attractive within and without, and in all ways suitable for New Year gifts. *Dot and Her Treasures*, by L. T. Meade, author of *Bel-Marjory*, and other clever stories; *Prairie Days*, a tale of "our home in the far West," with an illustration of an Indian wigwam; *The Hamiltons, or Dora's Choice*, by Emily Brodie, author of that pleasing and wholesome story, *Jean Lindsay*; *Brave Geordie*, a capital tale for the bigger boys; *Nellie Arundel*, a tale of home life, specially suited for girls, by the author of *The Gabled Farm*, a very interesting volume which we have had the pleasure of recommending; *Ragamuffins*, a chatty, interesting description of some "Arabs of Love Lane":—all these are really good. *Prairie Days*, the largest volume, is a handsome gift-book.

From Messrs. Marcus Ward & Co. we have received four specimens of their "Picture Library" for little folks, with decorated covers. Books I. and II. contain pictures of the Parables, and two other books contain pictures of Poultry and Cows. The full-page illustrations in colours alone are worth the money.

A new cheap edition of *Hay Macdowall Grant, of Arndilly*, by Mrs. Gordon, has been recently published (Edinburgh: D. Douglas). Some portions of "the life and labours" of this devoted Christian have been condensed or omitted.

From Messrs. Ward & Lock we have received a really splendid volume for very little children—*The Royal Nursery Picture Book*, with coloured and other illustrations.

From "Hand and Heart" Publishing Office (1, Paternoster Buildings, E.C.) we have received five books, edited or written by the Rev. Charles Bullock, B.D.; *The Fireside Annual*, 1879, handsome and attractive as usual, with a well-varied list of contents; *The Day of Days Annual*, and *Home Words Annual*, cheap, well illustrated, wholesome, and readable; *Echoes from the Word*, a series of verses for the Christian year, written and arranged by the late Frances Ridley Havergal; and *The Temperance Witness-Box*. We gladly invite attention to these books. The last-named contains evidence of doctors, the Press, publicans, statesmen, soldiers, employers, judges, police, sailors, poets, bishops, and clergy. These are put together in a very neat and lucid form. At a time when every protest against the great evil of intemperance is of value, Mr. Bullock's little book will prove of much service.

From Mr. Elliot Stock we have received *After Work*, "Home Reading for the Family Circle," the Annual of a cheap and wholesome magazine, illustrated; *The Teacher's Storehouse*, Vol. IV., which really deserves its title-page claim, "A Treasury of Material for Working Sunday School Teachers;" Part I. of *The New Sunday School Teachers' Biblical Dictionary*, with an Introduction by the Rev. J. F. Kitto, M.A. We are much pleased with this new serial publication—threepence monthly—well got up; likely to be very useful.

From the Church Sunday School Institute we have received *Lessons on Genesis*, by the Rev. W. Saumarez Smith, B.D., a valuable series which we can recommend to Religious Instructors who are not Sunday School Teachers; *The Sunday Scholar's Companion*, illustrated, cheap and sound; a good sheet almanack, a class register, and some useful New Year Addresses to elder children, parents, and teachers; *When We were Boys*, a pleasing story of Sunday School Life, by the Rev. T. Turner, a capital little gift-book. Also, the bound volume of the valuable Magazine published by the Institute.

The annual volume of *Good Words* (Isbister & Co.), a very handsome gift-book, contains many ably written papers. We are particularly pleased with the Rev. W. Fleming Stevenson's "Mission Fields of India, China, and Japan,"—excellent articles.

The annual volumes of the *Sunday at Home* and *Leisure Hour* appear this year in a new garb. But our old friends are as welcome and as valuable as ever. How the able Editor contrives to keep up the freshness and vigour of these Magazines we cannot tell.

The S.P.C.K. has issued another volume of the "Non-Christian Religious Systems" Library, viz., *Confucianism and Taoism*, by Professor Douglas, a well-written and readable treatise. From the S.P.C.K. we have received also a series of studies on the *Benedicite*, with the title "Seek and Find," a little book with a value and interest of its own; also some sixpenny attractive, pretty, and little stories; *A Great Treat*, and others, capital Christmas or New Year school gift-books; and *Ember Season Addresses*, a series of discourses—thoughtful and impressive—delivered at Brighton during Trinity Ember Season, 1879.



## ART. XI.—THE MONTH.

FROM Afghanistan there are no indications that peace is likely to prevail. On the contrary, the country is in an unsettled state; and at Cabul a skilful and most determined attack has been made upon the British force. Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry, in more than one branch of Foreign affairs, has been at the least unfortunate. To what extent the influence of Russia is now working in the disturbed countries, north and west of Afghanistan, has not yet been made manifest.

The attempt on the life of the Czar recalls attention to the Nihilism which terribly threatens the Russian Empire, weakened as it is by official corruption, and the recklessness of military ambition. The greatest crime of a most desperate conspiracy had all but succeeded. Religious Nihilism (and the Nihilism of extreme German scepticism is at least an ally of Communistic Nihilism) will say the Czar escaped by chance; but Christians in such a deliverance will recognise the hand of God. We trust that the Czar will be led to adopt a policy of peace. The shocking series of crimes in Russia, and the Socialistic organisations which alarm the statesmen of Germany and of France, point to the infinite importance of religious education. What is needed is the cultivation of that reverence for Christian liberty in which "the duties of man" is recognised as a deeper watchword than the "rights of man." The repressive measures of Military Despotism have proved a failure.

In Belgium, Sacerdotalism seeks to have supreme sway.

In England, trade seems slowly but surely reviving. In Ireland, the Home Rule agitation, which has taken the form of an anti-landlord movement, has, to a certain extent, been checked. Roman Catholic Bishops and influential laymen have, as a rule, pronounced against it. The condition of the country, however, is undoubtedly serious. Distress and disaffection are working together. In Scotland, Mr. Gladstone has made a triumphal progress. Whether his series of speeches—wonderful in many respects as they are—has really been an electioneering success is, by some Liberals, much doubted. In regard to the Church of Scotland, Mr. Gladstone gave no certain sound. His remarks, indeed, on the Presbyterian National Church, remind one of his unstatesmanlike reply to Mr. Miall's attack on the Church of England. We remember hearing him, a few years ago, in the House of Commons, advise the Liberationist leader to convert the country; and his recent language in Scotland seems intended to encourage the Voluntaries and other Radical opponents of a National Church. Mr. Richard, M.P., it is true, has confessed



that the ex-Premier's language is hardly clear enough to satisfy his Nonconformist supporters, south of the Tweed ; but the hon. gentleman added that inasmuch as the Scottish Radicals were satisfied, Mr. Gladstone's views were probably sufficiently advanced.

Mr. Mackonochie refused, as we anticipated, to submit to the Law. The *Record* announced the course which had been agreed upon by the Council of the Church Association—viz., to commence a new suit.

The course pursued by the Church Missionary Society in regard to the high-handed proceedings of the Bishop of Ceylon has been from the first eminently temperate and prudent. A sagacious step has recently been taken. A memorial from the Society's Missionaries in Ceylon has been presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury. With the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Durham, his Grace will in due course consider this appeal.

The Church Sunday School Institute, which for many years has been doing good service, deserves the hearty support of all Churchmen who are loyal to the principles of the Reformation. It has recently circulated some interesting papers concerning the proposed centenary. In the Midsummer of the year 1780, Mr. Robert Raikes, a layman, opened his first Sunday School. With the Rev. Thomas Stock, Master of the Gloucester Cathedral School, and Curate of the Parish of St. John's, Mr. Raikes founded the Sunday School system, a system which has now deep roots in many countries and in many ecclesiastical organisations.

The information which we received during the early part of the month, with regard to the circulation of this Magazine, leads us, in wishing our readers a Happy New Year, to thank many supporters of THE CHURCHMAN throughout the country for their hearty good wishes and welcome suggestions. That a periodical representing the Evangelical School was really needed, has not anywhere been denied. We have received from influential Churchmen, both Clerical and Lay, during the last three months most gratifying testimonies as to the character and work of this Magazine. We hope that our readers, so far as they are able, will increase its circulation with the beginning of a Year which seems likely to be momentous, as regards both the Church and the State.

# THE CHURCHMAN

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FEBRUARY, 1880.

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## ART. I.—BISHOP BUTLER.

**B**ISHOP BUTLER was born in the year 1692, within less than an hour's journey from Oxford, in the thriving country town of Wantage, where his father was a respected and successful tradesman. Facing the site of the ancient shop, is now erected a modern statue of Alfred the Great, who was himself also a native of the same town. The house to which the family retired from business, and the room in which Butler was born, still exist in a condition almost unchanged. Butler received his earlier education in the Grammar School of the town, under the diligent superintendence of a worthy clergyman, Philip Barton; and it is pleasant to find that in after years, and so soon as Butler had the opportunity, he remembered his old schoolmaster's goodness, and preferred him to a living in his own diocese. Butler's father (who was a member of the Presbyterian communion), on discovering the abilities of his son, resolved to educate him for the ministry amongst Protestant Dissenters of his own denomination; and with this view removed him to a Dissenting academy then established at Gloucester and subsequently at Tewkesbury. It was here that he met with several fellow-students, who ultimately attained to great distinction and eminent usefulness in their respective spheres of life. Notably, there was his young friend Thomas Secker, who, in the lapse of time, became Archbishop of Canterbury, and whose esteem for his modest and earnest companion never wavered while Butler lived.

Butler pursued his theological studies under the able guidance of the distinguished tutor of the Academy at Tewkesbury, with so much diligence and success, that at the early age of twenty-one he attracted the attention and secured the lasting friendship of Dr. Samuel Clarke, well known both then and now as one of

the most learned divines in the Church of England. Dr. Clarke had published a work containing, as he believed, "A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God." The young student, however, was not wholly satisfied with some of the arguments adduced, and he engaged in a correspondence with the learned divine, carried on, at the suggestion of Butler's modesty, anonymously; his friend Secker conveying the letters and the replies to and fro between Tewkesbury and the post-office at Gloucester. This correspondence has happily been preserved for the benefit of the Christian Church, and it is a model on the one hand of the modesty and acumen of the young student, and of the patience, courtesy, and sincerity of the learned divine. In one of these now famous letters of Butler's, the young student remarks to Dr. Clarke: "*As I design the search after truth as the business of my life, I shall not be ashamed to learn from any person; though at the same time I cannot be insensible that instruction from some men, is like the gift of a prince; it reflects honour on the person on whom it lays an obligation.*" Such was the modesty, such was the sincerity of Butler.

And now not in invidious contrast, but for the purposes of an illustration of the moral results of it at a further stage, I shall here notice the manner in which David Hume (whose writings are to this hour the armoury and the arsenal of religious doubts and disbeliefs) began his attacks on Christianity at an age almost as early as Butler commenced his correspondence with Dr. Clarke. The guiding, ruling principles of the two contemporaries were widely different. "It must be confessed," says his admiring biographer, Mr. Huxley, that on the occasion of his first publication, no less than on that of his others, "Hume exhibits no small share of a craving after mere notoriety and vulgar success as distinct from the pardonable, if not honourable, ambition for solid and enduring fame:" . . . "that sort of success, in fact, which his soul loved." The actuating motives of the two young students, at the outset of life, being thus at variance, we can scarcely wonder that their subsequent careers and their ultimate issues were widely divergent.

The culture in the Nonconformist School at Tewkesbury, like the culture adopted by Dr. Doddridge at Northampton, though it naturally and generally bore good fruit, did not always bear the fruit intended. The Tewkesbury Presbyterian School produced three eminent bishops in the Anglican Church; and Dr. Doddridge, to his dismay, found that, after all his care at his own Evangelical Establishment, he had nurtured Unitarians.

Butler ultimately saw reasons for embracing the doctrine and mode of government of the Established Church, and with the view of becoming qualified for its ministry, he entered himself as

a Commoner at Oriel College, in this University. The portrait of its illustrious member will be found in the College, but, I fear, little or no other record of his residence in Oxford remains. He was awarded no share in the endowments of that religious corporation; neither scholarship nor fellowship was his. Not that any particular individual blame attaches to the unfortunate oversight; for Oxford at that day only shared and followed the general unconcern of a half-hearted age. Surely it would be a nobler and a truer aspiration to claim her right to lead, and direct, and illustrate, rather than be contented to adopt and reflect the morals, motives, and intellectual culture, which chance to be the predominant fashion of the times.

Still it was impossible for a man like Butler not to have reaped many solid and permanent advantages from a residence at Oriel. One, among many others, arose from his attracting the notice and friendship of his fellow-student, Mr. Talbot, who, from his connection with persons of great influence, was able to bring the great abilities and worth of his friend under the notice of the powers that be. In this way Butler before long was appointed to the preachship at the Rolls Chapel. And now began the reaping of that intellectual and moral harvest which had been sown and cultured with such abundant care at Tewkesbury and Oxford. Out of the many sermons preached in that famous chapel, Butler, on retiring to a country living, arranged for publication fifteen, the selection of which he said was mainly accidental, but some of which, and particularly those on the constitution of human nature, are probably unequalled for the truth and depth of their insight by any essays now extant on the same subject in the world. They bear somewhat of the same relation to Moral or Ethical Philosophy, which the *Principia* of Newton bears to the physical course of Nature. Any student possessing sufficient mental culture who has not read them, if such there be, has reserved for himself a duty and a delight. Immediately after the publication of these remarkable sermons, Butler set himself to work on the subject of the Analogy of Religion to the Constitution and the Course of Nature. In the deep retirement of his parish at Stanhope, not dead, but to the outer world of clamorous activity practically buried, Butler had leisure and freedom from distraction slowly to complete his immortal work; "searching after truth, as the settled business of his life": and it is a law impressed on humanity, that they who thus seek, find the object of their quest.

It is clear that he had long and deeply studied the intrinsic force of all the arguments and difficulties which had been successively urged against the religion of Christ, by the sceptical writers of his age. More than that, whoever attentively reads the pages of the Analogy, so "full of the seeds of thought," will

find that Butler has anticipated, in their principles at least, most, if not all, of those objections which bristle in our modern periodicals, and have made so troublesome a noise in our own day. It was not his habit indeed, or his object, to quote the very language of the host of deistical and infidel writers whose objections he sought to meet and to remove, and still less to designate the several writers by their names, for Butler was dealing with facts, and not with persons—with truth, and not with notoriety; hence the reader of the *Analogy* will there find a total freedom from all parade of learning, and a general absence of all quotations. Nevertheless, the actual objections of the sceptical writers are stated with a sincerity and a candour beyond the reach of impugnement. They are always fairly met, and in general met with success.

After the publication of the *Analogy*, and no doubt owing very much to the fact that he was no longer buried from the public gaze, Butler was advanced from one stage to another of dignity and public usefulness. He had for himself chosen the lowest room, but the Divine Master of the House had now come to him and seemed to say by His Providence: "Friend, go up higher." Thus Butler became successively Bishop of Bristol, Dean of St. Paul's, Clerk of the Closet to King George II., and in 1747 he was offered the Primacy. But Butler, judging from the morals and tenor of the age, took a gloomy view, and, feeling himself unequal to cope with the dangers which beset so responsible an office, resolutely declined the offer. It is remarkable to record that eleven years after Butler had declined this exalted position, its duties were wisely and faithfully administered by Secker, the companion of his school-days, and the devoted watchful friend throughout his advancing years. Butler, however, a very few years before his death, was prevailed on to accept the Bishopric of Durham; but by one of those, to us obscure dispensations of Providence, which are the predestined education and discipline of our faith and our love, this eminent man was called away to a better service, though one would have supposed in the very acme of his usefulness on earth. He was buried in the Cathedral of Bristol, in the adornment of which diocese he had spent a larger sum than the whole emolument he had received. In his youth, as we have seen, he had "designed the search after truth as the business of his life:" throughout that life he had pursued the design with a candour, a diligence, and an intellectual grasp not surpassed; and then in his maturest days he was able to say, "I feel my feet upon the Rock."

Such then is a very rapid outline of some of the few particulars which remain to us of this great and good man's life; to me, at least, some such account seemed an essential element in the intelligent conception of his work. Many other interesting

details may be gathered from the excellent biography published by Butler's distant kinsman, Mr. Bartlett, some forty years ago. I have already had occasion to speak of the low state of morals and religion which prevailed in Butler's time. The causes, not far to seek, need not be referred to here. If, by Divine Providence, the Elijah of that age was Butler, then John Wesley may have been the Elisha: assuredly they were the conjoint instruments of doing God's work, each in his own way. These men laboured, and the Church of Christ has largely entered into their labours. But if any of ourselves are inclined to despair at the varied and persistent attacks which in our time are ceaselessly made, not only on the central truths of Christianity, but on the very existence of a personal Creator and Governor of the Universe, he may find his discouragement abated, by a consideration of Butler's description of his own day. "It has come to be taken for granted," he says, "by many persons, that Christianity is not so much a subject of inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious. And, accordingly, they treat it as if, in the present age, this were an agreed point among all people of discernment; and as if nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule." "Dr. Butler believes," said a well-known sceptic of the day, "that he has proved of Christianity, that, after all, there is really something in it." And now, at length, let us enquire what was Butler's method of stemming the tide of unbelief which in the days of some of our grandfathers threatened to overwhelm the Christian Church. It may avail something under the similar trials which beset ourselves.

Butler, then, commences his work with remarks upon the nature of that evidence which is to us the intellectual foundation of all religious belief. Anterior to careful and accurate reflection on the subject, it might be *presupposed*, that on questions fraught with such interest and importance to mankind as the Being of an Intelligent Creator and Governor of the world, and the existence of a future state of happiness or misery, the evidence would be of so demonstrative a character, so logical, and so overwhelming when truly stated, as to preclude all reasonable controversy on the subject. Some men might even demand that a Lazarus should be sent from the grave to confront his brethren with a proof and a warning, not to be withstood. But no such demonstrative evidence is to be found in relation to our religious hopes. And this is all of a piece, Butler would argue, all in a strict continuity with what we find in that dispensation of ordinary human society, in which we find ourselves placed. For, to us, probability is the guide of life; and if any man will examine the grounds on which he has determined, not merely the trivial acts of his daily routine, but even the most serious and critical

arrangements of his life, he will find that they have been decided on the principles, not of certainty and pure reason, but on the grounds of probability and faith alone. A perfect intelligence might indeed foresee the consequences of acts with an unerring certainty, but our capacities are limited, and so also must be the imperfect and circumstantial evidence which determines our choice.

Butler's own statement of the case is very striking, and I will quote his words:—

"From these considerations it follows," he says, "that in questions of difficulty, or such as are thought so, where more satisfactory evidence cannot be had, or is not seen; if the result of examination be that there appears upon the whole, any the least presumption on one side, and none on the other; or a greater presumption on one side though in the lowest degree greater, this determines the question, even in matters of speculation; and in matters of practice, it will lay us under an absolute and formal obligation, in point of prudence and of interest, to act upon that presumption or low probability, though it be so low as to leave the mind in very great doubt which is the truth. For surely a man is as really bound in prudence to do what on the whole *appears* to him, according to the best of his judgment, to be for his happiness, as what he certainly *knows* to be so. Nay further, in questions of great consequence, a reasonable man will think it concerns him to remark lower probabilities and presumptions than these: such as amount to no more than showing one side of a question to be as supposable and credible as another: nay, such as amount to much less even than this; for numberless instances might be mentioned respecting the common pursuits of life, where a man would be thought, in a literal sense, distracted, who would not act, and with great application too, not only upon an even chance, but upon much less, and when the probability or chance of his succeeding was greatly against him."

Such then is the general character of the evidence we may expect to find in questions relating to religious difficulties: the evidences are probable, not demonstrative; they are presumptions, not certainties. Butler's mode and principle of arguing on this sort of evidence is an eminently practical one, and it is on this wise. If anything appertaining to religion, and of importance to ourselves, is alleged in the Sacred Scriptures connected with the unknown or the unseen, *i.e.* connected with the life beyond the grave, he examines the known and the seen, *i.e.* the natural things around him, and then, assuming that the seen and the unseen proceed alike from the same Author and Governor of Nature, if he finds that a correspondence, an analogy, exists between the Scriptural allegations and the natural things around him, he concludes that there is so far a presumption, a probability, that the subject of the Scriptural affirmation is true. And Butler then argues that the establishment of this presumption or probability, in a practical matter, lays us under a moral obli-

gation to act, just as much as the certainty of conviction would.

No doubt some of us might passionately desire some greater and clearer light, on subjects that affect our dearest and fondest hopes; but that is no reason why we should fretfully refuse such lights as we can practically obtain. And there is, as I have already observed, a similar imperfection, nay obscurity if you will, in the evidence upon which we are called upon to act in the ordinary concerns of our social existence; yet act we do, and for the most part with a satisfactory issue.

Moreover we find a favourable peculiarity in the evidences for religion which seldom attaches to the evidences on which we commonly act in the ordinary affairs of life. For we shall find on examination that the arguments for the verity of the Christian faith are drawn from a great variety of sources, perfectly independent of each other. These evidences, that is, are not merely cumulative, but they are consilient. These evidences do not, so to speak, lie on the top of each other, and press independently by their respective weights, but, proceeding from a variety of independent and even from unexpected quarters, they are consilient *on one spot*; convergent, from a variety of independent lights, into one focus. And this sort of evidence is, I apprehend, the most convincing species of testimony that can apply to our limited capacities.

Nevertheless, it must fairly be admitted that some of the presumptions thus raised in favour of our Christian Faith and hopes, may be individually weak. Of themselves, individually and taken alone, they might fail to do more than raise an imperfect expectation; it is in and by their consilience, by their convergence alone, that they amount to a moral conviction. And here I am convinced lies the fertile source of a large portion of the religious difficulties which trouble and harass one man more than another.

For it is easy to consider these presumptions and the sources of them, one at a time and finding one or more of them to be, when taken by itself, not wholly convincing, or even very slightly convincing, each is rejected after each; many are not considered patiently at all, and the consilient character of the whole group of arguments is overlooked and disregarded. It is here especially that the force of our moral dispositions and of our intellectual habits, comes into play; and here an unbounded field lies open for the insidious activity of that strange faculty of self-deception, which more or less besets us all. Passion and Temper here play their part, and convert our wishes into our beliefs. A man need carefully examine the secrets of his own heart, and the disposition which, by the contraction of habits, he has engendered in his own mind, before he rejects as delusive what many of the



best and noblest of mankind have admitted to be the very staple of their dearest hopes. It was partly with this view that I ventured to draw your attention to the contrast between the governing principles which appear to have actuated Butler and Hume at the first outset of their respective literary and moral careers. Considerations of this sort I know to be assuredly dangerous and possibly invidious ; nevertheless they are real and they are practical. Whenever, for instance, we find a person or a writer indulging in sharp and clever writing, on subjects connected with considerations so solemn as those of our religion, we may so far doubt whether his judgment is to be trusted. If he give way to sarcasm or to ridicule, we may be quite sure that it is *not* to be trusted. And here perhaps I may be permitted to make two remarks which seem to bear with much force upon our present subject ; the one is made by Butler himself towards the end of his book ; and for the other, we are indebted to the Philosopher, Coleridge, a man second in many ways only to Butler himself. Butler, in speaking of the converging character of the Christian Evidences, and upon the inadvisability of ordinary conversation on matters which, by their very nature, require a patient and continued attention, thus gravely remarks : " It is obvious how much advantage the nature of this evidence gives to those persons who attack Christianity, and especially in conversation. For it is easy to show, in a short and lively manner, that such and such things are liable to objection, that this thing and that thing is of little weight in itself ; but it is impossible to reply in like manner by exhibiting the united force of the whole argument in one view." Coleridge, on the other hand, feeling how few persons possess the ability and the freedom from prejudice to judge of the whole complex argument as it lies, fearlessly and directly appeals to the force of experience ; and he says, not without reason, that the chief, and the most telling, and the most practical form of the evidences in the Christian religion lies in the spirit of two little words : " Try it." " Try it."

Such, then, is the general scope of Butler's method of arguing throughout his work on the Analogy of Religion to the Course and Constitution of Nature ; and having laid down these general principles, he commences by an enquiry as to what light the natural things around us throw upon the fact of our future existence. Of course my readers will all along bear in mind, that in the first instance no reference whatever is made to the light that streams from Revelation. He truly says that it is our imagination alone which invests the King of Terrors with a gloomy mantle of human apprehension, and the suggestions of this forward and delusive

faculty must be silenced before the voice of reason can be heard in the case. "We live at this moment," he says, "and unless you can show reason why death itself should destroy the living being, whatever that living being may be, you have no reason to presume that anything else will destroy it. Now that living thing often exists in the bright exercise of its powers up to the very moment of the dissolution of the mortal framework with which it has been associated; and, moreover, that mortal frame is in a constant state of flux, and has been more than once wholly changed, while the living being, ourselves, has been left unaltered." The various organs of our bodies are, he observes, no more to us than pieces of machinery; props, levers, and lenses, they form no essential parts of our real selves, and hence he concludes that there is no reason for apprehending that the dissolution of the body is necessarily the destruction of ourselves.

Independently of such considerations he urges that the living being, ourselves, is not a composite entity, but a single unit, not discernible—incapable of division; and hence, he says, it cannot be destroyed, but rather may be set free, by the dissolution of other matter.

Further, he remarks that even if, from the close association which unquestionably exists between ourselves and our corporeal frame, the dissolution of the latter suspends the *active* powers of the former, there is no ground for supposing it so much as suspends, and still less that it destroys, the *reflecting* power after ideas have once been obtained. Thus Butler concludes that the voice of Nature is not wholly mute as to the continuance of our existence through and after death; nay, death may be to us a birth, and the commencement only of a freer and nobler life. And then he argues that this presumption, this probability of an immortality, is sufficient at any rate to answer objections, sufficient to determine our conduct, sufficient to dispose all reasonable persons to listen to the voice of revelation and the Gospel, which latter alone has brought life and immortality really to light.

I know not what the more thoughtful of my readers may say to these arguments of our great philosophical divine, but in all candour I am bound to add a few remarks which may naturally occur to the thinkers of this day, now that our knowledge of Nature has become more enlarged.

In the first place, then, it has been urged that the lesion of certain parts of the brain, and of certain vital nerves, though it does not destroy or suspend the general action of the corporeal system, does certainly either destroy or suspend the powers of consciousness and of accurate reflection.

I admit that this cannot be denied. But in the midst of our

real ignorance as to where the powers of consciousness and of reflection reside, how can I tell whether this lesion of the brain or of vital nerves does not introduce, so long as it lasts, the action of a new force? And how can I be sure that when this new force, arising from the lesion, is removed by the dissolution of the body, the conscious reflecting self may not be set free and recover its liberty? The lesion in question may not be so much the removal of an essential active force, as rather the introduction of a new repressive one. And this, I think, is a sufficient reply to the difficulty suggested.

But I further think that the light of modern knowledge does shed some rays of a more positive and distinctive hope. For we possess a presumptive knowledge of the constitution of matter not possessed by the thinkers of Butler's day. We know tolerably well something of the atomic structure of an elemental vapour, for instance; and this we believe to be the purest and simplest form of matter.

Definite, very definite groups or clusters of indiscernible atoms are associated, we believe, into molecules, the atoms of each molecular group being in a continuous state of intense vibration, and then, independent of this, the molecular groups themselves are subjected to far wider excursions.

If the dimensions of an average human being be taken as a scale to represent the dimensions of a molecule of gas now consuming in a burner, we have reason to believe the average distance of contiguous molecules would be represented by some 300 yards. There is ample room, therefore, and verge enough, for the insertion of this or that substance, this or that ether or essence, call it by any name, between the contiguous molecules of our corporeal frame. So curiously, so wonderfully, so fearfully are we made.

But, again, there seems to be a generic difference, an absolute difference, in kind, between the molecules of living organisms and those of gross brute matter, such as of stone, or of iron, or of gold. Not all the well-tried ingenuity of modern chemists has ever yet been able to produce an organic substance, from other substances which themselves have not been previously endued with life. A living molecule differs then generically from a molecule of brute matter.

And further still, whatever may be the ultimate fate of that ingenious modern hypothesis of Evolution, denied as not proven by some of the very ablest philosophers of the day, one thing is certain, that he who first, from the resources of his own mind, evolved Evolution, he, I say, entertains no doubt that the living *human* self is not the subject of the same law as that which controls or constitutes the living principle in other animals, or in plants. If this be so, then we have

first of all the gross, complicated, highly manufactured thing called inorganic matter; then we have that still brighter and more beautiful thing called a living thing; and lastly, the still more marvellous thing constituting the living *human* self, standing apart from all other known things in this sublunary sphere, in God-like pre-eminence, apart from matter, and apart from animal protoplasmic life, whatever the latter may be. A wondrous creation, methinks, with the breath of the divine around it or among it. Think for a moment of the vast range of its capacities, far beyond the present field of its action, reaching from the Satanic to the angelic, nigh to the divine. Endued with the singular power of introspection, it contemplates itself: it contemplates also what God contemplates, truth in its absoluteness, the properties of space and number. It geometrizes: ὁ Θεὸς γεωμετρεῖ. In its holier phases, and specially when disciplined into humility, it aspires to a fellowship, a communion with the Spirit of the Supreme. It assumes for the model of its character, the character of Christ. Like him it can *endure* the cross, and it can *weep* for the sins and the miseries of others.

And consider for a moment that marvellous power of memory. In this world and in this life, it exists not in a form disassociated from that organ called the brain. Yet the brain is ever changing, ever in a state of flux and slow disintegration; ever renewed upon old renewals. Yet the memory remains still the same. Surely then this power of human memory either is, or arises from something impressed, photographed on the living being itself, on the spiritual molecules themselves set into vibration. If this be true, as I for one suspect it to be an approximation to the truth so far as we have capacity to apprehend it, what a vista for hope or for apprehension is here unfolded. All that we have ever thought, or done, or wished; our hates and our loves; our secret aims never wholly disclosed even to a friend, and half concealed even from ourselves, there they are photographed, indelible, on the vibrating molecules of the human spirits. Can this marvellous being perish with the dissolution of a gross material frame? May it not, will it not start up into a freer and more active vibration when liberated by the birth of death? And if it does—what then? Some of us remember,—I remember it well, myself,—that when the old coinage of years gone by had become incognisable by stress of wear and mutilation, much of it was at first refused by authority as probably of spurious origin. The test of the genuine was at once curious, and easy, and certain. The questionable coin was subjected to heat. If genuine, the old image and superscription started into a renewed and a clear existence, patent to observation, and as if by the touch of magic, *Can* we, my friends—*shall* we, abide the fiery scrutiny?

It is also recorded of Butler that when very nigh to the close of his life, a closeness measured by minutes rather than by hours, the dying Prelate remarked to his friend and chaplain, Dr. Foster, then kneeling at the side of his bed, "that he found it a very awful thing—a very awful thing—to appear before the august Governor of the World." His friend—and Bishop Butler was never without a friend—his friend reminded him of that "Blood which cleanseth from all sin." A pause then seems to have ensued, when the dying Bishop,—Butler, the learned, the modest, the devout, the pure, the earnest, the seeker after truth, with faltering, failing lips replied, "Oh this is comfortable," and with these words the spirit of the Bishop escaped to Him who gave it. Yes—"The blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin." "The Spirit beareth witness with our spirit that we are the sons of God." "Oh death, where then is thy sting?—Oh grave, where is thy victory?"<sup>1</sup>

C. PRITCHARD.

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## ART. II.—THE CHURCH IN WALES.

IN the remarks I made on the Welsh Church in the December Number of the CHURCHMAN, I called special attention to the religious revival of last century in the Principality. That revival commenced in the Church of England, but it terminated in a large secession of the Welsh people from her communion. The movement, through the force of circumstances, and under the current of events, had been drifting for years in that direction; but the secession was not finally consummated until the year 1811, when the Calvinistic Methodists set apart a certain number of their lay preachers for the ministration of the Sacraments in the Connexion. By that act they formally separated from the Church of England, and became an independent Christian community. The secession was an event of great moment; it created a new era in the religious history of the Principality, and its results were accompanied with serious consequences to the Church in Wales. On account of its importance it demands special attention, and it is my purpose in this Paper to investigate the circumstances under which it occurred.

I would observe, in the first place, that I consider that the revival was the work of the Spirit of God. I believe that the awakening which under its influence moved the masses was the breath of life which quickened souls that were dead in trespasses

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<sup>1</sup> A Lecture recently delivered in St. Mary's in connection with the Oxford Branch of the Christian Evidence Society.

and sins. The means by which it was produced and the effects which followed it lead to this conclusion. The means that produced it was "the preaching of the Cross," which is a stumbling-block to the Jew and foolishness to the Greek, but the power of God unto salvation to them that believe; and this preaching was never more conspicuous nor more appreciated than at the rise and progress of Methodism in Wales. Among the early Methodists their preachers "knew nothing save Jesus Christ and Him crucified." There are ample proofs of this in their writings which are still extant, and in the traditions which have been handed down among the people. And where Christ is preached, there the Spirit of God may be expected to work; the ministration of righteousness—the righteousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all that believe—is the ministration of the Spirit. So it was when men of Cyrene and Cyprus came to Antioch preaching the Lord Jesus; the hand of the Lord was with them, and a great number believed and turned unto the Lord, and the grace of God was visibly seen in its effects among them; and so it was in Wales when the early Methodists along its valleys and among its hills—in its towns and through its villages—lifted up an ensign unto the people, and said unto them in accents that could not be mistaken—"Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world," and to it the people sought. I thus believe that the awakening was the genuine work of the Spirit, because it proceeded from a genuine source—the preaching of the Cross. Then, again, the effects which the revival produced lead to the same conclusion; they indicate its origin, that it came from God. There was vitality and growth in the work; it advanced and progressed, and in its progress it gained strength, it grew and was multiplied; it had free course and was glorified. It did not degenerate into wild enthusiasm and fanatical extravagances, but settled down into sober-minded and practical piety; the truth as it is in Jesus was maintained and practised, and the fruit was true godliness. The converts at first were few and far between; they met together in their different localities for prayer and praise and mutual instruction; they were earnest and devout, and fervent in spirit; they bore in their lives marks of their conversion to God; it can be well said of them that they were the epistles of Christ, known and read of all men, written not with ink but with the Spirit of the living God; it could be seen that the law of God was written on the tables of their hearts, and that they served Him in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter. They adorned by their holy conversation the doctrine which they professed; they abstained from sin and wickedness, and renounced worldly habits and profane customs; they observed and honoured the Lord's Day and the ordinances of religion; they

read and studied the Holy Scriptures, and inwardly digested their truths; they gave themselves to prayer; they set up family worship in their houses, and carefully attended to the religious training of their children and their domestics; on stated occasions they had general gatherings at certain centres for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and the celebrants were clergymen of the Church of England; immense crowds attended these gatherings, and some came a distance of fifteen and even twenty miles to join their brethren in the commemoration of the death of their Lord. The Sabbaths on which these gatherings occurred were "high days;" the people met and returned with the voice of joy and praise as a multitude that kept holy day; all were satisfied with the blessings they had received, and on their return to their homes they would give vent to their feelings in songs of praises which made the rocks and the valleys and the hills around them resound with the echo; and the theme which thrilled their hearts and kindled their song was ever the same, and it was always new; it never lost its freshness; it was the Lamb who had by his blood redeemed them from all iniquity, and had through his Spirit sealed the forgiveness of sins in their hearts, and had given unto them the hope of eternal life.

Thus, as it seems to me, the effects which the revival produced give ample proofs of its Divine origin; they show that it was the work of God; the tree is known by its fruit; and the fruits of this revival were clusters of grapes, the sight of which makes it clear to the eye that the "noble vine" which bore them was "wholly a right seed."

In the movement Lay-Agency was powerfully at work; it was one of the principal means which advanced and sustained its progress; it was full of life and activity; it had force and vigour which bore down all opposition and carried all before it; it worked in various ways, and its influence was felt in all the religious exercises of the people; but the work in which it chiefly distinguished itself was lay preaching. Among the converts men appeared who spoke and taught publicly in the congregations; they were called, in order to distinguish them from the clergymen who had originated the movement, exhorters, and they were many; they sprang up in all parts of the country, and attended to the spiritual wants of the congregations that had been gathered in their neighbourhoods; they sustained and extended the work in distant localities which the clergymen were able rarely to visit; and the clergymen found them in districts surrounding their homes willing and useful helpers in their work. They were for the most part mechanics and labourers; some few of them were small tradesmen and tenant farmers, and fewer still were petty schoolmasters in country villages. They were men of no learning; very few of them were sufficiently acquainted

with English to enable them to read with profit English authors ; but they were well versed in their Welsh Bible ; they knew much of it by heart, and could quote it with fluency ; they could readily apply passages out of it to the subjects of their discourses ; their work was labour of love ; it was work and no pay ; they received little or nothing from the congregations towards their support, but their hands ministered to their necessities. Their heart was in their work, and they pursued it with diligence and perseverance, and materially contributed to the success of the movement.

Among the exhorters, as they were called, some few arose to the highest eminence as Welsh preachers. I may mention as an instance John Elias, who was born in Carnarvonshire, but resided most of his days in Anglesea. He was a man of low origin, but of great self-culture and refinement ; in diction and action he was a finished orator ; in principle and bearing he was a perfect gentleman ; in his life and conversation he was a genuine Christian ; as a preacher of the Gospel he moved and acted among the people as "a man of God." He descended to the grave and entered into rest June 8, 1841, aged 69 years, "full of honour." Churchmen and Nonconformists strove together in generous rivalry to show their last respect for him, when a procession, extending one mile and a half in length, and computed to consist of ten thousand people, followed, on the day of his funeral, his remains to their resting-place in the churchyard of Llanfaes, near Beaumaris. Another man of kindred spirit, but cast in a different mould, was Ebenezer Morris, native of Cardiganshire, who died in 1825, at the early age of 56 years. He was not, like John Elias, a studied orator, and he did not possess his refinement as a speaker ; but he was born an orator, and his oratorical powers were of the first order ; he had a fine countenance, full of life and fire ; his eyes and his look spoke volumes ; he possessed a ready utterance, and was never at a loss for a word ; he had a voice of great compass and variety, and he had perfect mastery over it ; he could modulate it with the greatest ease, and adapt its tone to the subject he handled. At times his sentiments burst forth like flashes of lightning, which electrified his hearers, and his eloquence rushed on like a mountain torrent which carried all before it ; and he was never more eloquent or powerful than when he descanted on the glory of Christ and the efficacy of His atonement. He wrote little ; there was found hardly a scrip or a scrap of writing in his study after his death, and when this fact transpired, a friend of his made the remark that his sermons were "offshots," and he might have added—but by the remark I must not be understood to depreciate due preparation for the pulpit, but to show the peculiarity of the man and the effects of his preaching—that they were "offshots" that did great execution in the enemy's camp. At the time of his



death he could count his converts, not by hundreds, but by thousands. I have named these two distinguished men, who, as to their character and abilities, would have been an ornament and a blessing to the ministry of any Church, as the most prominent among the lay-preachers who were set apart in 1811 for the ministration of the sacraments in the Connexion—one in North and the other in South Wales. At an Association held at Bala, in the month of June of that year, John Elias and other seven, representing congregations in the six counties of North Wales, were thus qualified, as it was said, for the full work of the ministry; and so were Ebenezer Morris and other twelve, representing congregations in the six counties of South Wales and Monmouthshire, at an Association held in the following month of August, at Landilo-vawr, in Carmarthenshire. The Rev. Thomas Charles, of Bala, was present on both occasions, and took a prominent part in the ceremony; he was the guiding spirit in the transaction; imposition of hands was not used, but the act was done by the vote of the people, which was taken by the lifting up of hands. The event brought matters to a crisis; it completed the separation of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists from the Church of England; it cut asunder the last tie which attached them to the Church of their fathers.

The reason which led them to take this grave step is given in a pamphlet, which they published in 1823, containing the history, constitution, rules of discipline, and confession of faith of the Connexion as agreed upon at Associations held that year at Aberystwith and Bala. In it I find the following passage which I translate from Welsh to English:—

“Because the number of the clergymen of the Established Church discharging their ministry in our midst is not equal to the increase of the Body and the extent of the work, and in consequence the number of the churches to administer the sacraments and the ordinances to the whole Body in its different branches, and because there is great inconvenience to the churches in towns in England, through want of the administration of the holy ordinances, without seeking ministers of other denominations to administer them to them—because of these reasons, and several others, we see it proper and necessary to set apart a proper number of exhorters in the different counties, to assist the clergymen who at present minister in the Body, in the administration of the ordinances.”

In this extract we see the circumstances in which the Connexion, or, as they called themselves, the Body, was placed, and the ground on which it stood when the step was taken. We see that it was taken as a matter of necessity and expediency; little attention was paid to the principle which it involved or the ulterior consequences to which it naturally led. A necessity had indeed arisen; I readily admit this; no one can deny it; and a remedy was required.

The clergymen who administered the sacraments in the Connexion had become fewer in number. Rowlands himself had been dead for twenty years, and his two earliest and most prominent fellow-helpers—Williams, of Pantycelyn, the poet, and Peter Williams, the commentator<sup>1</sup>—were also dead, and death had made other gaps in their ranks, and those gaps were not filled up or likely to be filled up by fresh recruits from the clergy of the Church of England. The celebrations of the Lord's Supper at the different centres took place after long intervals, and the distance some had to come to attend them was very great, and in the meantime the congregations had increased, and were multiplied; a difficulty had thus arisen, and it became necessary to provide a remedy. The remedy adopted, however, was of doubtful expediency; while it attempted to remove one evil it created other, and, as some thought, greater evils; it cut the knot instead of loosing it. Its adoption was not unanimous in the Connexion; far from it; many strenuously opposed it, and feelings ran very high in the discussions which it excited at Associations and other gatherings; unpleasant, if not unseemly, scenes often occurred. One of its most determined opponents was the Rev. David Jones, Rector of Llangan, or as he was known among the people, "the Evangelist of Llangan." He had thrown his lot early among the Methodists, and he was now an old man; his hoary head, which in his case had been found in the way of righteousness, was his crown of glory. He had run his race faithfully; he had maintained a consistent course; he was still "fat and flourishing, bringing forth fruit in his old age;" his doctrine still dropped as the rain, and distilled as the dew, as the small rain on the tender herb, or as the showers upon the grass. He was noted as an Evangelist, and the Gospel in his mouth retained its sweet savour until his tongue became silent in the grave; he was loved and respected, honoured and revered among his brethren.

When the question of ordaining lay-preachers to meet the wants of the Connexion was broached, he assumed an attitude of determined opposition to it, and he maintained that attitude to the day of his death. There can be no doubt that his convictions on the subject were very deep, and that he looked upon it with the

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Peter Williams, strange to say, was excommunicated from the Connexion a few years before his death, after he had preached with the Methodists from forty to fifty years, on the charge of Sabellianism, broached in his exposition of the first chapter of St. John's Gospel. His commentary was the first that appeared on the Welsh Bible; it consisted of notes, containing general reflections at the close of each chapter; it became deservedly popular. Three editions came out in the author's lifetime, numbering eighteen thousand copies. He also wrote a laborious concordance of the Welsh Bible, and it was the first that appeared in the Welsh language.

gravest concern. When at a meeting of the Association at Langeitho, of which he was chairman, a proposition was made that a day of prayer and fasting should be set apart to ask the Lord for guidance in the matter, he exclaimed, "Brethren, do not pray me out of the world!" It is said that on his way to Langeitho on this occasion he called on his friend Mr. Griffiths, Vicar of Nevern, who himself had preached for many years among the Methodists, and who as firmly opposed the innovation as Mr. Jones. He belonged to the second generation of preachers, and was not behind any of them as a public speaker. Knowing that the question was to be discussed at Langeitho, he advised his aged friend not to proceed on his journey, saying that further opposition was useless, but Mr. Jones replied that he would go, and that perhaps the advocates of the movement would hearken to the voice of an old man. He did go, and did speak, but the voice of the old man was not heeded; he called on Mr. Griffiths on his return, and said, "They have broken my heart!" When he reached home he was confined to his bed, and died within a fortnight. When a man of deep piety and sound judgment like Mr. Jones, who had been a burning and a shining light among the Methodists for half a century, opposed the movement, supported as he was by men of the same stamp and spirit as himself, we can now well contend, without incurring the charge of bigotry or narrow-mindedness, that the expediency adopted to meet the difficulty that had arisen was a doubtful remedy.

I have no documents before me which explain the special ground on which Mr. Jones and others maintained their opposition to the movement; but there can be little doubt that the main reason which influenced their action in the matter was their reluctance to become seceders from the communion of the Church of England.

At one of the monthly meetings in Pembrokeshire, when a layman from St. David's broached the question, Mr. Griffiths, of Nevern, said—"You want to become Dissenters." In this remark I see the pith of the matter. Mr. Jones, of Langan, Mr. Griffiths, of Nevern, and others who sided with them, were unwilling to become Dissenters; they were determined to live and to die in communion with the Church of England. They believed her to be a true branch of the Holy Catholic Church; they knew her to be a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ—a repository of the oracles of God. If the food found in her pulpits was dry and insipid, they would say with Wesley that "her desks supplied bread of the finest of the wheat;" although their fathers and themselves had been harshly and cruelly treated by those who sat in the uppermost seats in the Church, yet they drew a distinction between the Church and her unwise and worldly rulers; they knew she had the seed of truth, and they expected the

blessing of God yet to rest upon her, and they were not disappointed. It was so; the history of the Church in Wales within the last fifty years indicates great revival of religion within her pale. God has arisen, and has had mercy upon her. He has taken pleasure in her stones, and has favoured her dust; He has raised up from among her own children those who have built her old waste places, and have raised up the foundations of many generations. They can well be called the repairers of the breach and the restorers of paths to dwell in; the wilderness and the solitary places have been glad for them, and the desert in many a parish church through the Principality has blossomed as the rose. For all this we are thankful, but we expect more; we long to see things yet greater than these.

And, again, the opponents of the separation, as we have seen, adhered to the Church. They would say—Forsake her not, for there is a blessing in her. But this is not all; I can say more, and go a step further. I can venture to affirm that even its advocates raised no objections to her which they advanced in justification of their action. In the authorized account which they give of the transaction, they say nothing against the doctrine of the Church or her form of Church government, they prefer no complaints against her Liturgy as to its substance or its form, and they utter not even a whisper against her union with the State as the Established Church of the country. The theory of separation of Church and State is a later growth; it was unknown to them, but it runs riot among their descendants of the day. It is an exotic plant in their midst, foreign to the principles and consciences of the first, and the second, and the third generation of Calvinistic Methodists. Those of the first generation—and they were the purest—were at one with the great Puritan divines of the seventeenth century on the question, and they as strenuously as Hooker and his school maintained the theory of the establishment of religion by civil Governments on Evangelical and Protestant principles. On the points which I here enumerate, the advocates of the separation are silent, but there is one point on which they have spoken—they complain of the lack of discipline in the Church; they affirm that it wounded the conscience of their brethren to receive the elements at the Lord's Supper from the hands of ministers who in their opinion had not been awakened and converted to God; and to meet at the communion rails of their parish churches men and women who perchance had been excommunicated for immorality from their own societies. Evil livers in all Churches are roots of bitterness, and should not be endured; they are offences and stumbling-blocks to the children of God, and by careful discipline they should be removed; but when the Methodists advanced the immorality that prevailed in the Church as ground of their

separation from her communion on the plea that they were founding a community that would be purged from the plague of moral corruption, they were, in my opinion, weaving a rope of sand; they were indulging in pleasant ideas indeed, but they were ideas which the subsequent history of their own communion shows that they never realized. As a matter of fact it can be safely said that at the present day the communicants of the Church of England will bear comparison on points of morality and virtue with those of the Calvinistic body; the original plea of separation on this head has disappeared. And thus I cannot help thinking, that if the advice of "the Evangelist" of Llangan had been taken, a wiser policy would have been pursued, and better results on the permanent interest of religion in the Principality would have been produced.

Things were looking up in the Church; she was awakening to her duties and her responsibilities. Good Bishop Burgess had been appointed to the See of St. David's, and his diocese covered the whole of South Wales, except a portion of Glamorganshire, and he was a man of thorough Christian spirit. A bishop more devoted to his work never wore a mitre; and the work which more specially distinguished his episcopacy in South Wales was the intellectual and moral improvement of the clergy. To this object he applied his entire energies, and his efforts resulted in the erection of St. David's College, Lampeter. He laboured to remove the scandal of which the Methodists complained, and his influence for good was felt throughout the parishes of his vast diocese. And if the Methodists had continued to communicate in their parish churches, instead of isolating themselves into separate religious communities, the improvement which was then appearing in the Church would have been expedited and extended; the leaven of true religion and virtue would have more thoroughly permeated the masses of the people; the bigotry and party zeal, the strife and envy, which contending sects produce would not have been engendered; and the spirit of "truth, unity, and concord" would have more universally prevailed among Christian people throughout the country. And in this they had the example of Howel Harries, whose memory they held in the highest esteem, before their eyes. He preached daily to his people at Trevecca, and gave them religious instruction, but he took them to the parish church for communion; and they attended the services of the Church on Sundays, and took special interest in them. A place was allotted them in the gallery, where they formed a choir for the service. This practice might have been followed through the country with better and happier results than those which the separation produced. Religion and virtue would have been equally spread among the people, and the spirit of disunion and discord would have been avoided.

Then, again, an important principle was involved in the act of separation, and I cannot help thinking that that aspect of the question was not sufficiently weighed and considered. The Methodists separated from a Church the doctrines of which they did not repudiate. Separation in such a case amounted to schism; it cannot be justified on the authority of our Lord and His Apostles; it is contrary to that spirit of unity and forbearance which is so strongly and frequently enforced on the attention of Christian believers in the New Testament. There is no parallel between the separation of the Methodists from the Church of England, and the separation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome at the Reformation. The Church of England repudiated the doctrinal corruptions of the Church of Rome, and entered her protests against them in her Articles of Faith. The Methodists did not repudiate the doctrines of the Church of England, or utter a whisper against her tenets in their "Confession of Faith." The Church of England can stand up, take her Articles in her hand, and tell the Church of Rome—"Renounce the doctrines against which I protest in these Articles, and the middle wall of partition between us will be broken down"; but the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales cannot stand on the same ground and use the same language to the Church of England. They cannot take their "Confession of Faith" in their hands, and say to the Church—"Renounce the doctrinal errors against which we here protest, and the cause of our secession will disappear." In their "Confession of Faith" there is no protest; the Church, on the contrary, can ask them to look into her Articles, and to their own "Confession of Faith," and to compare them, and then say, "We are one—one in faith and the hope of our calling; we build on the same rock, and we are refreshed with the same breezes; we believe in the same Saviour, and we are renewed by the same Spirit; we sail in the same direction, and we seek the same country." The Calvinistic Methodists, at the time of the separation, were one with the Church as to the fundamentals of religion, and it would have been a blessing to the country if their motto had been—"Unity, forbearance, and strength," and not "Schism, strife, and weakness."

J. POWELL JONES.

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ART. III.—A GLIMPSE AT ANCIENT CHALDÆAN  
LIFE.

1. *La Magie chez les Chaldéens.* Par FRANÇOIS LENORMANT.  
Paris: 1874.
2. *La Divination et la Science des Présages chez les Chaldéens.* Par  
FRANÇOIS LENORMANT. Paris: 1875.
3. *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient.* Par S. MASPERO.  
Paris: 1876.

**D**ISTINGUISHED as this age has been for the revelations of ancient history and national life which have marked it, in no direction has this been more striking than in the resurrection of ancient ages in the region of the Euphrates and the Tigris. Though the oldest historical country in the world, the recovery of its literature and monuments from the ruins of Babylon and Nineveh has enabled us to restore the busy life of its swarming population with as surprising if not as minute an exactness of detail as has so long charmed us in the case of the ancient dwellers in the valley of the Nile.

The most ancient inscriptions and relics that have reached our times show that two distinct elements of population were mingled in the towns and villages of Chaldæa and Babylonia. To these the names have respectively been given of the Soumirs, or people of Sennaar or Shinar, and the Accadians, a race of a different stock. The bulk of the Accadians lived in the southern provinces, next the Persian Gulf—that is, in Chaldæa, properly so called; and, indeed, that district bears the name of Accad in the cuneiform inscriptions. The bulk of the Soumirs, on the contrary, settled north of this, in Babylonia, or as Scripture calls it, the land of Shinar, a name of which Soumir is only a phonetic variation. The two peoples were, however, at no age of which we have any records, absolutely distinct in their geographical limits: from the first we see them mingled with each other, over the whole country from Assyria to the ocean, though retaining their distinctive languages and genius.

The earlier history of these two races is veiled in obscurity, but the peculiarities of their respective languages, religions, and customs, with the notices of the classics and the evidence of local names, enable us to trace one of the most curious and interesting chapters of the primitive movements of mankind.

The Accadians, it is found, were of a very different family of mankind from the Soumirs, for their language, as still largely preserved in the inscriptions of Nineveh, proves them to have

belonged to what is known as the Turanian or Mongol stock, to which, in our days, the Finns, Lapps, Hungarians, Turks, and Basques of Spain belong, in Europe, while the Tartar nations of Asia, the Turkomans, the Siberian tribes, to the shores of the Arctic Ocean, the Chinese and the Japanese are its Asiatic representatives; the Indians of the New World also apparently belonging to it. Among the ancients the whole race were known as Scythians—"the most ancient of men"—and a tradition existed that as such it had for many centuries before the dawn of history been in possession of all Asia.<sup>1</sup>

A branch of this great race had wandered in pre-historic times to the plains of Mesopotamia, bringing with them the germs of a civilisation which is not readily associated with our ideas of the Turanian races. Their earliest home seems to have been in the lofty regions north of the Hindoo Koosh, and so tenaciously did the recollection of their highland birth-place cling to their hearts that even on the rich flats of the Euphrates and Tigris they still called themselves "Accadians," or Mountaineers, and so fondly cherished their reverence for mountain heights as the places of worship most pleasing to the gods, that they essayed all over their new country to imitate the cloudy peaks of their early fatherland by gigantic temple towers, with tops rising to the heavens.

The physical appearance of this primitive race may perhaps be gathered from the general resemblance, amidst variation in details, amongst all the Turanian races of the present day, from the marshes of Finland to the banks of the Amour. It seems as if it had been the first branch of the human family that separated from the common home of the earliest men, and thus, by its premature isolation, preserved a distinct physiognomy.<sup>2</sup> Yet it nevertheless varies so much that, while some tribes have all the characteristics of white races, others pass imperceptibly into the yellow-skinned; so that, on the one hand, we have the Hungarians, perhaps the handsomest people of Europe, belonging to it; and, on the other, the Chinese. To which of all these the ancient Accadians bore most resemblance might seem a question impossible to settle; but the study of ancient languages and literature, now pursued with so much intelligence, has strangely aided the solution, by showing that the Accadians bore a specially close relation in their language, religion, and superstitions, to the Ougro-Finnish branch of the Turanian stock, which is now represented in Europe by the Finns, the Lapps, and the Hungarians. Even this identification, however, leaves a wide field for conjecture respecting them, for, if it is not to be forgotten

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<sup>1</sup> Justin. II. c. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Lenormant's "*Histoire Ancienne*," i. 64.



that while the Ougro race of Tartars gave us the word Ogre, from their hideousness, the modern Finns and Hungarians stand a splendid comparison for good looks with any other branch of the human family.

From their first arrival on the banks of the lower Euphrates, the Accadians formed a nation, and could boast of the knowledge of writing, of the principal industries of civilisation, of a fixed body of laws, and of a fully-developed religious system. Their writing, indeed, was yet in an early stage, for it still sought to present by an image each object it wished to express, though these pictures had already degenerated into rude hieroglyphics which were little better than arbitrary signs. Thus the idea of God had been originally embodied in the representation of a star with eight rays, and that of a king by the figure of a bee; but the star had gradually passed into a cross of wedge or arrow-shaped characters, and the bee had come to be nothing more than the rudest imitations of the insect by the same wedges or arrows. Of these, however, the cuneiform writing of Babylon and Assyria was only a further development.

Among these hieroglyphics we find special signs to indicate the precious and commoner metals, which must have been known to the Accadians before they left their distant mountain home, where minerals and metals of various kinds crop out to the very surface, and must have early developed the crafts of the miner, the metal worker, and the jeweller. The oldest tombs in the country contain objects in gold and copper; knives, hatchets, sickles, bracelets, and earrings.<sup>1</sup> Metal, however, seems to have as yet been scarce. Iron, unknown in the very earliest tombs, occurs sparingly in somewhat later ones, but there is no silver, zinc, or platinum. They could, however, make bronze from copper and tin, and they used lead for jars and pipes. But bronze was the ordinary metal. The richer fair ones of Accadia might boast of golden earrings of not inelegant pattern, and of golden beads and other ornaments; but most of their sex had to content themselves with bangles of bronze, and it was bronze of which the household bowls, the bolts for tessellating marble pavements, the rings for ornamenting walls, the weapons of the soldier, the implements of the husbandman, the hooks of the fisher, the chains and nails of every-day use, and the toe and finger rings, and the armlets and bracelets, were made. Strange to say, along with these relics occur stone implements of many kinds, exactly similar to those found in ancient caves and barrows, and regarded as indicating the remote antiquity of our race—a deduction entirely discredited by their use along with the

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<sup>1</sup> Rawlinson's "Two Great Monarchies," i. 120.

metals in the case of the Accadians, which is only one of many similar instances of the same fact.

Of the laws of the Accadians we know little, and space forbids more than the notice of their established recognition and force. Their religious ideas are of more direct interest, for they formed the groundwork of those amidst which Abraham in later times grew up.

The world, in the conceptions of these early tribes, was like a bowl reversed, the convex representing the expanse of land and sea; the hollow concave, the abyss in which dwelt darkness and the dead. Like other ancient races, they fancied their own country the centre of the world. Far beyond the Tigris rose the mountains of the East, which supported the sky and joined earth and heaven. The sky itself was a vast canopy resting on the edges of the earth, outside the great stream of Ocean which flowed round the whole world, and revolving round the Mountain of the East as its central pivot, drawing the stars with it in its course. Between heaven and earth, wandered sun and moon and the five planets, which were all alike thought to be a kind of living creature; and beneath them passed the snows, the winds, the thunder and the rains. The earth rested on the abyss, but the Accadians did not trouble themselves with asking by what that, in its turn, was supported.

This universe was peopled by a crowd of beings of many kinds, for, while mankind and the lower creatures were limited to the narrow bounds of the earth and the lower air, the world, the abyss beneath, the air above, and the upper sky, had vast mysterious populations of their own.

The primeval revelation of the One Living and True God underlies the ancient religion of the Accadians, but it early became so buried under the inventions of idolatry and the spread of a pantheistic view of Nature, that it was practically lost as early as the days of Abraham. As in India and Egypt, the mystery of the Universe became darker and darker the more men sought to understand it by their unaided reason. Life, as identified with motion and force, was attributed to the vast whole, so that God and Nature became identical. All things were part of the great world-soul, though anything like a philosophic expression of the thought belongs to a later age.

As we see it in its full development in later ages, the Chaldean religion rested primarily on this conception, but from this all-pervading Essence countless emanations proceeded, which were recognised and worshipped as divine. That the sign for "God" should have been a star, indicates the turn of their thoughts. Over all the East the mighty heavens shine with a surpassing brightness, and the sun by day rules in all the more southern regions with unclouded and immeasurable glory. To the simple

childlike sons of Nature in such lands nothing was so natural as the worship of the heavenly bodies, when once the knowledge of the true God had been virtually lost.

The highest being in the later Chaldean pantheon was the supreme god, El—a word meaning “the God,” and that by which Jehovah is revealed in the early portions of the Scriptures themselves. The attributes or nature of this supreme existence were, however, too vast and comprehensive to permit of any image or tangible conception of Him being formed, and hence He did not attract the adorations of the people, since the human mind instinctively craves a sensuous rather than a spiritual worship. There is no evidence of any temple having been built to Him in Chaldæa, though Babylon owed to Him its name—Bab-El—the gate or city of El. He was “the One God,” but without any defined personality; a sublime and mysterious conception too vague to excite the religious emotions or to influence the conduct of life. The after-glow of Paradise was early fading into black night.

Under El, or Ilou, the universal and mysterious source of Being, came a triad emanating from him—Anou, who represented primordial chaos; Nouah, the intelligence which quickens all things; and Bel, the creating power which orders them. Next came a second triad, which showed the influence of the heavenly bodies in the religious system of the nation. It consisted of Sin, the Moon-god; Samas, the Sun; and Bin, the god of the air, the winds, the rain, and the thunder. These three were emanations of the first triad as that was an emanation direct from El. But with each member of both triads there was associated, more or less clearly, a female deity, for the gross conceptions of earth were always transferred in idolatry to the gods. Yet it is striking that the great doctrine of the Trinity should have so strange a parallel in the earliest religions of mankind. In India, as among the Accadians, the Supreme Being was represented from the remotest times in the threefold light of a Father, an acting Power, and a divine enforcing Spirit, as if echoes of the eternal truth had lingered in the world for a time after the voice of God had ceased to speak in Eden.

The descending scale of emanations from the higher deities led, next, to the gods of the five planets, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury, which were respectively represented by Adar, Mardouk, Nergal, Istar, and Nebo; but these were only secondary manifestations of the higher gods of the second triad. These twelve great gods formed the nobility of the Accadian heaven, and are constantly mentioned in the inscriptions as the objects of public worship throughout the whole country. Their names almost alone enter into the composition of proper names. Beneath these thrones and princes of the sky,

Babylon, and Assyria after it, acknowledged legions of lesser gods—emanations from those higher in rank, but mostly honoured only by local worship. Every city, town, stream, and hill had its god, and there were special divinities of each district. Nor was the divine hierarchy even yet exhausted, for all the stars were regarded as living beings, possessing more or less of divinity, and linked to all the rest, however faintly, by a mysterious emanation from them.

This full development of the Accadian religious system was not, however, attained as yet in pre-historic ages, for the most ancient times appear to have known only of gods and elementary spirits, good and bad, without any graduation into a settled hierarchy. The mysterious El, reigning in lonely, incomprehensible grandeur, over all, seems to have been wanting in their theology, which was more like that of the Chinese of to-day than anything higher. For that supreme after-gleam of Paradise we are indebted to their Cushite conquerors of Semitic race; but even among them it passed away ere long from the worship or living interest of men at large, to reappear only in the faith of Abraham and become through him the great inheritance of mankind as the doctrine of the One Living and True God.

A great religious revolution, about two thousand years before Christ, marks the transition from the simpler faith of former ages and that of the future, on the banks of the Euphrates. About that time—that is, as nearly as may be, about the time of Abraham—a new dynasty united under its rule the two provinces of Chaldaea and Babylon, and introduced a more elaborate idolatry than had been previously known. Was it to separate him from this that the Father of the Faithful was summoned to set out for a distant land? Had he stayed in Mesopotamia the establishment and universal acceptance of the new heathenism must have corrupted his descendants.

The names of many of the old Accadian gods were the same as prevailed in later ages, but there was as yet no attempt at an associated and graduated hierarchy of divinities. Each deity was adored, with his spouse, in a particular town, which in most cases remained the seat of his chief temple even in after-times. Nature-worship, in which the one great principle of life was regarded as manifesting itself in countless forms, varied in each tribe and locality; some worshipping one special influence, some another, as the gross physical knowledge of so remote an age led them to regard one natural object or class of phenomena as of greater importance than others.

Our knowledge of these primitive times has been greatly increased by the discovery in the ruins of the library of the palace of Nineveh, of a document conveying much information respecting the superstitious ideas then prevailing. It has been pub-

lished by Sir Henry Rawlinson and Mr. Norris, in fac-simile, in their collection of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Asia," and has been translated and made the subject of his curious book on "La Magie chez les Chaldéens," by M. Lenormant, of Paris. It is interesting as disclosing the superstitions which in later ages became the special care of the Magi, a priestly corporation adopted into the later Chaldean religion as a heritage from the past, and forming the various classes of "magicians," "wise men," and "astrologers" mentioned in the book of Daniel.

Accadian Magic rested in the belief of the existence of countless personal spirits existing everywhere, at one time separate, at another confounded with the objects they animated. They produced all the phenomena of Nature, and directed and vivified all existences. They caused good and evil, guided the movements of the heavens, led up the seasons in their order, made the winds blow, the rains fall, caused atmospherical phenomena, beneficent or destructive; gave the earth its fecundity, made the plants germinate and grow, presided at the birth and maintained the life of all things; and, on the other hand, scattered abroad death and disease. The whole universe was full of them—the heaven of the stars, the earth, and the regions over it. All the elements gave them dwelling-places—the air, the fire, the solid earth, and the water. Each object had such spirits of its own. But it is noteworthy that there is no trace in the oldest Accadian religion of a conception of one Supreme God, such as we find in the ancient Aryans, and as prevailed afterwards in Babylon through the influence of the Semitic Cushites. Like the Tartar and Mongolian races of to-day, they seem never to have risen above a mere worship of Nature in its several elements and phenomena. The knowledge of the living God had faded away from among them, and was to be restored, first vaguely and ignorantly, and then with a divine fulness, by the nobler races of Shem.

The Accadians strove to solve the mystery of evil, as was afterwards done in Zoroastrianism, by the simple means of a second principle actively opposed to the good. As there were spirits beneficent by nature, so there were others naturally malignant, and these are spread throughout the universe. The sky, the earth, and the air are full of them, and, in all, they are face to face with the good, and wage deadly war with them, day and night, for ever. The triumph of calamity represents their victory for the time: that of happiness, their temporary defeat. Each heavenly body, each element, each phenomenon, each object, and each living being has an attendant evil spirit as well as a good one. Constant strife thus reigns throughout all Nature, for nothing escapes this unending struggle of good and evil. Yet the Accadians had no higher conception than that of

physical evil. Moral evil is scarcely ever hinted at in the writings that have reached us ; almost the only sin recognised being, apparently, the neglect of the prescribed propitiatory rites, and especially the failure to maintain friendly relations with evil spirits by magical arts, duly performed by recognised magicians. The only resort to which men can betake themselves to escape diseases and calamities is to avail themselves of the incantations of these functionaries, for all diseases and disasters are caused by evil spirits, and these the magicians can drive off or counteract by the mysterious words of their spells, and by their sacred rites and talismans.

This extraordinary system of demonology, as developed by the Babylonians and Assyrians, had a widely-spread influence on antiquity, and attracts at once by its importance in the history of the human mind, and by its inherent singularity. At the head of the countless army of demons were two classes who came more closely than others to a divine rank—the *mas*, or “soldiers,” and “fighters;” the other, the *lammas*, or “giants.” These are the genii of the “Arabian Nights” and of Eastern imagination at large. Under these were the *utuq*, who were demons properly so-called ; but these have, themselves, classes—the *alal*, or “destroyers;” the *gigim*, a word of which the meaning is unknown ; the *telal*, or “warriors;” and the *maskim*, or “spreaders of snares.” Of this awful hierarchy of evil some have far higher power than others, ranging through the universe, and being able to disturb the order of Nature at their will. Thus, in one of the formulas of the magicians which remain, we read of seven evil spirits of the heavens—“seven spirits of fire”—who were the exact counterpart of the seven planetary gods invested with the government of the universe. We know most, however, of the *maskim*, or “spreaders of snares,” whose abode is in the abyss under the earth, and who surpass all other demons in power and terror. Earthquakes were attributed to them, and they wreak their fell will in the heavens and on earth, troubling even the stars and their movements. Coming forth from the Mountains of the Setting Sun, they pass again to their gloomy abode through those of the rising sun ; they are the terror of the solid world, and have “no glory in heaven or on earth.” “The god Fire, who raises himself on high, the great Lord, who extends the supreme power of the god of the sky, who exalts the earth, his possession, his delight,” tries vainly to oppose their ravages. An incantation still remains in which this god addresses himself to a divinity who acts as mediator before the god Ea, thus :—

The god Fire approaches Silik-moulou-khi, and prays :— And he has heard the prayer, in the silence of the night. He has entered into the palace to his father Ea, and has said to him—Father, the god

Fire has come hither and has uttered his prayer to me. Thou who knowest the actions of the Seven (Maskim) tell us where they dwell; open thine ear! Then Ea answered—"My son, the Seven dwell on the earth—they come out of the earth—they go back into the earth—they shake the walls of the abyss of waters."

Ea then gives directions how to overcome these terrible spirits. Among other aids he reveals a supreme magical name before whose power they may be expected to quail, and appoints divine helpers to support the god Fire in his struggle to conquer and chain down the dread adversaries.

Their fell influence on men is described in a conjuration:—

The vastness of their invasion of the earth burns like fire, east, west, north, and south. They fiercely attack the dwellings of men. In the town and in the field they cause all to wither. They oppress the freeman and the slave alike. They rain like hail in the heavens and on the earth.

It seems also as if they were the same, in some aspects, as "the spirits of the winds" breathing the deadly and burning blasts, which cause so much disease and suffering in the East.

The other classes of demons are more directly mixed up with ordinary human affairs, laying incessant snares for man, and causing all kinds of evils to him.

They, "the brood of hell" (say the conjurations), bring trouble above and confusion below. They go from house to house. They glide into the doors like serpents. The barren woman is made barren by them; the child is snatched by them from the knees of its father. They are the voice that cries and pursues after man. . . . They sail land after land. They make the slave raise himself above his proper place; they make the son leave his father's house; they scare off the bird; they drive the nestling away into the wild; they make the ox run off; they make the lamb flee—they are the evil spirits who spread snares.

It is curious to find that these dreadful beings habitually live in waste, abandoned, and savage places, and that it is from these they come to the abodes of men, to torment them. The tablets give a list of demons according to the places they choose for their haunts—the desert, the barren tops of mountains, pestilential marshes, and the ocean waters. The *utuq*, it is said, live in the desert; the *mas* keep on the tops of mountains; the *gigim* wander in solitary places, and the *telal* glide about the streets of towns. But the desert especially is their chosen home. In the Magic texts demons are constantly mentioned who lurk for men in the depths of the wilderness, and the exorcisms prescribed have for their object to drive these adversaries away from these lonely spots, when the traveller is passing through them.

All the maladies of life were attributed to the presence and work of demons in the body of the sufferer, an idea which in the twelfth century before Christ led to a very curious incident in the relations of Egypt with Chaldæa. The conquests of Egypt had then been extended to the west border of Mesopotamia, and the King Rameses XII. had married a daughter of the lord of Bakhten, whom he had met on an Eastern progress. Some years after, when Rameses was in Thebes, a messenger from his father-in-law presented himself, asking the king to send a physician to the queen's sister, in Bakhten, to cure her of an unknown malady and from possession by a demon. A priestly physician was forthwith sent from Egypt, but his art entirely failed, and he had to return to Thebes without curing the princess. Eleven years later another messenger presented himself, saying that a physician would not do; the malady could only be cured, and the demon expelled, by the direct power of one of the gods of Egypt. Forthwith the sacred ark of one of the gods of Thebes was sent back with the envoy, and reached Bakhten after a tedious journey of six months. The demon, at last, on its arrival, was vanquished and fled from the person of the princess, but her father was naturally unwilling to return a deity who had wrought such a miracle. Hence, for three years and six months, the sacred ark was detained in Mesopotamia, but at the end of that time the queen's father had a dream, in which he thought he saw the captive god fly off to Egypt in the form of a golden sparrow-hawk, and he was attacked by an illness at the same time. This seemed a warning to return the ark, and it was immediately sent back to its temple at Thebes.

When a demon had once been chased from the body, the only security against its return lay in the strength of the incantations used to prevent its doing so, and by a good spirit taking its place in the lately possessed. To be the habitation of good spirits was the highest wish of any one.

The Chaldæans believed that all diseases were the work of demons, and hence there were no physicians, strictly so called, either in Babylon or Assyria. Medicine was not a science, so much as a branch of Magic. It employed incantations and exorcisms, with the use of philtres and enchanted drinks, which possibly had in them something really curative. The disease, however, was regarded as a personal being. Thus the Plague and Fever are spoken of as two demons specially distinguished by personal attributes.

"The hateful *idpa*," says a fragment, "affects the head of a man; the evil-working *namtar* affects his life; the *utuq*, his forehead; the evil-working *alal* his lungs; the evil-working *gigim* his bowels; the *telal* his hand."

Besides these malevolent beings, there were others which



terrified by apparitions, and were closely connected with the shades of the dead shut up in the dark dwellings of the gloomy under-land. Of these there were ghosts, spectres, and vampires, the two former terrifying by their appearance only, while the third attacked men. Thus, in the Descent of Istar to the lower world, the goddess appeals to the guardian of its gate to open to her:

“Guardian, open thy gate that I may enter. If thou dost not I will assail and break it down. I will assail its bars. I will break its posts. I will make the dead come out to devour the living. I will give them power over the living.”

This comprises all we know as yet of the old Chaldæan Magic from the tablets, but the progress of decipherment will doubtless reveal much hereafter. What is thus known reveals a reign of miserable superstition. Life must have been a bondage to imaginary terrors, and hardly less so to the endless ceremonial details by which safety from evil spirits was to be secured. Thus an ailment of the head was to be cured by knotting a woman's turban to the right and arranging it smoothly in the form of a band to the left. It was to be divided into fourteen slips, and with these the forehead was to be encircled—and the hands and feet. The patient was then to sit on his bed and be sprinkled with holy water, and thus the ailment would be carried off into the skies like a strong wind, and would sink into the earth like spilt water. The power of numbers also played a great part in this strange pharmacy, but on this subject our information is very slight. But the special and chief power in expelling the demons of disease and misfortune lay in the secret and mysterious supreme name. It alone could stay the *maskim*. This great name, however, remained known to the god Ea alone, for any man who found it out would, by merely doing so, gain a power greater than that of the gods.

CUNNINGHAM GEIKIE.

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#### ART. IV.—CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

##### III.

THERE are two tests by which all great institutions may be tried, viz., principles and results; and it is a happy thing to know that there is no reason to fear the application of either of these tests to the Church Missionary Society. As for results, we have the concurrent testimony of all classes, civilians, military men, clergy, bishops, governors, and governors-general. And as for principles, we may with the utmost confidence challenge the

most searching inquiry ; and whether they are tested by the Scripture or by the Church of England, we have not the least anxiety as to their being found perfectly sound. But, though there are these two tests of every institution, the test of principle is the only one on which we can always rely with reference to Missionary work, for in many of our most favoured Missions there has been a long period of patient waiting before any results have been developed. The principles therefore on which the work of this great Society has been steadily conducted since its foundation in the year 1799 shall be the one subject of the present paper.

And this is the more important because in many minds there is great confusion on the subject. I believe that there are two classes of persons who look coldly on the Society. Some appear to do so more from prejudice than conviction. They have no very definite idea respecting it ; they never read anything of its work ; and they would probably find it exceedingly difficult to write down the reason for their opinion. It is to them what Dr. Fell was to the old rhymester, who said,

The reason why I cannot tell—  
I do not like thee, Dr. Fell.

And thus, without any accurate information, they make up their minds that there is something amiss somewhere ; and so they decide, if not to oppose, at all events to stand aloof.

But there is another large class who really believe that the Society is defective in Churchmanship, and little better than a kind of semi-dissenting institution. Like the former class they would find it exceedingly difficult to give a reason for their opinion, but they have grown up in it, and they think there must be some foundation for it, though they do not exactly know how to describe it.

There is a curious illustration of the prevalence of this distrust in the monthly paper of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for May last. Mr. Hutchinson, one of the secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, applied for a grant of maps for the Society's Schools in Palestine. The grant was liberally given, but the following apologetic clause was added :—"It was also gathered from the report that the teaching given was that of the Church." I should be sorry to imply that the secretary intended by that clause an intentional affront to the Church Missionary Society, but he ought to have known that there was no need of gathering from the report that the teaching in the Church Missionary Schools was the sound, sober, Scriptural teaching of the Church of England.

In the discussion held by the Eclectic Clerical Society referred to in my paper for October, it was resolved that "The Society

should be conducted upon those principles which they believed to be most in accordance with the Gospel of Christ, and the spirit of the reformed Church of England," and to that resolution the long succession of committees and secretaries have ever since steadily adhered. Believing that what are termed Evangelical principles are the principles not of the Bible only, but of the Prayer-book, they have acted not as Christians only, but as Churchmen; and they are not afraid of asking all those who stand aloof from them to study their reports as did the Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in the full conviction that they can gather nothing from them at variance with a loyal, consistent, and honest Churchmanship. Let us endeavour to submit its work to the two tests of doctrine and discipline.

(1.) *Doctrine.*—This is obviously by far the most important, inasmuch as the truth taught is of greater importance than the mode of teaching it. If we want to quench our thirst, it is better to have pure water in an ill-made glass than a poisoned draught in a beautiful work of art. Now, whatever we may think of the glass that holds it, we need never be afraid of subjecting the water supplied by the Church Missionary Society to the severest possible tests. I am aware that in the life of the late Bishop Selwyn it is said of the teaching of those noble men who at the most imminent risk of their lives carried the Gospel with heroic courage to the Cannibals of New Zealand, that "the people had accepted Christianity eagerly and sincerely, but an emotional system without a strict system of teaching had left them without backbone, moral or intellectual." Surely it is a matter most deeply to be regretted that the biographer of Bishop Selwyn should have put forth such a statement respecting one of the most heroic missionary enterprises ever known in Christendom. But as he has thrown down the gauntlet we are prepared to maintain against all comers that this emotional system without backbone is neither more nor less than the old-fashioned teaching of the Church of England as taught in the Scripture, as defined in the Articles, and as embodied in the Liturgy. If by the want of backbone is meant the absence of hierarchical claims, sacerdotal assumptions, and what are sometimes called "high Sacramental doctrines," then we readily admit that there is such a want in the work of the Society. But we must go a step further, and affirm that there is the same want in the Church of England, and higher still, in the Word of God itself. But none of these things form the backbone of either our Mission or our Church. It is the truth of God on which both one and the other must rely for strength. It is the truth of God that is the strength of the Church of England, and the same truth of God that is the strength of the Church Missionary

Society. That great Society is not afraid of the Thirty-nine Articles. It has no desire to omit, to alter, or to explain away, any one of them. It accepts them as they stand, and accepts them all; the sixth as teaching the sufficiency of Scripture as a rule of faith; the ninth, not omitting the words, "quam longissime," as descriptive of original sin; the eleventh as maintaining the great doctrine of justification by faith *only*; the seventeenth as teaching that "the consideration of our Predestination and our election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons;" the twenty-fifth and six following on the two Sacraments, concluding with the statement in the thirty-first, that "the sacrifices of masses in which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." If there is no backbone in those Articles, then I freely admit there is no backbone in the work of the Church Missionary Society, for the principles of the one are the principles of the other, and there can be no question about the fact that the two must rise or fall together. As loyal members of the Church of England we are perfectly satisfied with its definitions of truth. We have no desire to go beyond them, and import from extraneous sources opinions which lie outside the limits of the Church's decisions; nor do we desire to fall short of them, or omit any one of the great truths to teach which the Church has entrusted her Ministers with her ministry; and, least of all, do we desire to employ men who shall say a word, or think a thought, at variance with that blessed Gospel to which since the days of the Reformation the Church of England has been so true, so faithful, and so unwavering a witness.

(2.) *Order and Discipline.*—While maintaining the fidelity of the Society to the doctrine of the Church of England, there is still room for enquiry whether it has been equally true to its discipline and order. In the discussion of this subject we fully admit that in foreign missions it is frequently altogether impossible to conduct Church work as we conduct it at home.

For example, in many cases it is utterly impossible to carry out our parochial system. Our parishes at home were created by ~~state~~ arrangement in order to secure religious teaching for the whole of our population, and when the whole population consists of one race speaking one language and living under the same circumstances, we are only too glad to reproduce it in our Mission Stations, as has been done in Sierra Leone. But when there are different races speaking different languages, any attempt at ecclesiastical fusion is certain to end in failure as it has done in Wales and Ireland, and as it did in the early days of Bishop Selwyn. There are many men who are invaluable

amongst the English, but who are perfectly useless in Missionary work amongst the natives ; and so, on the other side, the great body of the native clergymen (and our great object is to raise up a native ministry) are altogether unfitted to minister in English to an English population. It is utterly impossible therefore to reproduce in such cases the English arrangement of parishes, and so long as God keeps the races distinct, there must be distinct organisations. But such adaptation to local circumstances involves no departure from the principles of consistent Churchmanship, and those principles have been steadily maintained throughout the eighty years of the Society's history.

It was the sound Churchmanship of the early Evangelical fathers that originally led to its foundation. If they had not been sound Churchmen, they would have saved themselves a vast amount of trouble by simply joining the London Missionary Society which had been established in the year 1795, on the basis of a union of all denominations. Towards that Society there was not the least hostility, but, on the contrary, so friendly a disposition that on hearing of the capture of the ship "Duff," the property of the London Missionary Society, the various members of the New Committee made a subscription amongst themselves, and on the 5th August, 1799, transmitted the sum of a hundred guineas to the treasurer of that Society. But, though thus friendly, they could not be satisfied to act themselves except as Churchmen, and therefore it was that they formed a distinct organization.<sup>1</sup>

So again when the original Committee laid their plans before the Archbishops and Bishops, and then for thirteen months awaited their decision, they proved at the outset of their work their loyal deference to ecclesiastical authority.

The same principles have been steadily maintained throughout their missions, but I shall not have space to trace it except in India, New Zealand, and Ceylon.

*India.*—There are at the present time as many as at least twenty-four different Missionary Institutions at work in India, but few of them are aware of the deep debt of gratitude which they owe to the Church Missionary Society as the principal instrument by which it pleased God to open the way for their efforts. It was not till the year 1813, that the right to carry on

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<sup>1</sup> The incident may serve to illustrate the spirit that has characterized the whole of the subsequent conduct of the Society. It has always cultivated a friendly spirit of brotherly co-operation with all those who have been engaged in the same blessed work as itself, whether they were foreign Protestants, Nonconformists at home, or fellow members of their own Church, but it has at the same time held quietly on its own way, adhering consistently to its own principles, and carrying on its work as Church work within the limits of the Church's lines.

their labours within the British Dominions in India was secured to Missionaries by Parliament.<sup>1</sup>

As time advanced there were some devotedly Christian men in high office in India, through whose personal influence there was in some cases a practical relaxation of the exclusive regulations of the Company. But the system remained unchanged, and against this system Wilberforce carried on a noble struggle in the House of Commons. As the charter of the Company was to expire, and would require renewal, in the year 1813, the Church Missionary Committee called a special meeting of the Society on the 24th April, 1812, in order to pass resolutions, and to endeavour to arouse the country, on the subject. The meeting was enthusiastic, and the struggle began in earnest. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, at the request of the Committee, wrote a powerful treatise on the subject of Christianity in India. The Committee sent copies of it to about 800 members of both Houses of Parliament, and in other ways the press was employed in awakening the public to the spiritual interests of our Indian Empire. Petitions were sent to Parliament from different parts of the country; and a deputation had several conferences with his Majesty's ministers on the subject, till at length on the 22nd June, 1813, Lord Castlereagh introduced the subject in the House of Commons. Wilberforce made one of his most brilliant speeches, and carried the whole house before him; so that when the division was taken there was a majority of more than two to one in favour of the Bill, the terms of which almost exactly agreed with the resolutions proposed at the special meeting of the Church Missionary Society.

Closely connected with that great struggle for Christian liberty there was another effort made by the Committee, which is much less generally known, but which is of great importance in its bearing on the principles of the Society, I mean their effort for the establishment of Episcopacy in India. At that time very little had been done for the extension of Episcopacy in our Colonial Empire. Only two colonial bishoprics had been founded, Nova Scotia in 1787, and Quebec in 1793. People had not then learned how much may be accomplished if only men are prepared to make the attempt in the name of the Lord. Thus in India there were thirty-five chaplains, but no bishop. Dr. Buchanan and the Committee, foreseeing the great increase

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<sup>1</sup> Thus, Mr. Carey not being allowed to sail for India in any of the Company's ships, was obliged to take a passage in a Danish vessel; and, when in India, to be first registered as an indigo planter; and ultimately compelled to take refuge in the Danish settlement of Serampore. So Judson was first driven from Calcutta, then forbidden to land at Madras, and at last literally hunted to Burmah as the only sphere where he could carry on his labours.

in the number of clergy that was likely to take place in consequence of the new clause in the charter, urged on the Government the importance of establishing Bishoprics for Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Ceylon. It is stated by Professor Watkins that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge "was found joining with others in the attempt to establish Episcopacy in India." I do not know what part they took, but I can easily understand how thankful the Church Missionary Society Committee must have been for so influential an ally. But they were not content with India only. Dr. Buchanan's name is very little known now. He laboured, and others have entered into his labours, but he was the man who boldly struck out the idea of a vigorous extension of the Episcopate. His proposal was that there should be Bishops for the West Indies, Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Ceylon and Java, South Africa, and New South Wales. He also recommended Archdeacons for Java, Mauritius, West Africa, and Malta; and he urged the importance of such an extension of Episcopal superintendence, "in order to ordain natives on the spot; to dispense the ordinance of confirmation; to direct the labours of missionaries; to form and regulate the growing church; and to preserve as much as may be the unity of religion."

The greater part of Dr. Buchanan's scheme remained in abeyance till it was taken up by the powerful hand of Bishop Blomfield in the year 1841. But the Bishopric of Calcutta was founded at once, and in the month of April, 1814, it was announced by Mr. Macaulay, then the editor of the *Christian Observer*, "The Rev. Archdeacon Middleton has been appointed the first Bishop of India. May his appointment prove a source of blessing to the millions of Hindostan!"

*New Zealand.*—There are few missions more abounding in romantic interest than that in New Zealand, and few respecting which there are greater misconceptions. The fine, noble, enterprising character of Bishop Selwyn has won such enthusiastic admiration that in many eyes every one else is thrown into the shade, and he is constantly represented as the one prominent figure in the New Zealand mission. When he visited America the whole Synod of the Episcopal Church rose on his entering their hall, and the chairman received him as the Apostle of New Zealand. So I remember well a conversation with an eminent Member of Parliament who was filling at the time a high position in Her Majesty's Government, in which he expressed his amazement at the marvellous success of the Bishop, for that he had actually administered the Lord's Supper to more than 400 converts on the first Sunday after his arrival. It is almost impossible to imagine how such a person could have supposed that these 400 converts had been converted, baptised, confirmed, and

received as communicants, in the inside of a single week. But that sentiment of his was but a specimen of the profound ignorance of even intelligent men respecting the hard and life-sacrificing work that had been carried on for twenty-seven years before Bishop Selwyn set his foot on the island. The real Apostle of New Zealand was Samuel Marsden; the real first resident missionaries were John King and William Hall, two devoted laymen; and the real first landing of the messenger of the Cross was, not when Bishop Selwyn received an enthusiastic welcome from a large body of devoted missionaries surrounded by hundreds of convert communicants, but when these brave men stepped out of their boat on the Island, where the South Sea whalers were afraid to touch even for water, and, surrounded by savage cannibals, lay down under a spreading tree for their night's rest, and there slept peacefully, for they knew that God was with them. These men were the real Apostles of New Zealand, and they were the real founders of the mission.

But that is not the immediate subject of this Paper, the object of which is to exhibit the principles on which the mission was conducted. Any person reading Mr. Tucker's life of Bishop Selwyn would suppose that there was an unwillingness on the part of the Society to receive a visit from Bishop Broughton, and a desire to prevent the formation of the New Zealand Bishopric. He says :—

The idea of having a resident bishop among them was distasteful to the majority of the Church Missionary clergy, and was loudly condemned by the Secretary at home; but ultimately a grant of £600 per annum was voted by the Society towards the Bishop's income.

As Mr. Tucker gives no names, and no authority, it is impossible either to verify or dispute his statement. But those who were intimate with that great man, the Rev. H. Venn, know perfectly well that, if he was the secretary alluded to, Mr. Tucker is entirely mistaken in his fact. There was certainly nothing of the kind indicated in his Reports of the Society. In that for 1838 it was stated that the Committee had "opened a communication with the Bishop of Australia with a view to arrange for the mission such an increase of the Episcopal functions as the case would admit, and that the Bishop had most willingly complied with their request." This did not look as if the Committee were interposing obstacles to his Lordship's visit. In the Report for 1839 they express the full confidence that the communications then in hand may "lead to such an arrangement as may secure to the mission the advantages of the Episcopal office." In that for 1840 the confident hope is expressed that the Bishop of Australia's visit will lead to the planting of the Church of England in the full integrity of its system, "the im-



portance of which they deeply feel." In that for 1841 they announce the proposal of the New Zealand Bishopric, and add, "The Committee on principle, and from a deep conviction of the necessity of the measure for their missionaries in that island, have undertaken to aid largely in providing the endowment." And in that for 1842 it is said :—

The necessity for Episcopal superintendence has been long felt both by the missionaries and the Committee in the advanced state of the Mission. The Committee can now report that New Zealand has been erected into an Episcopal See, and that the full benefit of an Ecclesiastical Constitution has thus been provided for the infant Church of those Islands.

I am aware that these extracts may seem dull to some of the readers of *THE CHURCHMAN*, but they are important as showing the extreme ignorance of the facts that prevails even amongst those who ought to be acquainted with them.

If the biographer of Bishop Selwyn had only taken the trouble to examine the documents of the Society, he never could have written as he has done in his memoir. The real fact was that the time had come for the widespread extension of the native ministry. There were many congregations throughout the Island for which clergymen were urgently required, and many New Zealanders, whom the missionaries considered well qualified for the ministry, so that the urgent need of a Bishop was deeply felt by all parties. I cannot deny that a bitter disappointment was felt by the line adopted by Bishop Selwyn. He arrived in his new diocese full of zeal and self-denying energy, and he was thankfully welcomed by the whole missionary staff. But, as Mr. Tucker informs us, he went out with "his diagram complete," a diagram, formed not in New Zealand, but at Eton; not from experience, but theory. The result was that he made the fatal mistake of hoping to fuse the races, and of deciding to ordain no natives till they had passed through his new college, and were qualified by a knowledge of either Greek or Hebrew to minister amongst the English settlers. The result was inexpressibly disastrous, for unhappily no less than nine years were permitted to pass before a single native was ordained. The scattered congregations were thus left through sheer necessity to the care of catechists, and therefore without the habitual enjoyment of the Sacraments. To what extent the dire calamities that subsequently befel the promising Church in the outbreak of the "Hau-hau" superstition were the consequence of that fatal mistake of the inexperienced Bishop, God only knows.

But, notwithstanding this bitter disappointment, the relationship between the Bishop and the Society was always of a friendly character. He entertained the highest theories of Episcopal pre-

rogative, but he was true to the Church of England, and they were so thoroughly sound in their Church principles, that through the twenty-five years of his bishopric there was no collision on ecclesiastical matters. Many of the missionaries were amongst his most beloved and most faithful friends; two of them were raised to the Episcopal office; and it is most satisfactory to the friends of the Church Missionary Society to know that the principles which the Committee had advocated from the beginning respecting the extension of the native Church, were adopted before the close of his career, so that his last act in New Zealand was to receive an address from the Synod in which it was said, "With respect to the Native Church, a Maori diocese has been constituted, and Maori Synods have been held, seventeen native clergy have ministered, or do minister faithfully and loyally in different parts of the country." That Maori diocese was founded through the action of the Church Missionary Society and is to this day chiefly maintained by it. Its first Bishop was the venerable Williams, one of the leading missionaries of the Society; and the whole transaction may serve to show how well men may act together even though they do not always see alike, and how remarkably the consistent maintenance of sound principles is sure in the long run to bring them to the front.

*Ceylon.*—I trust that through the wise intervention of the Archbishop of Canterbury the day may come, and that before very long, when there will be a similar result at Ceylon. Nor am I in the least afraid that when his Grace investigates the conduct of either the Missionaries or the Committee he will find anything at variance with a loyal, consistent, and intelligent fidelity to the great principles of the Church of England. It is, in fact, a zeal for these principles that has brought the missionaries into collision with their Bishop. If ever a difficulty arises between a clergyman and his Bishop, it is usually taken for granted that the clergyman alone is to blame, and that the Bishop is compelled in the painful discharge of duty to restrain the clergyman's irregularity. The result is that the majority of those who do not take the trouble to investigate, assume at once that the Bishop is right and the clergyman wrong. But it is just possible that when the case is examined it will be found that the clergyman has been standing steadily on the foundations of his Church, and that the real cause of offence is that he has firmly refused to acquiesce in irregularities, which have been introduced under the sanction of his Bishop. And this, I do not hesitate to say, has been the case in Ceylon. It has been the steady, sound, firm, English Churchmanship of the missionaries that has been the cause of the painful difficulty that has arisen between them and their Bishop.

A single example may be quoted in illustration, and as it is the one which has been made the occasion of the greatest reproach on the Society, it is the best that can be selected. It is also peculiarly adapted to the purpose of this Paper, as it will show the standpoint of the Society with reference to ritual, doctrine, and discipline. I allude to the objection entertained by the missionaries to receiving the Holy Communion in the Cathedral as administered with the usual Cathedral ritual.

*Ritual.*—When invited by the Bishop to attend a voluntary conference the missionaries in a quiet, calm, and most respectful letter requested to be excused attendance at the Lord's Supper in the Cathedral, as there were certain practices usually adopted there, to which they entertained a strong objection. Of these practices, three had been pronounced illegal (*viz.*, the cross on the table, the elevation of the elements, and the mixed chalice), and surely it was no want of loyal fidelity to Church principles that made them unwilling to take a part in that which the Church of England had condemned.

*Doctrine.*—That which ultimately became the turning point of the controversy was the eastward position, and this the Bishop said he could never surrender, because it was "of the highest value as an exponent of doctrine." I respect the Bishop for his conscientious maintenance of what he believed to be the truth. But by so doing he placed the missionaries in a terrible difficulty; for if they had given way they would practically have admitted the doctrine of which the act was declared to be an exponent. I am sure, therefore, that those who love the principles of the Reformation will be thankful to God for the unwavering support with which the Committee upheld them in their objection. Their words were :—

The doctrine of which it is generally supposed to be an exponent, and which may be presumed to be that to which the Bishop refers, is the doctrine of a propitiatory sacrifice by a priest. If this be so, the Committee dare not advise a concession. They must rather maintain that the Bishop has placed the missionaries in a position in which they cannot possibly give way, but rather are bound by their duty to the truth of God, and to their ordination promises, to stand firm in their resistance to that which they believe to be opposed to the teaching of Holy Scripture, and to some of the fundamental principles of the Church of England which are drawn from it."

Surely on reading that passage we may say, "Well done, good and faithful servants."

*Discipline.*—The result of this correspondence has been that the Bishop has refused to license any new missionaries of the Society unless they will first submit to the test of receiving the Lord's Supper in the Cathedral. Against the imposition of such

a test the missionaries and the Committee most firmly protest; and, although three of their number have been refused licenses, and seven young men have been refused ordination, to the most grievous loss and injury of the Mission, they stand out perfectly firm, and as loyal Churchmen decline to submit. The principle involved is of the utmost possible importance. The Church of England requires certain guarantees as to faith and character from all who are admitted to her ministry, and if these guarantees are given no Bishop has a right to impose fresh tests of his own. Imagine for one moment what would become of the Church of England if any Bishop who was opposed to the Church Association were to refuse to license any curate unless he would first receive the Communion at St. Alban's, Holborn; or, if any Bishop who objected to the English Church Union were to license none who would not first receive the Lord's Supper in the evening at St. Mary's, Islington. A Church, if it is to enjoy stability, must be governed by its laws, and not by the arbitrary will of individual Bishops. So that firmly to resist the imposition of a new test of any kind is not only the right but the duty of all those who value the fixed principles and abiding testimony of the Church of England. If an individual Bishop may impose any test he pleases, there is an end of all constitutional discipline. And few who value principles can fail to admire the concluding paragraph of a long letter to the Bishop by the senior missionary. He writes:—

You speak of us as "men whom the Church cannot satisfy." . . . That statement shows how utterly you have misapprehended our position. It is because the Church of England *does* satisfy us that we continue what we have always sought to be, loyal clergy of her communion. . . . because it *does* satisfy us that we declined to be moved from the standpoint which we have hitherto occupied, or to take part in a ritual which, as I have shown, her reformers and divines repudiate.

Such have been the principles of this great Society during the whole of its honourable career. It has been faithful in doctrine, and loyal in Churchmanship. It has been true to the great truths of Scripture, and therefore true also to the exhibition of these truths in the Liturgy and Articles of the Church of England. It has shown no desire to explain away the Articles, and it has been firm in its determination not to Romanize the ritual. It has adhered stedfastly to its own principles of Episcopal Churchmanship, but has always cultivated a friendly relationship with those engaged in the same sacred service, even though they belong to other bodies. It has been ready on every occasion to enter on work amongst the heathen wherever God has opened the door, but it has never intruded on the work of others. Such it has been for the last eighty years, and such, I trust, it

will be to the end of its history ; upheld by the mercy of God ; supported by the people of God ; employed to do the work of God ; encouraged by the blessing of God ; and in all that it does, all at home, and all abroad, guided and accompanied by the Spirit of God.

EDWARD HOARE.

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ART. V.—LIFE OF BISHOP WILBERFORCE.

*Life of the Right Rev. Samuel Wilberforce, D.D., Lord Bishop of Oxford, and afterwards of Winchester. With Selections from his Diaries and Correspondence.* By A. R. ASHWELL, M.A., late Canon of the Cathedral and Principal of the Theological College, Chichester. In three Vols. Vol. I. Portrait. Pp. 550. Murray, 1880.

IN the present notice of this volume we confine ourselves to a mention of the main incidents in the "Life," with a few extracts from the earlier letters. Canon Ashwell's Introduction is brief, and Mr. R. G. Wilberforce's Preface consists of a few lines. For the next two volumes, it appears, some letters have been arranged, and notes made, but nothing written.

"Samuel Wilberforce, the third son of William Wilberforce, and his wife Barbara Ann, eldest daughter of Isaac Spooner, Esq., of Elmdon Hall, in the county of Warwick, was born at Clapham Common," on September 7th, 1805. It is somewhat singular that while the Wilberforce lineage and ancestry can be traced back so far as the days of Henry II., no Wilberfoss, or Wilberforce, as the name has been spelt from the time of his great-grandfather, is found to have entered Holy Orders until the time of Samuel Wilberforce and his two brothers Robert and Henry. The career and character of William Wilberforce "have left their mark upon English life and English society, and they have been vividly set forth in the well-known Biography" of which a revised and condensed edition was sent forth in the year 1868. One feature in his character is beautifully portrayed in the opening pages of the volume before us. From the beginning of the year 1817, when Samuel Wilberforce was in his twelfth year, the father's devotion to his son is exhibited by a "series of not fewer than 600 letters, which are still extant, all carefully numbered and noted in the handwriting of Samuel Wilberforce's maturer years." The biographer remarks that these letters "must have exercised the most powerful influence on the

formation of his character. Compare these letters with his subsequent career, and it will at once be seen that Samuel Wilberforce was indeed his father's son." The shrewd practical counsels of these letters, it is added, are "strung upon the one thread of ever-repeated inculcation of the duty of private prayer as the one holdfast of life." And herein are exhibited, writes Canon Ashwell, the "influences which formed that solid substratum of character which underlay the brilliant gifts and the striking career of Samuel Wilberforce." That this early training was Evangelical, Canon Ashwell, as might have been expected, passes by almost unnoticed. Samuel Wilberforce himself, however, never forgot the fact, or sought to dilute it. Some seventeen years ago, in private conversation with an Evangelical clergyman, he said, "I hold all that my dear father held, with a little more." And we have heard him preach in Evangelical churches sermons which with power and beauty brought out the doctrines of grace; many persons would have termed them decidedly Calvinistic. The truth is, indeed, that the better part of his teaching and preaching, together with the glow of his Missionary zeal, was Evangelical.

In the year 1817 Samuel Wilberforce was a pupil in the house of the Rev. S. Langston, at Hastings, and for a short time with the Rev. E. G. Marsh, at Nuneham, near Oxford. In 1819 he became the pupil of the Rev. George Hodson, chaplain to Mr. Lewis Way, of Stanstead Park, in Sussex, near Emsworth. Mr. Way was an old friend of Wilberforce; and Mrs. Hodson was the niece of Mr. Stephen, who had married his elder sister, and was his enthusiastic ally in the anti-slavery cause. It was at the eagle-lectern in Mr. Way's domestic chapel that Samuel's voice was first heard in the service of the Church. At no great distance from Stanstead was Lavington, with which the future Bishop's name was to be indissolubly connected; and Mr. and Mrs. Sargent were constant visitors at Stanstead Park. Mrs. Sargent, the Bishop's future mother-in-law, was the daughter of Mr. Abel Smith, the elder brother of the first Lord Carrington, and first cousin to Mr. Wilberforce. "Mr. Sargent, as heir to the Lavington property, had been brought up to the bar, but at Cambridge he had come under Mr. Simeon's influence, and received a strong bias towards the ministry of the Church, which resulted ere long in his being ordained and becoming rector of the parish." "Mr. Sargent was the friend and correspondent, and afterwards the biographer, of Henry Martyn, and likewise of Mr. Thomason, the Indian Missionary, and a slight sketch of his life and character was prefixed by his son-in-law, Samuel Wilberforce, to the edition of Henry Martyn's 'Journals and Letters,' which he published while rector of Brighstone, in 1837." Described by Mr. Wilberforce as "one of the very first Christians I know,"

Mr. Sargent remained the beloved and respected Incumbent of Lavington-cum-Graffham until his decease in 1833.

In October, 1823, Samuel Wilberforce went into residence at Oriel College, Oxford. Hitherto his education had been wholly private. It is evident, we read, from the traits of character noticed in him at the age of seventeen, that his father's careful training had been bestowed on a kindly soil. We may quote here two or three extracts from the father's letters.

One of the earliest letters runs as follows:—

Kensington Gore,  
Thursday, March 6th, 1817.

I hope my dear lamb will, during his absence from his earthly father and mother, look up the more earnestly to that Heavenly Father who watches over all that put their trust in Him, and has given special encouragement to apply to Him for every needful blessing. Above all, my dear boy, strive against *formality* in your private prayers. Endeavour to *realise the presence* of your God and Saviour, and to be assured that, though not visible by your bodily eyes, they are really present with you. Try to bring on Henry in all good, ever remembering my advice, not to be satisfied with merely not being unkind, but trying positively to *be kind*. May God bless you, my very dear Boy, and make you a blessing to many hereafter, as well as a comfort to the advancing years of your affect<sup>d</sup> father,

W. WILBERFORCE.

The following, two years later, was written after Samuel had gone to Mr. Hodson's:—

Near Worcester, October 5, 1819.

MY VERY DEAR SAMUEL,—Though I have now by my side a large mass of unanswered letters, which accumulated while we were travelling from place to place, yet I must not suffer any other correspondents to prevent my writing to my dearest Saml, especially when I have to reply to so interesting a letter as that which I last received from you . . . .

My dear Boy asks me what are his chief faults, that he may pray and watch and strive against them. This is all right; but then I must premise, that is, I must previously suggest to him, that the most effectual way in which a Christian can get the better of any particular fault is by cultivating the *Root of all Holiness*, by endeavouring to obtain a closer union with Jesus Christ, and to acquire more of that blessed Spirit instead of *grieving* it, which will enable him to conquer all his corruptions, and to improve and strengthen all his Christian graces.

I will mention a very striking illustration of the difference between men's striving to improve one or another individual good quality and the improving the common Root of all of them, and thereby improving them all at once. The former is the way in which a human artificer works—a statuary, for instance, sometimes making a finger, sometimes a leg, and so on—while the latter, the workmanship of the Divine Artificer, is like the growth of a plant or a tree, in which all the various

parts are swelling out and increasing, or, as we term it, *growing*, at the same time. I thought this remark would please my dear Saml, so I wrote it down for him. But it teaches us a most important truth, that we should strive to obtain the heavenly principle of growth in grace and in goodness by obtaining more of the Holy Spirit of God, and then we shall improve in every particular grace or virtue. But then we must also examine ourselves, and recollect either at night when we go to bed, or in the morning, as we find best (I am always sleepy at night), what have been the instances in which we have chiefly sinned, and thus we shall ourselves discover our besetting sin. But I will write to you on this subject in another letter.

May God bless my dear Boy with His choicest blessings. I am ever his most affectionate father,  
W. WILBERFORCE.

Later on, in 1820, was written a letter "to be read *on Sunday*," of which the following is the chief portion:—

You should do your business and try to excel in it to please your Saviour, as a small return for all that He has done for you, but a return which He will by no means despise. It is this which constitutes the character of a real Christian, that considering himself as bought with a price—viz., that of the blood of Jesus Christ—he regards it as his duty to try and please his Saviour in everything.

It was in a letter of 1821, when Samuel was just sixteen, that his father first wrote to him on the subject of seeking Holy Orders. In 1822, he wrote concerning the importance of steadily and sturdily setting oneself to the work of acting on that beautiful description of the character of true Christians—shining "as Lights." "O my dearest Samuel, what would I give to see you a φωστήρ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ. O my dearest Boy, *aim high*."

In the first letter which he received from his father, after settling in College, occurs the following:—

There is one practice I remember you one day mentioning to me, and I am sorry I did not recollect to name it to you again before you left us, that of friends breakfasting with each other on Sunday mornings. I own to you I think it a very injurious one, and the less excusable because at that early hour of the day the spirit of young men especially can need no such cordial. If you wish I will hereafter give you my sentiments on this point more at large. For the present let it suffice that there are few things not actually sinful (for I do not call this such, but inexpedient) so likely to impair spirituality of the mind in the religious exercises of the day.

Again and again, we read, during his undergraduateship, did his father's letter reiterate this caution as to the Sunday breakfast-party.

In the Michaelmas term of 1823 he began his Oxford life as a Commoner of Oriel. The then Provost was Dr. Copleston, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff; its tutors were Mr. (afterwards Provost) Hawkins, Mr. Tyler, and Mr. Jelf, afterwards Canon of



Christ Church, and Principal of King's College, London; and among its Fellows were Mr. John Keble, Mr. J. H. Newman, Mr. E. B. Pusey, and Mr. H. Jenkyns. Among the commoners were Mr. Richard Hurrell Froude, and Mr. Robert Hurrell Froude. The account of his College life is meagre in the extreme.<sup>1</sup> He took a first class in Mathematics, and a second in Classics, in the Michaelmas term of 1826. In the same autumn he was a candidate for a Balliol Fellowship. Moberly (now Bishop of Salisbury) and F. Newman were elected; and before another vacancy occurred his plans were changed. His attachment to his future wife had been formed at an unusually early age, and though there was no positive engagement, there was no secret about the attachment, nor was it ever interrupted. Part of 1827 was spent in a foreign tour. "On June 11th, 1828, St. Barnabas' day—Barnabas the son of consolation as he often used to say with satisfaction, S. Wilberforce and Emily Sargent were married in Lavington Church, Mr. C. Simeon, his father-in-law's old friend, officiating on the occasion." On Sunday, December 21st, after he had been examined by Dr. Burton, he was ordained Deacon in Christ Church, Oxford, by Bishop Lloyd, and in about a month he entered upon his duties as Curate in sole charge of Checkendon, a quiet village near Henley-on-Thames. The parish and church were small, the rectory was a sufficient house. It had been expected that Mr. J. B. Sumner, Vicar of Mapledurham, would have been a neighbour; but he was promoted to the Bishopric of Chester. After sixteen cheerful, happy months at Checkendon, Bishop Sumner, of Winchester, offered him the pleasant Rectory of Brighstone in the Isle of Wight, to which he was inducted in June, 1830, while yet under five-and-twenty.

During the whole of the Brighstone period, 1830—1840, he "kept a remarkably minute and accurate diary of each day's work and movements," and further he was an active correspondent, his letters being "unreserved and open-hearted." From the year 1830, therefore, the Memoirs become fuller and increase in interest. To the many points which come before us during those years, however, we cannot now even refer. To complete our sketch we may simply state that he received the offer of the Arch-

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<sup>1</sup> There is no doubt that, owing to the influences of Oriel, his views became High Church before his ordination. The air of Oxford was sacerdotal. Still he did not take in all the Tractarian opinions. In particular he protested against several of Pusey's views. Nor would he ever give countenance to that new-fangled, utterly un-Anglican, most mischievous theory about the Eucharist which has led so many to Rome. Many of the extreme opinions, we may add, which appeared in the *Church Quarterly Review*, edited by Canon Ashwell, are either virtually or openly condemned in the writings of Bishop Wilberforce.

deaconry of Surrey in the year 1839, made a "striking public appearance" at Exeter Hall, at a great anti-slavery meeting, in the year 1840, Prince Albert in the chair (he was nominated one of the Prince's Chaplains six months later), and received his Canonry as Archdeacon about the same time. In September he delivered his primary charge, as Archdeacon of Surrey, and in October he accepted his Bishop's offer of the important Rectory of Alverstoke, thus severing a connection with the Isle of Wight which had lasted for ten years and three months—"a period to which he always looked back as one of the most unclouded happiness."

He had been appointed to deliver the Bampton Lectures in 1841, and while occupied in reading during his residence at Winchester, the blow fell which he had in some measure anticipated, and which coloured his whole after-life to a degree which only those who knew him intimately were aware of—the death of his wife. Their fourth son, Basil Orme, was born on February 8th; on the morning of the 10th she passed away.

The extracts from his diary at this time form, in our judgment, the most striking, as unquestionably they form the most touching, portion of the volume before us. Of his happy married life—homely details, and ways of living—of Mrs. Wilberforce's character and influence, we are told absolutely nothing. But as to his great affliction his diary is full and eloquent. We quote some verses which were written nearly eight years after his loss:—

## A VISION.

Lavington, Feb. 10th, 1849.

I sat within my glad home, and round about me played  
Four children in their merriment, and happy noises made;  
Beside me sat their mother in her loveliness and light—  
I ne'er saw any like her, save in some vision bright.

It was in life's young morning that our hearts together grew  
Beneath its sparkling sunlight, and in its steeping dew;  
And the sorrows and the joys of a twelve years' changeful life  
Had drawn more closely to me, my own, my blessed wife.

Then at our door One knocked, and we rose to let him in,  
For the night was wild and stormy and to turn him thence were sin.  
With a "Peace be to this household" His shelterers He blest,  
And sat Him down amongst us like some expected guest.

The children's noise was hushed, the mother softly spoke,  
And my inmost spirit thrilled with the thoughts which in me woke;  
For it seemed like other days within my memory stored,  
Like Mamre's evening plain, or Emmaus' evening board.

His form was veiled from us, His mantle was not raised,  
But we felt that eyes of tenderness and love upon us gazed:  
His lips we saw not moving, but a deep and inward tone  
Spoke like thunder's distant voices unto each of us alone.

"Full often have ye called me and bid me to your home,  
And I have listened to your words and at your prayer am come;  
And now my voice is strange to you, and 'wherefore art thou here?'  
Your throbbing hearts are asking with struggling hope and fear.

"It was My love which shielded your helpless infant days;  
It was My care which guided you through all life's dangerous ways.  
I joined your hearts together, I blessed your marriage vow,  
Then trust and be not fearful though my ways seem bitter now."

We spoke no word of answer, nor said He any more,  
But as one about to leave us He passéd to the door;  
Then ere He crossed the threshold, He beckoned with His hand  
That she who sat beside should come at His command.

Then rose that wife and mother, and went into the night,  
She followed at His bidding, and was hidden from our sight;  
And though my heart was breaking I strove my will to bow,  
For I saw His hands were piercéd, and thorns had torn His brow.

In the year 1842 Archdeacon Wilberforce was summoned frequently to preach at Court. In March, 1845, he received the offer of the Deanery of Westminster, and in October the same year, he was offered the Bishopric of Oxford. On November 30th, he was consecrated at Lambeth, and on December 13th he was enthroned in Christ Church Cathedral. The volume closes with the end of the miserable Hampden controversy, in which he lost the favour of Prince Albert, December, 1848.



#### ART. VI.—SIMEON, THORNTON, AND NEWTON.

THE following letters were addressed to Mr. Simeon when commencing his ministry at Trinity Church. They will be read with special interest, when it is remembered what trials he had then to encounter, and what that ministry was afterwards, by the grace of God, in its eminent faithfulness, wisdom, and devotion, and ever-increasing influence for more than half a century.

Charles Simeon was ordained on Trinity Sunday, May 26, 1782, by the Bishop of Ely on his fellowship at King's College, and began his ministry in St. Edward's Church ("in good old Latimer's pulpit"), serving that parish for Mr. Atkinson during the long vacation.

I have reason to hope (Mr. Simeon writes in 1813) that some good was done then. In the space of a month or six weeks, the church became quite crowded; the Lord's table was attended by three times the usual number of communicants, and a considerable stir was made among the dry bones. I visited at the parish from house to house without making any difference between Churchmen and Dissenters;

and I remember disputing (in a friendly way) with the Dissenting minister about the doctrine of election, not being able to separate it from that of reprobation; but I was not violent against it, being convinced, as much as I was of my own existence, that, whatever others might do, I myself should no more have loved God if He had not first loved me, or turned to God if He had not, by His free and sovereign grace, turned me, than a cannon-ball would of itself return to the orifice from whence it had been shot out. But I soon learned that I must take the Scriptures with the simplicity of a little child, and be content to receive on God's testimony what He has revealed, whether I can unravel all the difficulties that may attend it or not; and from that day to this, I have never had a doubt respecting the truth of that doctrine, nor a wish (as far as I know) to be wise above what is written. I feel that I cannot even explain how it is that I move my finger, and therefore I am content to be ignorant of innumerable things which exceed, not only my wisdom, but the wisdom of the most learned men in the universe. For this disposition of mind, I have unbounded reason to be thankful to God; for I have not only avoided many perplexities by means of it, but actually learned much, which I should otherwise never have learned. I was not then aware that this simple exercise of faith is the only way of attaining Divine knowledge, but I now see it is so.

In October my poor brother Richard died; and as there was then no one living with my aged father, it was thought desirable that I should leave College and go and live with him. To this I acceded: everything was settled; my books, &c., were just going to be packed up; and in a fortnight I was to leave College for good.

But, behold, in that juncture, an event took place that decided the plans of my whole life. I had often, when passing Trinity Church, which stands in the heart of Cambridge, and is one of the largest churches in the town, said within myself, "How should I rejoice if God were to give me that church, that I might preach His Gospel there, and be a herald for Him in the midst of the University!" But as to the actual possession of it, I had no more prospect of attaining it, than of being exalted to the See of Canterbury. It so happened, however, that the incumbent of it (Mr. Therond) died just at this time, and that the only bishop, with whom my father had the smallest acquaintance, had recently been translated to the See of Ely. I therefore sent off instantly to my father, to desire him to make application to the bishop for the living on my behalf. This my father immediately did; and I waited in college to see the event of his application. The parishioners of Trinity were earnest to procure the living for Mr. Hammond, who had served the parish as curate for some time, and they immediately chose him lecturer, concluding that the living without the lectureship would not be worth anyone's acceptance, it being, even with the surplice fees, not worth more than forty guineas per annum. They all signed a petition to the bishop in behalf of Mr. H., informing him at the same time that they had appointed him to the lectureship. . . . This brought me a letter from the bishop saying,

that if I chose to have the living, it was at my service; but that if I declined it, Mr. H. should not have it on any account. The bishop's words were: "The parishioners have petitioned for Mr. Hammond, and, unless gratified, insinuate their intentions of bestowing their lectureship on a different person than my curate. I do not like that mode of application, and if you do not accept it, shall certainly not license Mr. H. to it. I shall await your answer.—Nov. 9th, 1782."

How little did the parishioners think what that letter of theirs would effect! It was that which irritated the bishop, and caused him to send me such a letter as relieved me at once from all embarrassment, and fixed me in a church which I have now held for about thirty years, and which I hope to retain to my dying hour. Truly, "the judgments of God are unsearchable, and his ways past finding out."

It was at this conjuncture that the following letters were written. Mr. Simeon preached for the first time in Trinity Church, on Sunday, November 10, 1782; and three days afterwards, his affectionate friend, John Thornton, Esq., then in his sixty-third year, sent him this word of wise counsel on his entrance upon a ministry of such difficulty and responsibility. This letter, it will be observed, was written on November 13, and it is not unworthy of notice, that on November 13, fifty-four years after, Mr. Simeon entered into his blessed rest!

Clapham, 13th November, 1782.

"DEAR SIR,—I was glad to hear the books came so timely, and that the Bishop of Ely had sent you the presentation to Trinity Church; may a gracious God guide, direct, and bless all your ministrations to the Redeemer's glory, and make you a blessing to many.

Permit me to use an uncommon freedom, and I hope you will forgive me, should you not be able to join issue in sentiment with me. What I would recommend is to set off with only the usual service that has been performed, as by that means I apprehend you will gain upon the people gradually, and you can at any time increase your duty as you see occasion, and I should, on the same principle, advise against exhorting from house to house as heretofore you did.

I assure you, a subtle adversary as often obtains his end by driving too fast as too slow, and perhaps, with religious people, oftener.

Remember it is God works, and not you; and, therefore, if you run before the pillar and the cloud, you will assuredly be bewildered.

The Lord ever was, and ever will be, with the small still voice, and therefore beware of noisy professors; they are far more to be dreaded than the worldly-minded.

Watch continually over your own spirit, and do all in love; we must grow downwards in humility to soar heavenward.

I should recommend your having a watchful eye over yourself, for, generally speaking, as is the minister, so are the people. If the minister is enlightened, lively, and vigorous, his word will come with power upon many, and make them so. If he is formal, the infection will spread among his hearers; if he is lifeless, spiritual death will be

visible through the greatest part of the congregation; therefore, if you watch over your own soul, you may depend upon it your people will keep pace with you generally, or, at least, that is the way to the blessing.

It is a sad, though too common a mistake, to be more regardful of others than ourselves, and we must begin at home; many regard watchfully the outward work, and disregard that within.

Your sermons should be written, well digested, and becoming a scholar, not over-long, but pithy, that those who seek occasion may find none, except in the matter of your God.

May the God of all grace grant unto us, and all that are dear to us, the repentance of Peter, the faith of Paul, and the love of John, and be with you at all times. and in all places, and with,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend and hearty well-wisher,

JOHN THORNTON.

The Rev. Mr. Simeon.

Ten days afterwards the Rev. John Newton, then in his fifty-eighth year, who had for some time taken a very deep interest in Mr. Simeon, wrote to him as follows, with all the affectionate concern of an elder brother for the profiting of a younger one in the ministry:—

Nov. 23rd, 1782.

MY DEAR SIR,—It gave me great pleasure to hear that the Lord had relieved you from the difficulties you were under respecting Reading, by appointing you to a Church in Cambridge. I doubt not but you accept it as His appointment, and consider the immediate donor as the instrument of His will. This is the most comfortable and scriptural way of viewing things—to see them all, and all equally (even to the falling of a sparrow or of a leaf), under the direction of Him with whom we have to do, and to whom we have entrusted our concerns. This event, compared with what you told me of your situation, has appeared to me very seasonable and providential. I hope it will be productive of great good to many, and of much comfort to yourself. The Lord sees fit to fix you in a noble stand, indeed! Were I a collegian, I think I should prefer a Church in one of our Universities (and perhaps Cambridge especially) to any station in the kingdom. And yet I over-rate myself in thinking I would dare to make such a choice were it in my power, for though it would be a post of honour, and affording a great prospect of usefulness, it would be attended with peculiar difficulties, and would require very peculiar gifts and talents.

In the present instance you have not chosen for yourself, but the Lord has chosen for you, and called you to this important service; on Him, therefore, you may confidently rely for every requisite supply and support; for all that patience, fortitude, and meekness of wisdom which you will need, especially in a place where so many eyes will be upon you to scrutinize every part of your conduct; so many tongues ready to circulate every report to your prejudice, and so many ears open to receive them.

Though I have had but little personal intercourse with you, it has been sufficient to interest me in your concerns, and as you thought proper to ask my advice when you were in town, this mark of your confidence encourages me to write with freedom, as though we were old acquaintances; and if I commit to paper without reserve such thoughts as occur to me while the pen is in my hand, I shall make no other apology than my sincere regard and the cordiality of my intentions.

I had heard the outlines of your story before I saw you. The Lord has done great things for you, you have felt your obligations to Him, and His love constrains you to devote yourself to His service. He has already encouraged and owned you in your setting out, and I trust He is now opening you a scene of permanent and extensive usefulness. But you may take it for granted, dear Sir, that our Grand Adversary is aware of all this, and you may expect that he will not be an indifferent spectator, but will do everything that he is permitted to disturb and hinder you. You are engaged in the best cause; you will fight under the banner and the eye of the Captain of Salvation. You have, therefore, no just reason to be afraid of the enemy, yet it will behove you to beware of his devices. In these he is so fertile and various, that no full enumeration of them can be made, nor, indeed, can the best description of them be well understood, but in proportion, as in a course of time they are realized to us, and brought home to our experience. He is a very Proteus, continually changing his ground, his approaches, his appearance, and the manner of his assaults, so as to adapt himself with the most advantage to every change in our circumstances. Hence the Word of God describes him by very different images—a subtle serpent, a roaring lion, and as sometimes assuming the semblance of an angel of light. Your sense of the Lord's great goodness, and the strong impression you have received of the power and reality of unseen things, have inspired you with a commendable zeal. Shall I advise you to repress your zeal? Far from it. It would better become me to wish to catch fire from you, than to attempt to chill you by the cold maxims which often pass for prudence. Yet there is such a thing as true Christian prudence; and perhaps at this time Satan himself may not attempt to damp your zeal. It may answer his ends, if he can take occasion by the warmth of your desire to do good, to push you to extremes, to make you grasp at too much, and to make you throw unnecessary difficulties in your own way, and thereby preclude your usefulness. If the heart be right with God, and dependent upon His teaching, the best means for avoiding this over-doing (not that we can really do too much in the right way) is a close attention to the *whole* Scripture. Detached texts or sentences may seem to countenance what by no means will accord with the general tenor of the *whole*. Particularly the spirit and conduct of our Lord in the days of His humiliation, furnish the best model. If I had thought that all His ministers were bound and called by His example to preach on mountains or the sea-shore, I ought not to have accepted a parochial cure; but His manner, His gentleness, His patient attention to the

weakness and prejudices of those around Him (according to Isaiah xlii. 2, 3), we cannot imitate too closely.

Perhaps there are few generals who, if they were to fight a battle a second time, could not mark some mistake to avoid, which had been made in the first. Thus in our cooler moments, at least in time, we begin to be sensible that there has been some precipitancy in the honest emotions of zeal, some mixtures of our own spirit when our main end has been the Lord's service, and some of our designs better intended than conducted. When we make this discovery we are of course wiser than we were before. But it is an acquisition often attended with danger. I have known more ministers than one greatly hurt when they have been able to smile upon the well-meant indiscretions they committed when their hearts were warm and their experience but small. The enemy is ready at such a time to draw them insensibly towards the opposite extreme. He hides from them the *golden mean*, and prevails on them to think the reverse of *wrong* must be right. By degrees zeal, instead of being regulated, is extinguished. Remissness takes place and gains ground, till at length the love of the world and the fear of man prevail. Thus I have seen some frozen into mere lifeless images of their former selves, and some have not even retained a resemblance of what they once were. So many instances of this kind I have met, that I have almost by habit a fear and jealousy over those who are remarkably warm and active at their setting out. But when the heart is deeply impressed with a sense of its own wretchedness, when the law and the Gospel have combined under the influence of the Holy Spirit, to give a just and deep impression of the character of God, as a just God and a Saviour, when the Lord is pleased to give and maintain true humility, such a person will, I know, triumph over all the arts of Satan, and go on from strength to strength. These are my hopes for you. I trust and pray that He will guide you with His eye, and make you a happy instrument of winning many souls.

I have nearly filled my paper, and have left little room for an apology, if necessary. But I hope you will not expect one. I love you and wish you well, and shall be glad to hear from you whenever you are at leisure.

Believe me to be, dear Sir,

Your affectionate Friend and Servant,

JOHN NEWTON.

Hoxton, London, Nov. 23, 1782.

These wise and seasonable counsels from his affectionate and watchful friends were not lost upon Mr. Simeon. They guided and cheered him at a time of peculiar trial; and encouraged him to pursue his ministry in patience and faith amidst the severe opposition he had to encounter from his new parishioners. He thus describes these trials:—

The disappointment which the parish felt proved very unfavourable to my ministry. The people almost universally put locks on their pews, and would neither come to church themselves nor suffer others



to do so; and multitudes from time to time were forced to go out of the church for want of the necessary accommodation. I put in there a number of forms, and erected in vacant places, at my own expense, some open seats; but the churchwardens pulled them down, and cast them out of the church. To visit the parishioners in their own houses was impracticable; for they were so embittered against me, that there was scarcely one that would admit me into his house. In this state of things I saw no remedy but faith and patience. The passage of Scripture which subdued and controlled my mind was, "The servant of the Lord must not strive."

The late revered Bishop McIlvaine, of Ohio, when writing to me respecting some trials he had to endure in his diocese, and alluding to the way in which Mr. Simeon, in his early ministry, was enabled to meet his peculiar difficulties, said, that considering Simeon's naturally ardent temperament and his intense zeal in the Lord's service, he thought that the grace of God was never more conspicuous in him than in the patience and faith he exhibited when suffering so severely from the bitter opposition of his parishioners.

These letters, so full of valuable counsel from those eminent servants of Christ, John Thornton and John Newton, are now for the first time given to the public, with the earnest hope and prayer that, under the Divine blessing, they may still be profitable to young ministers when entering on new and perhaps difficult spheres of duty.

WILLIAM CARUS.

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#### ART. VII.—THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

1. *Plain Words and Simple Facts about the Church of Scotland and her Assailants.* By DEFENSOR. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 1879.
2. *Disestablishment.* By the DUKE of ARGYLL. Reprinted from the "Contemporary Review." London: Strahan & Co. 1878.
3. *Position and Prospects of the Church of Scotland: Address delivered at the close of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, June 3rd, 1878.* By the Moderator, J. TULLOCH, D.D., Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. W. Blackwood & Sons. 1879.
4. *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland, and of the Committee of Christian Life and Work, to the General Assembly.* Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons.

THE 18th day of May, 1843, witnessed an event unique in Church history, an event which was of more than merely provincial interest and importance. On that day four

hundred and fifty ministers of the Established Church of Scotland resigned their livings, left their comfortable manses, and cast themselves upon the voluntary support of such of their flocks as were willing to join them.

Before that catastrophe the Church of Scotland was much the most powerful establishment, in its own sphere, in the realm. With such Evangelical leaders as Andrew Thompson, Chalmers, Gordon, Welsh, Buchannan, and others, by whose influence many important parishes were supplied with able and popular ministers, it was rapidly recovering the position which it had lost during the eighteenth century.

The Evangelical party, thus led, was united and enthusiastic, and had at length obtained the majority in the General Assembly. Its one difficulty was the strong popular prejudice against patronage. That prejudice was not unreasonable.

The Duke of Argyll has shown, in his interesting article on the subject in the *Contemporary*, how alien to the spirit of the Presbyterian Church was the patronage forced upon it by the Act of Queen Anne. Both by Government and by private patrons the rights, thus obtained, had been shamefully abused, causing more than one schism during the last century. Great improvement had doubtless taken place in the exercise of these rights, but every now and then some fresh scandal created an outcry.

When it is remembered how completely in a Church, where there is no Liturgy, the people are at the mercy of the minister, not only for preaching but also for worship, and further, that a large number of the livings were in the gift of Episcopalians, who never worshipped with the people, it is no wonder that the congregations felt very impatient of, what they called, the intrusion of ministers upon them without their assent.

Dr. Chalmers and his colleagues were, for the most part, men of strong conservative instincts. They wished to retain patronage, but so to restrain it as to guard it from abuse.

This was the object of the famous "*Veto Act*." By it the General Assembly conferred upon the congregations the right, by a majority of communicants who were males and heads of families, to reject an unacceptable presentee. The power of the Assembly to pass such an Act was soon challenged in the courts of law. A long struggle between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Courts was the result. Other important issues were incidentally raised, and at length, when the courts of law had decided on every point against the Assembly, the minority with great dignity and self-sacrifice seceded from the Church.

Lord Melbourne was in power during the earlier stages of the conflict, and Sir Robert Peel at its conclusion. Had either of

these men taken a statesmanlike view of the situation, the disruption might have been averted.

It is important to note the principles upon which the newly-formed Free Church took its stand. They are well set forth by Dr. Chalmers in his eloquent introductory address, at the opening of the first Free Church Assembly :—

The Voluntaries (he said) mistake us if they conceive us to be Voluntaries. We hold by the duty of Government to give of their resources and their means for the maintenance of a Gospel ministry in the land. . . . We hold that every part and every function of a commonwealth should be leavened with Christianity, and that every functionary, from the highest to the lowest, should, in their respective spheres, do all that in them lies to countenance and uphold it. That is to say, though we quit the Establishment, *we go out on Establishment principles*; we quit a vitiated Establishment, but would rejoice in returning to a pure one. To express it otherwise, we are the advocates for a national support of religion, and we are not Voluntaries.

These were his sentiments to the end of his life. Only three months before his death, he said to the writer of this article, "We are Voluntaries only by compulsion;" and he added, with great emphasis, "The longer I live, the more firmly persuaded I am that the voluntary principle is utterly unfit to furnish a Christian people with the means of Christian instruction."

The marvellous energy displayed by the newly-formed Free Church proved how deeply the hearts of the people were stirred. It claimed to be the Church of Scotland. It sought not merely to build a church and a manse, but also a school and a school-master's house, in every parish, and to a great extent it succeeded. It sought to supplant the time-honoured Divinity Halls of the four Universities, and the Professors in its new Colleges were speedily surrounded by the very pick of the youth of Scotland who desired to give themselves to the sacred ministry.

And yet, whilst there was much to wonder at, and much to admire, there was also much to regret in the conduct of the seceding party. They indulged in the most bitter and unscrupulous attacks upon those who remained, especially such as held distinctively Evangelical views.

They constantly represented such men as actuated by the most sordid motives, so that, at that period of fanatical excitement and virulent aspersion, it required more courage for an Evangelical man to remain in the Establishment than to secede. Some, however, did remain; and the reason given by Dr. Norman M'Leod probably expresses what they felt: "The reason," he said, "why I can conscientiously remain in the Church, is simply because I believe I have spiritual liberty to obey everything in God's word. I know no verse in it which I cannot obey as well as any seceder can. This suffices me."

We presume it would be held sufficient by any clergyman of the Church of England; and much as we regret the painful misunderstandings between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Courts, and the very superficial view of the crisis which was taken by the leading statesmen of the day, we cannot but wish that the good men who left the Church had remained, and waited patiently until their principles should prevail.

The immediate result of the schism upon the Established Church was disastrous in the extreme. Nearly half of its parishes were vacant, and had at once to be supplied. Most of the foreign missionaries, amongst whom we must include the honoured names of Wilson and Duff, went with the seceders, and all its machinery for promoting the cause of the Gospel was thrown completely out of gear. For a time, a spirit of rancorous animosity was kept alive against it, by the able articles of the Free Church newspapers, and by the excited harangues which were too frequently heard from Free Church pulpits. Scotland was then a most disagreeable place of residence. The best friends were separated, and the peace of thousands of families was sorely disturbed. But it is against the nature of things that such excitement should become chronic. Slowly and surely the Establishment recovered its lost ground, whilst the Free Church began to gravitate towards Voluntarism, and at last so completely did it depart from its *only raison d'être* that it seriously entertained a proposal to amalgamate with the United Presbyterian Church, a body which repudiates and condemns all connection between Church and State. The union, indeed, would have been effected but for the persistent opposition of a minority, who still hold by their original principles, and who threatened the majority with legal proceedings if they persevered. This phase of the controversy was very curious, for it showed that the Free Church could not escape from the control of the civil courts by quitting the Establishment. It possesses a considerable amount of property, which has been bestowed upon it, or bequeathed to it, upon the faith of its remaining true to its original principles; and if it departs from them, the civil court can and will interfere.

For a considerable time after the disruption, the Free Church scrupulously avoided joining in any crusade against the Establishment. Dr. Chalmers, in the speech from which we have already quoted, represents them as having inscribed on their flag, "We are no Voluntaries." They could not therefore consort with Liberationists and others who sought the destruction of the Establishment.

That flag, however, it has at length discarded. "We quit," said Dr. Chalmers, "a vitiated Establishment, but would rejoice in returning to a pure one." It might have been expected, there-

fore, that any action on the part of the Church they had left, in the direction of what they would consider a purer state of things, would have been hailed by them as an omen for good ; and that, even if they could not yet see their way to return, any such action would lead them more patiently to wait. The abolition of patronage by the present Government, at the earnest representation of the General Assembly, would assuredly have been considered by Dr. Chalmers and his colleagues as a movement in the right direction, preparing the way for that "pure Establishment" to which they were willing to return.

This politic step has, indeed, met with the warm approval of that minority in the Free Church which still holds by its distinctive principles ; but it has excited the majority to vigorous action, for the disestablishment and disendowment of the National Church. A grievance of old standing, the fruitful source of much schism, has been abolished ; the Church has been rendered much more popular with the masses ; hence the unworthy cry—"Down with it, down with it even to the ground !"

We believe that, even if tried by the Scottish nation, the Established Church might expect with confidence a favourable verdict. The action of the Free Church General Assembly has met with a very lukewarm response amongst the laity. The meetings which have occasionally been held in favour of disestablishment, have not been very encouraging to their promoters. But the Church of Scotland has a right to appeal to the whole nation, for she is protected in all her privileges by the Act of Union, and the question of her disestablishment is not a merely provincial question—it is of imperial importance. If the State may justly confiscate Church property on one side of the border, it may do so with equal justice on the other. The Church of England stands exactly on the same footing as the Church of Scotland, and if the latter is overthrown, then the days of the former, as an Establishment, assuredly are numbered. It becomes therefore a question of deep interest to English Churchmen, how the Church of Scotland is fulfilling her mission. There is a notion abroad, which Liberationist orators are constantly fostering, that, like the Church of Ireland, she is the Church of a mere fraction of the population. We invite our readers' attention to the following facts, which have never been disproved.

We would, first, remind them that the great bulk of the Scottish people belong either to the Established, the Free, or the United Presbyterian Churches. Episcopalians are not three per cent. of the population, and, with the exception of Roman Catholics, who are numerous in some centres of industry where there are many Irish, the other denominations are very small. The number of parishes in Scotland is 1247, and the total number of congregations, in connection with the Established

Church, is 1533. In connection with the Free Church there are 1031 congregations, and with the United Presbyterians 519. The total number of the two last is therefore 1550, leaving the National Church in a minority of only 17, as against them both. It must, however, be borne in mind that, as in England, many of the parish churches are much larger than ordinary Dissenting chapels, and therefore the number of churches does not fairly represent the amount of accommodation for the worshippers.

Presbyterian churches are generally very particular in keeping, with much exactness, the rolls of the communicants, and therefore we may gather from their own published statistics a fair estimate of their comparative strength.

In 1878, the Church of Scotland had 515,786 communicants. In May, 1877, the Free Church had 222,411, and the United Presbyterian Church 172,170. Thus a majority of 121,205 members appears on the side of the Established Church as against both the others. But both the dissenting churches confess to a decrease in membership. In the report of the Secretary of the Free Church Sustentation Fund, in December, 1875, there are these words:—"It may be assumed that our membership should have shown an increase over 1867 of 22,100. But it is shown above, on the basis of Presbyterian returns, that the increase was only 7062. There is, therefore, a deficit of 15,000, or 7½ per cent." Whilst in the United Presbyterian Church the report presented in 1877 to their Synod, after going fully into the figures supplied by their Presbyteries, concludes with the confession: "On the whole, the United Presbyterian Church may have maintained, but has not improved or strengthened, its position in relation to the total population of the country."

The returns of the Registrar-General of marriages in Scotland for 1873 are before us, and they throw important light on the question as to the comparative strength of the various denominations. It must, however, be borne in mind that since then the Church has made much progress.

The proportion of marriages performed by the various denominations in that year were—By the Established Church, 45·56 per cent.; Free Church, 21·71; United Presbyterian, 13·44; Roman Catholic, 9·16; Scotch Episcopal, 2·42; other denominations, 6·93; denominations not stated, 0·04; irregular marriages, 0·74. It is to be observed that in country districts the proportion of the Church of Scotland was 51·39 per cent.

The supporters of the National Church maintain that, from carefully compiled statistics of the whole population, it probably amounted in 1878 to 3,595,929 souls, of which the Church of Scotland numbered 1,750,000, the Free Church 805,000, the United Presbyterian Church 595,000, and all other sects 443,000.

If it is objected that these last figures must to a certain extent be mere guesswork, we can only reply that, until we can get a fair religious census, we are driven to estimates which, for want of proper *data*, must to some extent be uncertain. Both in England and Scotland the Established Churches would willingly have consented to submit to such inquiries in 1871, as would have furnished valuable information as to the relative strength of the various denominations. It was the loud outcry against such a census, raised by Liberationists, which induced Mr. Gladstone's Government to give way on that important point. Liberationists have no right to represent either of the Established Churches as supported by a minority of the population, as long as they persistently refuse to submit to the test of a religious census by the Government of the country. We consider that, as far as can be ascertained by such *data* as we possess, the Church of Scotland may justly claim to be the Church of the majority of the Scottish people; and, if Liberationists are still disposed to dispute this assertion, we would remind them that 1881 is not far distant, and that both the Established Churches earnestly desire a fair religious census. Why are Dissenters afraid to face such an ordeal?

But more is required of a National Church than that she can show her numerical strength to be satisfactory. Is the Church of Scotland true to the grand traditions of her past history?

At the beginning of this century, and for long after, Scotland was the only educated nation in the world. Each parish had its school; the stipend of the schoolmaster, like that of the parish minister, being provided out of the old ecclesiastical endowments of the country, and paid by the landlords.

This was the glory of the Church of Scotland. She could not show magnificent cathedrals, nor richly endowed colleges, but she could show, throughout the length and breadth of the land, a well-educated peasantry. The parish schoolmaster was expected to teach, not merely the three R's and the Bible and Catechism, but also the rudiments of Latin and Greek; and thus, from these country schools, youths of promise constantly found their way up to one or another of the four Universities, enabling the Universities to exercise a far more extensive influence than in England.

The population has increased far beyond the provision, which the old endowments had made, for its spiritual and educational wants. The Free Church disruption had certainly this result, that it greatly multiplied the places of worship in the land, but still in the large centres of population there has been an ever-increasing field for home mission work. Has the Established Church proved equal to her responsibilities in overtaking such work? And has she also been alive to her duty in the still

wider domain of Foreign Missions? If it can be shown that she has not been remiss in either of these particulars, a strong additional claim will be given her upon the sympathy and support of all true-hearted English Churchmen.

It is unnecessary that much should be said as regards her efforts in the cause of the primary education of the poor. The Scotch Education Act has deprived her of all control over the parish schools. Every parish has now its school-board, and, where there was any deficiency, schools have been built and are supported by rates. It is well, however, to note that before the passing of the Act, in the year 1868, the voluntary contributions of the Established Church for the education of the poor amounted to 23,444*l*. The Free Church in the same year contributed 10,069*l*., whilst the United Presbyterian Church supported only fourteen schools in all Scotland.

Still more interesting are the statistics of Sunday-schools in Scotland. The contrast between the statistics of 1851 and 1877 are very suggestive. In the Official Report of Education in Great Britain in 1851, by Mr. Horace Mann, the number of Sunday-school scholars belonging to the three denominations, is thus given :—

Established Church.....	76,233
Free Church.....	91,328
United Presbyterian Church.....	54,324

If we compare this with the Reports on Sunday-schools given respectively to these denominations in 1877, we shall perceive a very remarkable increase in the schools of the Established Church. In that year the number of her Sunday-school scholars was 170,297, whilst in the Free Church the number was 139,926, and in the United Presbyterian Church it was 79,109. The comparative increase since 1851 was, for the Established Church 94,064, for the Free Church 48,598, and for the United Presbyterian Church 24,785. It thus appears that the increase in the Sunday-schools of the Established Church, during twenty-six years, exceeded, by 20,681, the increase of both the other denominations put together.

Her Home Mission scheme presents still more important results. That scheme originated before the disruption, and was then chiefly associated with the name of Dr. Chalmers. He threw himself into it with all the generous energy of his soul. His stirring appeals awakened a great interest in the cause of Church extension; and when the crash came, and he and so many others, who had promoted this important work, left the Church, it seemed to many that the best course would be to abandon that scheme for a time altogether. Wiser counsels, however, prevailed.



The Church of Scotland found a man equal to the occasion in the late Rev. Dr. Robertson. He not only advised the continuance of the Home Mission scheme, but two years after the disruption he originated a scheme for the endowment of the new parishes, and the following figures will show with what results:—

Before the disruption, in 1842, the income of the Home Mission scheme was 5029*l.*; the year following the disruption; it was only 2289*l.* A great effort was made, which raised it in 1844 to 4590*l.*, but it fell again in 1845 to 2782*l.* After that year the crisis of the storm had passed, the ship had righted herself, and began at last to make headway through the troubled waters. In 1873 the income of the Home Mission scheme had reached 9509*l.*, in 1875 11,857*l.*; and so it has steadily increased until 1878, that year of great commercial depression, when its income reached nearly 16,000*l.* Dr. Robertson at first proposed to endow 100 churches which had been built by the Home Mission scheme before the disruption. He and his successors have been enabled to accomplish far more than their most sanguine expectations could anticipate. They have endowed no fewer than 283 new parishes at a cost of 1,031,500*l.*, subscribed by the members and friends of the Church.

We do not wish to weary our readers with figures. We think it sufficient to add the following remarkable statistics showing the amounts contributed for various purposes by members of the Church of Scotland, from the years 1872 to 1877. The number of churches from which these returns have been made is 1286.

The total sums contributed during these six years are as follows: for congregational and charitable purposes, 567,529*l.*; to supplement the stipends of the poorer clergy, &c., 333,124*l.*; for education, 91,124*l.*; for Home Mission work, 148,689*l.*; for Church building and extension, 338,117*l.*; for endowment of new parishes, 287,732*l.*; for Foreign Missions, 165,461*l.*; making a grand total of about 1,931,779*l.*

This does not include the munificent donation by the late Mr. Baird of 500,000*l.*

Another interesting proof of the healthy condition of the Church of Scotland may be gathered from the custom, which of late years has been adopted by the General Assembly, of appointing annually a "Committee on Christian Life and Work." This Committee issues every year a series of questions to every parish minister on a great variety of subjects, social and religious, for the purpose of having a comprehensive view of the social and spiritual condition of their flocks. The following are a few of the questions, taken from the Report of 1872. They

are arranged under the following heads: I. Public worship. II. Interest in religion. III. Baptism. IV. Family life. V. Sabbath observance. VI. Ecclesiastical divisions. VII. Change of residence. VIII. Lay agency. The searching character of these inquiries may be seen from the following from II., III., and IV.:—

What in your opinion is the state of vital godliness among those who usually attend church? Have the ministrations of the Gospel in your experience been recently followed by any perceptible result? Is it your experience that those who do not attend church are now, as a class, more or less accessible to missionary visits than they formerly were? and to what do you attribute the change, if there be any?

III. Baptism.—Are there any unbaptized adults in your parish; and if so, how many? Is it your opinion that parents who are not themselves communicants obtain baptism for their children; and if so, how and through whom?

IV. Family worship.—Is family worship usual, and are servants generally collected for it? Is the Assembly's manual for family devotion, or any other book of prayers, commonly used? What is your opinion of the state of domestic servants and farm labourers, as regards education and religion, and how do they stand affected towards their employers?

Verily, if Episcopacy means *oversight*, there is no lack of Episcopacy in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland! It would startle an English diocese, were the Bishop to issue a long series of such questions as these.

The reports of this Committee show that from many ministers these questions have received carefully considered answers, proving how thoroughly they are interested in the spiritual and social condition of their parishes. And this is the poor, decrepid, moribund Church which Liberationists and Free Churchmen desire to see laid low!

We believe, that had Chalmers, and some of his colleagues who have passed away, been permitted to see the remarkable changes which have taken place in the communion which they left, they would have generously acknowledged that God was blessing it, and they would have condemned the present action of the Free Church in regard to it.

In his evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1847, Dr. Chalmers most emphatically denied that the Free Church "can have anything like a hostile influence on the established institutions of the country;" and he added, "I confess to you that I should look with a sigh to the demolition of the framework, either of the Scotch or English Establishment." Before the same Committee he said, "I do not think the Free Church would consent to become the Establishment, *except on the condition of the abolition of patronage.*" Patronage is

abolished, but there is no Chalmers now at the helm of the Free Church!

The Church of England has no cause to be ashamed of the sister Establishment across the border. When the hour of its trial comes, and when Free Churchmen and United Presbyterians, combined with English Liberationists, demand its overthrow, we believe that English Churchmen will know how to act. They will have a few questions first to put, which are easier put than answered. They will want to know *the reason why*, if her destruction is decreed, and they will not accept as sufficient mere jealousy because of her increasing popularity. That, as yet, seems to be the only cause which animates her opponents to seek the confiscation of her ancient endowments, and her degradation from her time-honoured position. English Churchmen will further have a right to ask who is to be benefited by her disestablishment and disendowment? Her endowments amount only to 250,000*l.* a year, so it cannot be said that she is burdensome to the country. Her tithes are paid, not by the tenants, as in England, but by the landlords; and they are paid most cheerfully, even though many of these landlords are Episcopalians. The confiscation of her revenues, which were with such difficulty rescued by Knox, at the time of the Reformation, from the rapacity of the nobles, would be the robbing of the poor; for in Scotland, as well as in England, the National Church is the poor man's heritage, and who would be the gainers?

The Church of Scotland has shown the greatest forbearance during recent attacks. She has done what she could to heal the schisms which are the scandal of Presbyterianism. She is willing to induct into her benefices any Presbyterian minister from any other Church, who may be willing to join her and may be elected by any of her congregations. "In quietness and in confidence is her strength," and we have no fear but that she will continue to increase in influence and usefulness, and to retain her important position as one of our most useful national institutions, and one of the strongest bulwarks of Evangelical Protestantism.

WM. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF.



## ART. VIII.—HEREFORD DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

*Memorials of the Civil War between King Charles I. and the Parliament of England, as it affected Herefordshire and the adjacent Counties.* By the late Rev. JOHN WEBB, M.A., Rector of Tretire, Herefordshire. Edited and compiled by the Rev. T. W. WEBB, M.A., Vicar of Hardwick, Herefordshire. Two volumes. Longmans. 1879.

WE have been agreeably disappointed by a perusal of these volumes. It seemed to us almost impossible that a thrice-told tale like the Great Rebellion, illustrated by the pen of Clarendon, by the researches of Mr. W. Hamilton amid the State Papers, and by the industry and ability of Mr. Rawson Gardiner, the latest historian of this period, could be made to disclose any fresh matter. The authors of this work, however, by confining themselves to local traditions, and limiting the scene of action to one special district, have thrown much light upon one of the most exciting episodes of English history, and have furnished a most important contribution to the literature we already possess upon the subject. The idea was an excellent one. We have here no general history of the Civil War; but one special and distinct, showing us how the hostilities between Cavalier and Parliamentary affected one particular district, and one class of local interests—how dwellings were rifled and ruined, fertile fields stained with blood, peaceful peasants put to the sword, and all the horrors of war let loose. It is a county history with this great difference, that instead of antiquarian details, pedigrees and accounts of family seats, we have battles, sieges, surrenders, and all the military details attending a forced occupation by the enemy.

It is evident that the sympathies of the authors are throughout on the Royalist side, yet such predilections never for one moment interfere with the soberness and impartiality of the true historian.

The volumes open with a sketch of Herefordshire during the early part of the seventeenth century, and with a brief review of the causes which led to the rupture between the King and the Parliament. These causes are not difficult to discover: arbitrary proceedings, a firm resolve to maintain the monarchical power independent of all Parliamentary control, forced loans, unjust taxes, the establishment of unconstitutional courts of law. The county of Hereford, in a lofty strain of Cavalier feeling, and in a bitter and caustic style, opposed the conduct of the Parliamentary party. At a meeting held by its principal gentry, it drew up a resolution which was printed and circulated throughout the shire. In this important document, which has escaped the attention of historians, past misgovernment was admitted, though it was

maintained that the Parliament, instead of curing, had increased the disease. It charged the opponents of the King with pursuing private ends, by means of secret combinations; it stated that the Houses were managed by men who punished freedom of speech with imprisonment; who rejected all petitions but such as favoured their own views, and who received informations and all sorts of rumours against the King and his friends. It set forth that Parliament in severing itself from the King had ceased to be a Parliament, that the Protestant religion and the Royal power had been attacked in the assaults made upon Church and State, that the King was perfectly justified in the course he had pursued, that law and liberty had been violated, and that the people of Herefordshire had no sympathy with the past proceedings, and declined to be terrified into paying heed to a Parliament whose debates were uncertain and whose ordinances were no laws.

This resolve was soon to be carried out. The Royal Standard had been raised at Nottingham, and Civil War was now to lay low the kingdom with its evil discord and fratricidal slaughter.

Before the departure of the King from York, there had arrived from the Continent two German princes, his nephews, sons of his sister Elizabeth, and of the deceased Prince Frederic of the Rhine. These princes were to occupy a conspicuous position in the contest that now ensued. Rupert, the elder of the two, was but three-and-twenty years of age, and his brother Maurice one year younger; the young men were advanced by Charles to high commands, though in most respects they were only fitted to obey. Maurice, though brave, was of a cautious and saturnine temperament, whilst Rupert was haughty and impatient of advice, and in battle all impetuosity and fire. The character of Rupert is strongly impressed upon the events of the war in Herefordshire. Flattered by the poet, the toast at military messes, and the object of the devotion of young eager Cavaliers, the Prince was at once the idol of his friends and the terror of his enemies. He was a splendid soldier, but a fatal general, for it cannot be questioned that he was the occasion of much more injury than benefit to the cause of his uncle; for, although his valour was beyond all common daring, and he achieved what few could have performed, yet his incorrigible defects, both in the council and the field, were often the cause of disasters which were irreparable. Into the details of the war, save so far as they affect Herefordshire, we cannot enter. In the South and West, with the exception of Cornwall, it was going hard with the Royal cause. At a council held by the Parliamentarians, it had been resolved, the better to cut off all communication between the Cavaliers of the South and the North, to occupy Hereford, and the Earl of Stamford was dispatched by Essex to lay siege to the ancient city. His task was not a very arduous one. Hereford was ill-fortified, it was badly supplied

with guns and ammunition, while its clergy, mindful of the havoc which the Parliamentarians created in the aisles of Worcester and Canterbury, trembled for the security of their Cathedral. After a feeble resistance Lord Stamford entered the city and established himself as its governor with control over the neighbouring districts. He imprisoned the Cavaliers, he wrecked the property of the Royalist clergy, and he essayed his utmost to carry out Napoleon's maxim, that war should be made to support war. Still his position was surrounded by danger. He and his soldiery were reduced to great straits, for it was no easy matter to feed a thousand men and more than a hundred horses. He petitioned his employers for money; they had repeatedly voted him thanks, but he could get no funds. The military chest was with Essex, and the Lord General was now out of reach; to that they should have looked; but for the last two months they had received nothing out of it; they had borrowed and exacted till they knew not in which direction to turn. Sir Robert Harley—who was almost the only member of the Herefordshire squirearchy on the side of the Parliament—had done what he could to assist them, and a loan had been raised in the city at the instigation of the mayor. The citizens, however, were not in general sufficiently pleased with the presence and behaviour of their newly imposed garrison to make sacrifices for their longer continuance, whilst the county regarded them as rebels, and held aloof. Without money, credit, and provisions, Stamford found himself powerless, and thus daily his situation became more critical. Whether he turned his eyes towards Worcester, or Shropshire, the counties of Radnor, Brecon or Monmouth, the Cavaliers prevailed. The only road open to him to retreat was to the eastward. In Gloucester he would find quarters to his heart's content, and be sure of welcome among an honest people, who, having declared for the Parliament, were left without means of defence. Accordingly he lost but little time in retiring from a city and county, the disposition of whose inhabitants, in a residence of more than ten weeks, he had ascertained to be generally hostile to him. The evacuation of Hereford was effected apparently without molestation. Arrived at Gloucester, the Parliamentarians were received with open arms, and hailed as brethren and defenders. The mayor greeted the commander at the Tolsey on entering the town and presented him with a silver-gilt bowl and cover, in testimony of the opinion entertained of his services. On the departure of the foe, the Herefordshire Royalists returned to their homes, with the satisfaction of knowing that throughout the county there was not a single enemy abroad to harm them; the peasants kindled their twelfth-eve fires without danger of exciting alarm; all was peace and quiet; no ordinance of Parliament was in force throughout Herefordshire.

This tranquillity was, however, not long to continue. The Civil War had been carried on with alternate results, victory now favouring the Cavaliers and then the Roundheads. Halls and castles had been taken and then abandoned; battles had been fought and their decision reversed in subsequent actions; negotiations had been entered into for a peace, but had fallen through. Whilst such was the state of affairs Sir William Waller, one of the ablest as well as one of the most humane of the Parliamentary generals, resolved upon consolidating his position in the West by re-capturing Hereford. The city was even worse prepared for resistance than when Stamford had appeared before its gates, and a siege was out of the question. On the approach of Waller, a parley was sounded, and a trumpeter went forward with a summons. The answer came from Sir Richard Cave, the Cavalier defender of the city. "He who held the town, held it by commission of the King; if Sir William Waller could produce a better commission from the King it should be delivered to him; otherwise he who had it by authority from the King would preserve it for the King." These brave words, however, were of little avail, and before the day had deepened into dusk the city was in the hands of Waller, and for the second time had to obey the ruling of a conqueror. The captive Cavaliers did not repine at the hard measure meted out to them. Their goods were forfeited; they were crowded together in prisons, and often so neglected that many perished. Yet they bore their sufferings with cheerfulness. If the Roundheads were sustained in the confidence that they suffered for the purity of religious doctrine and the establishment of civil liberty, the Cavaliers gloried also in being martyrs to what they held to be one of the noblest of relative duties, and strongest tests of religious obedience. The sentiment of L'Estrange inspired them all:—

What though I cannot see my king,  
Neither in person nor in coin;  
Yet contemplation is a thing  
That renders what I have not, mine.  
My king from me what adamant can part,  
Whom I do wear engraven on my heart?

A siege, however, far more romantic than any that Herefordshire had yet seen, was now to take place. If the history of the Civil War displays equally the devotion of the Cavalier and the Roundhead to the cause they supported, it is far from being deficient in exhibiting the courage and devotion of the female sex during those troublous times. Did not Blanche, Lady Arundel, daughter of the Marquis of Worcester, defend the castle of Wardour with a few men against Sir Edmund Hungerford and Colonel Ludlow, during the absence of her husband at Oxford? Did not Lady Wintour refuse to yield to the summonses of Massey? Was not Corfe Castle defended by Lady Bankes? And above

all, did not the famous Countess of Derby baffle the assaults of Fairfax at Latham House till the siege was raised? To this list we must add the defence of Brampton Ryan Castle by the Lady Brilliana, the wife of that staunch Herefordshire Parliamentarian, Sir Robert Harley. It was to be expected that a house situated in the midst of a Cavalier county, which had been the refuge of many a runaway Roundhead, and which was owned by a man who had made himself particularly obnoxious to the Royalist cause, should be made the object of attack. The law of retaliation is ever in force during war; the Herefordshire squires—the Scudamores, the Crofts, the Rudhalls, the Coningsbys, the Brabazons—who had enrolled themselves under the banner of the King had been severely punished for their devotion; was their neighbour then, who had taken a prominent part in all the proceedings against them, to escape safe and unhurt now that it was in their power to crush him? The castle of Brampton Ryan stood alone, hemmed in by enemies on all sides; in Shropshire, Radnorshire, and in its own county, it raised its grey stone walls alone and unprotected. Sir Robert Harley was in London; the defence of his home therefore devolved upon his wife, Lady Brilliana, a woman of rare resolution, fit to command and to insure obedience. With her husband absent, her eldest son serving in a cavalry regiment under Sir Arthur Hazlerigg the fair châtelaine was sorely tired. Shut up with the rest of her children, and such retainers as were personally attached to her within the walls of her strong habitation, she lived in growing dread of opening her doors, and of suspicion of those who dwelt around her. As the Civil War progressed, intensifying party hate, she, a Roundhead in the midst of Royalists, became deserted by friend after friend. Tenants and gentry with whom she had enjoyed pleasant and cheerful intercourse now held themselves aloof, and declined to know one who had sided with the enemies of their sovereign. Her position was indeed desolate:—

My comfort is that you are not with me (she writes to her eldest son, with the loving unselfishness of a mother), lest they should take you; but I do most dearly miss you. I wish, if it pleased God, that I were with your father. My dear Ned, I pray you advise with your father whether he thinks it best that I should put away most of the men that are in my house, and whether it be best for me to go from Brampton, or, by God's help, to stand it out. I will be willing to do what he would have me do. I never was in such sorrows as I have been since you left me; but I hope the Lord will deliver me; but they are most cruelly bent against me.

She had no alternative but "to stand it out." Her garrison was composed of about 100 men completely armed, with ammunition and provisions which would last two months. On the 26th of



July, 1643, Lord Molyneux appeared before the castle walls, at the head of several troops of horse, with foot and battery cannon. For weeks the Cavaliers lay around the walls and exhausted all their resources to reduce the little garrison to submission. But the enemy was met with corresponding vigour and address. According to Collins, the Royalists were, "after many attacks, obliged to raise the siege merely through Lady Brilliana Harley's skilful management of treaties with the adversaries, and exemplary courage which animated the defendants." The probability is, however, that the King could ill spare men at the time, and that the besiegers, finding their task more difficult than they had imagined, had been ordered to reinforce the troops then busy endeavouring to reduce Gloucester. Still the Royalists had made their presence felt in the district. They had inserted poisoned bullets in their muskets, they had poisoned a running spring which furnished the town with water at its fountain-head, they had ransacked the farms and hamlets around Brampton, they had reduced the village under the castle walls to ruins, they had laid waste the parks and warren of Sir Robert Harley, they had destroyed the rectory house and the church, and had defaced the venerable monuments against the walls. A terrible list of disasters for the Roundhead squire to con over, as he busied himself in the councils of the Parliament held in London! Shortly after the departure of her foes, Lady Brilliana fell ill of a "very greate coold," which terminated fatally a few days afterwards.

To the character of this lady (writes Mr. John Webb), whose name should never be extinct among us, not only so long as there is a Harley, but while there is a wife or mother among us to record her praise, it is difficult to do adequate justice. In whatever light many may view the bias of her religious or political sentiments, it is unquestionable that in her private life she was as exemplary as she became distinguished in the public part that she took in the local transactions of this eventful period. Her creed was that of Calvin, and, with the Puritan teachers of that school, she looked upon Episcopacy as an institution to be done away; and in this and all other matters she followed implicitly the opinions of her husband; but the severity of her principles was in all this tempered by feminine gentleness. The cause in which her family was engaged she concluded to be that before which everything must give way, considering that it was the cause of God. She was an enthusiastic admirer of all the proceedings of the legislative body in which her husband acted so conspicuous a part, pitied and prayed for the King, applauded the expulsion of the bishops from the House of Lords, and dreamed of glorious changes yet to come.

Shortly after her death Brampton Ryan was again attacked by the Cavaliers, and this time the only hold of the Parliamen-

tarians in the county sank under the power of the enemy. Its garrison were taken prisoners, its demolition was decreed and carried into effect a few weeks after the surrender. By this destruction art and literature sustained a grievous injury, for the Harleys were men of taste, and their collection of pictures, jewels, and manuscripts, were amongst the most valuable in the country.

We must now cast but a hasty glance at the events which crowd the canvas. Those who wish to peruse an unusually full account of the siege of Gloucester, to watch the movements of Massey and Thynne in the west, and to read of the reverses that attended upon the efforts of the Cavaliers, cannot do better than consult these two carefully compiled volumes. One wretched fact we learn from their pages. It has been the fashion of those whose sympathies favoured the Royal cause to attribute all the atrocities that occurred during the Civil War to the vindictiveness of the Parliamentary party. The Cavalier, it is said, was a gentleman, he willingly gave his blood for his king, but when he met his enemy he fought him like a soldier and not like a savage. The Roundhead, on the other hand, was a *canaille* who mutilated the dead, defaced monuments, and in the hour of victory disgraced the name of Englishman by the barbarities that he sanctioned. Yet, from the evidence that lies before us, neither side can afford to throw the stone at the other or to affect a superior humanity. Let us briefly examine the catalogue of offences and leave it to the reader to decide which party conducted its military operations with a less severity. We know how the Cavaliers behaved before Brampton Ryan; but their first exploit showed how little was to be expected from their generosity or humanity. "For as they passed through the street of Brampton, there met them a poor blind man, whom without provocation they murdered, and thereby merited the failure of their enterprise." Sir Michael Woodhouse, a Royalist commander, appeared before the walls of Hopton Castle, and demanded its surrender in the name of Prince Rupert. It capitulated, begging for mercy, and what was the fate of the garrison? Every mother's son was stripped, tied back to back, and put to death with circumstances of the utmost barbarity. The Cavaliers ransacked the governor's house and put all his family to the sword, sparing neither man, woman, nor child. The steward, a man of 80 years of age, "being weak and not able to stand, they were so compassionate as to put him in a chair to cut his throat." It is said that after this massacre the cause of Charles never prospered, and that whenever his soldiers craved quarter, the reply was, "We'll give you none but Hopton quarter."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The gloomy aspect of the ruins of Hopton Castle recalls to mind the

On the march of Langdale to aid Prince Maurice, who was being severely pressed in the north, we read that "the atrocities that his lawless troopers inflicted upon the unoffending inhabitants, and especially their ill-treatment of females, in the countries through which they swept like a desolating whirlwind, were too shocking to be recorded." A Cavalier officer, one Talbot, was seen in the streets of Worcester, his sword reeking with the blood of a poor prisoner just brought in, and exulting that a rebel had been slain by his hand. Military executions frequently took place without formality of trial. Sir Richard Grenville hanged thirteen constables in this manner, and when he had taken Saltash, he was on the point of despatching some 300 of its inhabitants, in this wholesale fashion, when expressly forbidden by the King. He was nicknamed the hangman of the West. The highlands of the Forest of Dean were severely scourged. At Drybrook a man was struck down and his eyes knocked out for refusing to give up a flitch of bacon to a foraging party. "They have plundered," we read, "much about Mansilhope, Staunton, and the adjacent parts about the Forest of Dean, and have murdered divers men, women, and children—particularly at Longhope they took away some gentlemen's children, and the like at other towns, and carried them away either to be redeemed by their parents or starved; for some of those children have died under their hands." On the arrival of some regiments of Prince Rupert's infantry into Hereford we hear that—

They came into several houses and plundered all the money and all that was good that they could lay their hands on, and made them to fetch them in roasted mutton, veal, lamb, poultry, and I know not what; and when they had done, they having ate and drunk, while their bellies would hold, took the rest and threw it up and down the house, and let out a great deal of drink out of the barrels, and did such barbarous actions, as is most wonderful; and there is no withstanding them; for if any oppose them, it is no more but knocking them on the head, or pistolling those who speak against them.

Nor was the conduct of the Roundheads a whit less arbitrary, for as to indiscriminate wrong and robbery, the offence is evenly balanced between the two parties. Hating episcopacy and all that falls under its rule, the more violent sections of the Parliamentarians loved to wreak their narrow-minded spite upon the clergy

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dire event. It is square (writes Mr. Webb), with many walls, its interior filled with a heap of rubbish, its exterior injured by violence as much as time. It stands in a meadow uneven in its surface; a chimney on the west side was the point of attack, and the breach is now to be seen. There is the mark of that porch which was fired—there is the depression of that moat—there is that pool in which the bodies of the murdered garrison were thrown. To those who are acquainted with these facts and shall visit Hopton Castle, no place more graphically suggests its story."

and the Cathedrals. In London Sir Robert Harley, the chief acting commissioner of the Parliament, was busy demolishing crosses and stained-glass windows wherever he found them, in church or chapel. The cross in Cheapside, cherished by the citizens in better times, where so many divines had taught the doctrines of the Reformation, was not spared, but stripped of its "gorgeously gilt-leaden coat," a military band playing all the while "most rare and melodious music." "It was done," says a Cavalier writer, "in so triumphant and brazen a manner, with sound of trumpet and noise of several instruments, as if they had obtained some remarkable victory upon the greatest enemies of the Christian faith." One morning whilst Hacket, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield, was reading prayers at St. Giles's, Holborn, a trooper presented a loaded pistol at his head, and threatened him with instant death if he did not desist. "Do you your duty, I shall do mine," was the heroic reply. At Oxford and Canterbury the devastating hand of Fanaticism is plainly visible. On the capture of Worcester, one of the first operations of the Roundheads was to repair to the Cathedral and wreak their vengeance upon the books, vestments, organ and windows. They broke into the beautiful chapter-house, scattered about and tore up the college records, brought their horses into the nave, lit fires in it, and defiled the choir in the most unseemly manner; some of the dragoons came forth in surplices, and paraded with them in derision through the streets. The cloisters of the Cathedral still show that horses have been attached there by the marks of the insertion of rings soldered in with lead between the stones. One Swift, the vicar of Goodrich, was stripped of his property, and left with his children and servants at the beginning of winter with hardly a garment to shelter them, and all who should show them mercy severely threatened. "These are our militant Evangelists," sneers a Cavalier, "whose consciences start out of the way at a white surplice, but never boggle at garments rolled in blood." Serving in the ranks of the Royalists were many Papists from the Emerald Isle; an order was issued by the Parliament that, as every Irishman in the King's service had been concerned in the murderous insurrection of the Papists in Ireland—a statement which by the way had been satisfactorily refuted—all Irishmen taken in arms should be put to death.

The commander-in-chief of the Parliamentary forces in Shropshire and Cheshire was Sir William Brereton. He was unable to control the enormities committed by his troops. "They have slain men, plundered houses, and used all the violence that may be!" cried their accusers at Shrewsbury. They robbed and spoiled without mercy or distinction of friend or foe. The destruction of cattle and sheep was enormous, and the wantonness of the robbers may be estimated from the fact that they were in

the habit of appropriating and slaughtering sheep merely for their skins. The argument, "if we leave them behind the enemy will come and take them," was too often and fatally applied. A widow who resisted had her house "fired, and all refused quarter—viz., twelve, put to the sword, nine whereof were roasted." A Committee of the House of Commons in London, listening to these grave charges, wrote to Brereton severely reprimanding him for the laxity of his discipline.

I assure your Honours (writes the Commander-in-chief), that there is nothing accompanying this service hath more afflicted me than to see these insolences that are sometimes committed by the soldiers, and not have power wholly to restrain them. I know that the soldiers' plunder is put into a bottomless bag; the State loses it; the soldier accounts it not for pay; and those who are most undeserving are most advantaged thereby. Our reputation is extremely lost hereby with the common people, who for the most part judge our cause by the demeanour of our army. . . . For my part, I know no other way to maintain order in an army but either by special interest or severe discipline. For the first it cannot be expected that I should so far prevail with the forces assigned from several parts as if they were mine own; and for the last I have not had power to hold the reins of discipline, as otherwise have been convenient, when extreme want of all necessaries have inflamed the soldiers' discontents to an unmasterable height, and in such a case I humbly appeal to your Honours' experience there how hard it is to prevent outrages.

The truth was that in the war between arbitrary misgovernment and unconstitutional resistance, the country was utterly demoralised; men, maddened by the scent of blood, forgot the better part that was within them, and, whether Cavalier or Roundhead, allowed, during the fury of the struggle, the baser elements in human nature to wield the supremacy.

Here we take leave of these interesting "memorials." The history of the Great Rebellion cannot but excite the attention of all Englishmen. It is one of those subjects which permits much to be said on both sides; there was right on each side, and yet there was also grievous wrong. The King erred perilously in resisting the demands of his first three Parliaments; the Parliament was in the wrong in waging war against its sovereign. The history of Charles is the history of personal government as opposed to constitutional government. Since the King could not obtain his ends with the assistance of Parliament, he resolved to pursue his course independent of the Legislature. For the first time in our history a monarch had ascended the throne determined upon maintaining the majesty and independence of the Prerogative. Other kings had dissolved Parliaments, imprisoned refractory members, and forced hostile votes to be rendered null; but with the exception of Charles, no English

monarch had dared for eleven long years to dispense altogether with Parliamentary aid and advice. Up to the year 1641 the conduct of the Parliament is warmly to be approved of, but after that date the Houses were not justified in the demands they laid before the King, and in the war that ensued the Parliament was clearly the aggressor. With respect to the faction that pursued Charles to death, but one opinion can now be formed. It was no friend to public liberty, for never under the most arbitrary monarch were the people of England subject to a more rigid tyranny; neither did it compose the majority of the nation, which at least latterly, had recovered its reverence for the Royal power. But it is ever so in revolutions. A few violent men take the lead—their noise and activity seem to multiply their numbers, and the great body of the people, either indolent or pusillanimous, are led in triumph at the chariot wheels of a paltry faction.

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### Review.

*Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.* Vols. I.—VI.  
London: Longmans & Co.

THE progress of interpreting inscriptions on the Egyptian, Assyrian, and other cognate Semitic monuments, has made such rapid progress within the last half-century, and has so important a bearing on Biblical literature and archaeology, as to have necessitated the formation of such an institution as the Biblical Archaeological Society, which has now been in existence during the chief part of the present decade; Dr. Birch's address as President of the Society having been delivered on the 21st of March, 1871. Hitherto our knowledge of the nations surrounding the land of Canaan has been derived from the records of Holy Scripture and the early Greek historians who have handed down such portions as entered into relation with their own particular subject. Now, by means of the excavations which have brought to light a buried world, we are enabled to ascend into the remotest times of antiquity, and to examine the identical monuments which were erected in the days of Cheops and Uruk—i.e. within two centuries of the dispersion of mankind after their failure to build the Tower of Babel. And it is with no little satisfaction that the Biblical student is enabled to find, not only so many confirmations of the truth of the Scripture record respecting the Creation and the Fall, the Noachian Deluge, the building of Babel, the story of the Exodus, and the punishment of the Houses of Israel and Judah, but also of the harmony between the chronology of those nations, Assyria and Egypt, and that which is revealed to us in the infallible word of God. So that what Champollion wrote fifty years ago in allusion to the sceptics of his day has been amply verified by the further discoveries of our cuneiform and Egyptological scholars. "They will find in this work," said he, "an absolute reply to their calumnies, since I have proved that no Egyptian monument is really older than the year 2000 B.C. This certainly is very high antiquity, but it presents nothing contradictory to the sacred histories, and I venture to affirm that it establishes them on all points; for it is in fact, by adopting the chronology and the succession of kings given by the Egyptian monuments, that the history of Egypt accords with the sacred writings." (*"Ancient Egypt,"* p. 56.) The recently discovered tablet at Abydos of the

reign of Seti I., B.C. 1450, seems to show that the Shera monument in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, which is indisputably the oldest proof of man's existence on earth, may be dated a century earlier than that named by Champollion; but this only tends to confirm the assertion, which recent discoveries in Egypt and Assyria enable us to make, that there is no nation on earth possessing authentic documents to show a higher antiquity than the Scripture date for the Flood, which, according to the Hebrew computation, may be placed in the twenty-fifth century before the Christian era.

The Biblical Archaeological Society has done its work admirably by the publication of its "Transactions," which have enabled the outer world to see not only the truth of the late Dr. Arnold's remark—"These Egyptian discoveries are likely to become one of the greatest wonders of the age," but also to learn the strong confirmation which the imperishable monuments of the East afford to the truth of Holy Scripture. Our limits prevent us from attempting to show this at any length: and we must confine ourselves in the present paper to noticing the last two volumes published by the Society, and even those we are obliged to notice in a most cursory manner.

Volume V. opens with a very remarkable paper, by W. H. F. Talbot, on an inscribed Chaldean tablet, entitled "The Fight between Bel and the Dragon, and the Flaming Sword which turned every way." This is one of the most striking narratives of Babylonian mythology, which describes the chief Creator of all things, Bel, arming himself for the contest with the Dragon, the personification of all evil. And the most curious weapon in Bel's armoury was *the Flaming Sword which turned every way*—"to the south, to the north, to the east, and to the west, so that none could escape from it," which so plainly resembles the sword of the Cherubim in Genesis which turned every way to keep the Tree of Life, that, as Mr. Talbot justly observes, "the same celestial weapon must surely be intended here." Mr. Boscawen contributes another paper of great value, entitled "The Legend of the Tower of Babel." The tablet on which this legend is inscribed was discovered by the late George Smith, who gives a full translation of it in his "Chaldean Account of Genesis." The legend records the building of an immense tower by the Accadians, or early Babylonians, which appears to have offended the gods, who first manifested their anger by throwing down "in the night all that was built in the day." The builders continued their work in spite of these interruptions, until at length they were punished by being scattered abroad, their speech confounded, and the tower destroyed. There can be little doubt but that we have in this Chaldean legend a traditionary account of what happened on the "plain of Shinar" within a century after the time when Noah came forth from the Ark.

M. Chabas' notice of an Egyptian stèle in the Turin Museum, affords a pleasing memorial of the sentiments entertained by a pious youth of the age probably of Rameses, commonly called "the Great," and within two centuries after the Israelites had quitted Egypt. It is a record of one *Beka*, deceased, who is supposed to speak from his tomb in these words, but of which we can only quote the following fragment:—"I was just, true, and free from all malice, *having placed God in my heart*, and having been taught to know His will. . . . My sincerity, goodness, and affection was cordially manifested towards my father and mother; and never was I betrayed into manifesting the slightest disrespect towards them from my earliest youth"—an admirable lesson to many of our English youths in the present day. Another stèle from the land of Ham, now in the Louvre, which has been translated by M. Maspero, and fully six centuries older than the one just mentioned, and which the late learned Egypt-

tologist, Vicomte de Rougé, pronounced "one of the masterpieces of Egyptian sculpture," will afford us some idea of the knowledge which the ancient Egyptians had respecting religion. The stèle was erected in honour of a certain *Iritisen*, who lived in the reign of Mentuhotep, a king of the eleventh dynasty, a little before, or about the time of, Abraham's visit to Egypt. After an acknowledgment of "his true servant, who is in the inmost recess of his heart, and makes his pleasure all the day long, the devout Ra-Mentuotep, king of Egypt, unto the great god, Iritisen;" the inscription continues—"I know the mystery of the divine Word, the ordinances of the religious feasts, every rite with which they are endowed; I never strayed from them; I indeed am an artist skilled in his art, a man exceeding all men in his learning. Lo! there is no man excels by it but I alone, and my eldest legitimate son. God has decreed him to be most excellent in that way, and I have seen the perfections of his hands in his work as chief artist in every kind of precious stones, from gold and silver, even to ivory and ebony!" Although there is in this inscription a specimen of amphibiology, as Maspero points out, in which "Egyptian writers" delighted to indulge, it is clear that Iritisen's eldest legitimate son was as skilful a manufacturer of gold and silver, ivory and ebony idols, as the most accomplished Papal engraver of the present day.

In the sixth and last published volume of the "Transactions" we have a valuable paper on the "Babylonian Dated Tablets and the Canon of Ptolemy," by Mr. Boscawen, giving an interesting account of a great banking firm, "Egibi and Co.," the founder of which lived in the latter part of the reign of Sennacherib. It is necessary, however, to mention that Professor Oppert disputes Mr. Boscawen's conclusion of "Egibi and Son" being a Babylonian banking firm. He considers that the cuneiform records, on which Mr. Boscawen founds his opinion, show that it was not a financial but juridical firm; that Egibi was a tribal, not a personal name; and that the word rendered "witnesses" to supposed deposit notes, really meant "assessors." The great value of this paper, together with the lengthy discussion which took place on its being read before the Society, consists in the proof it affords to the correctness and accuracy of the Book of Daniel, and especially to the difficulties connected with the prophet's mention of Darius, the Mede, the son of Ahasuerus. The late Mr. Bosanquet, to whose liberality the Biblical Archæological Society is almost indebted for its existence, contended, for many years, that the Darius thus mentioned by Daniel was the same as Darius the Persian, the son of Hystaspes; and so strongly did he cling to his delusion, that he affirmed, contrary to the opinion of every scholar, whether cuneiform or otherwise, that the Egibi tablets supported his opinion in every respect. If any who are interested in this subject will turn to p. 273 of vol. vi., they will see how clearly M. Oppert, the first French cuneiform scholar of the day, has pointed out Mr. Bosanquet's fallacy. "For a long time," he says, "I have abandoned my first idea, contradicted even by the Book of Daniel, of identifying Darius, the Mede, with Darius I. of Persia. Mr. Bosanquet has ventured to assert that from B.C. 578 to 506 there were no traces of Darius' rule at Babylon. The contrary is the case, as we know at least fifty tablets dated from this period. . . . We have not to write history suited to our own theories, but history as yielded to us by the authors, whose writings are completely and splendidly corroborated by contemporaneous documents. All this quite arbitrary destruction of history and chronology appears to have originated in a desire to obtain for the capture of Babylon under Belshazzar the date of 493 B.C., 490 years or 70 weeks before the Nativity." Had Mr. Bosanquet been a Hebrew scholar he would not have been misled in the way he appears to



have been by the imperfect rendering of Daniel v. 31, where the authorised version reads—"Darius, the Median, took the kingdom," in place of Darius, the Median, "*received* the kingdom" from another, as it should have been translated, that other being Cyrus, the Persian, who captured Babylon, and appointed his relative, Darius, the Median, to rule over the city and kingdom, in accordance with the prophecies which foretold that Babylon would fall before the combined forces of "the Medes and Persians." An interesting plate of the Behistan Rock accompanies the discussion. Darius Hystaspes, the king of Persia, is represented as trampling on the body of one of his prisoners, while a body of captives with ropes round their necks, and their hands tied behind their backs, are standing before the king. Each one but the last bears an inscription over his head, describing him as a rebel, who falsely assumed the name of king of one of the many provinces which owned the sway of Persia. The face of each of these prisoners is wretched in the extreme. But our interest is confined to the last one, who appears, in every respect, differing from the others. He wears a high-peaked cap, exactly like that worn by the Jewish priests, and his countenance, judging from the two copies of the Behistan Rock possessed by the writer, is of a very pronounced Hebrew type. He is not described as a rebel, but the trilingual inscription above his head merely records these words:—

"THIS IS ISKUNKA THE CHIEF OF THE SAXONS."<sup>1</sup>

The Greek savant D. Perides' "Notes on Cypriote Palæography" are interesting so far as they throw light on any confirmation of the truth of the Bible. And it is not a little remarkable that at the very time that Cyprus has become virtually a portion of the British empire, so much has been gathered from the antiquities of that island, the scene of the Apostle Paul's earliest mission to the heathen world. We have now before us one of the most gorgeous pictures from an Egyptian tomb of the age of Moses, where the offerings of four different nations are made to the mighty Pharaoh, who was reigning in the seventeenth century B.C., one of them being from the inhabitants of the isle of Cyprus. A thousand years later, when Assur-bani-pul, king of Assyria, son of the Scripture Esarhaddon, was on his march to punish the Egyptians who had rebelled against his authority, after he had captured Thebes, the capital of the greatest monarchy of the ancient world, no less than ten petty kings or chieftains from Cyprus are represented as paying homage to the then powerful king of Assyria.

Such are some of the many important discoveries which have been made by Egyptological, cuneiform, and other Oriental scholars within the last half-century, which have thrown such a flood of light upon the historical portions of the Old Testament, and for the knowledge of which Biblical students are not a little indebted to the admirable series of papers published in the Transactions of the Biblical Archaeological Society.

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<sup>1</sup> The date of the Behistan Rock is fixed by Sir Henry Rawlinson at B.C. 516; and this inscription is the earliest instance known to history of the name of "Saxon."

*In the present Number we are compelled to defer some*  
 REVIEWS, AND THE SHORT NOTICES,  
*And to omit any remarks on the Month.*

# THE CHURCHMAN

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MARCH, 1880.

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## ART. I.—CONVOCATIONS, SYNODS, AND DIOCESAN CONFERENCES.

**A**LTHOUGH the Diocesan Conference occupies the last place in the title, as being the Consultative Assembly which has been latest called into existence, it is the one which must first engage our attention as that which elicits most popular interest, and which promises the most practical results. The age has for ever passed away in which the laity of the Church of England would patiently endure, that important questions touching their own temporal and spiritual interests should be decided in purely clerical gatherings, in which they themselves had no place, and in whose election they themselves had no part. How the remedy was to be applied and where to be found have been for some years past the most weighty of ecclesiastical problems which pressed for solution.

On the one hand, our Church laymen, as a body, heartily applauded the fairness of the appeal made by the late Archdeacon Sinclair, when, in 1852, addressing the clergy of the Archdeaconry of Middlesex, he said, "There is scarcely one of us who, could he take the place of a layman, would not feel misgivings rise within him when he found a purely clerical body called together to determine the doctrine he was to believe, the discipline he was to undergo, and the mode in which he was to worship God."<sup>1</sup> With equal depth of feeling they refused any such compromise as that which might be deduced from certain mediæval precedents, which would allow them at stated times to enter the Synod for the purpose of making complaints, but which would give them no true position in the formation of its decisions.

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<sup>1</sup> "Collected charges of Archdeacon Sinclair," p. 212.

Happily for their interests other precedents survived. It was remembered that in the councils of Constance and Basle the spiritual rights of the laity were asserted and recovered, though but for a little while. It was not forgotten that in the debates of the latter council the speeches in favour of the long-suspended rights of the laity are its most precious monuments, and that in the treatise of Andreas, Bishop of Megara, which chronicles its doings, the arguments are ably sustained, which prove that as the Creed defines the Church to be "the Communion of Saints," the right of all Catholics, lay as well as cleric, to take part in a general council which represents the whole Church, *verè, vel interpretativè aut representativè* is involved—and that on the ground of the universal brotherhood of Christians, and the equal transfusion of the Holy Spirit through their earliest assemblies, the equality of the votes of the laity in Synod with those of the clergy may be maintained.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, the lay members of our Church may well have thought that he had need to be a bold man who would seek to engraft a lay element on the old stock of our conciliar assemblies, whether convocational or diocesan. It must surely be with the fear of canonical wrath that some among them at the present time seek to promote a compromise on the lines of having a body of laymen associated with the convocations of the clergy as lay assessors. It is a question to be gravely considered whether such propositions do not render their exponents liable to the penalties which Canons 139, 140, 141 denounce against those who deprave our sacred synods, and affirm that they are not the true Church of England by representation! Let all such be hereby duly warned, for, if their language can constructively be interpreted to cover such depravation, they may be excommunicated, and not restored until they repent and revoke their wicked error! Apart, however, from all questions of terror, it is an opinion entertained by many of the laity, that the Archbishops and Bishops should have the power of calling into Provincial and Diocesan deliberative assembly their respective clergy where, in such questions as affect the clergy alone, the Bishops could ascertain their wishes and also make known their own views, provided that in no case decisions be arrived at affecting the body of the Church at large.

It has been amid such conflicting opinions and sentiments that a new kind of diocesan assembly has sprung into existence, which the Bishop of Bangor claims that his diocese in modern times has had the honour of inaugurating; and it is the distinction of this conference that whilst newer than mediævalism it is also older, inasmuch as its lines are based on those of the

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<sup>1</sup> Vide "Historical Introduction to Sinclair's Charges," by Canon Jenkins, p. 44.

earliest Church assemblies. This new council, known as the Diocesan Conference, has been thus defined, "It consists of elected representatives of the clergy and elected representatives of the lay churchmen of the diocese with some ex-officio members of both orders; and meets annually under the presidency of the Bishop, to deliberate on such matters as, with his sanction, are laid before it."<sup>1</sup>

The definition speaks of elected representatives, but the character of the representation varies greatly. In the diocese of Bangor where the clergy only number about 200, every one holding the Bishop's licence is summoned, whilst the laity are elected by a system of universal suffrage of all those in full communion in the Church of England—parishes under 1000 being entitled to one lay representative—over that number an additional representative for each additional 1000, but in no case to exceed six, and by this arrangement the lay members a little out-number the clergy. In the diocese of Chester the principle prevailed for some years of electing a third of the clergy and a third of the lay members by their respective orders, of the several ruri-decanal chapters and conferences. A change was introduced however in 1874, and has since prevailed, whereby, without any distinction between clergy and laity, all the members of the ruri-decanal chapters and conferences have the right to attend the central Diocesan Conference. The attendance has not, it may be observed, been greatly increased by this change of arrangement, but the sense of perfect fairness and of mutual confidence which everywhere exists in reference to its proceedings has been regarded as a sufficient justification of the change. In the Diocese of Norwich, where a Diocesan Conference was attempted some years ago on the collective principle of including all the clergy, the churchwardens and the lay representatives, the gathering was found to be too unwieldy to be worked, and latterly, when the conference has been revived, it has been on the elective principle.

The definition further makes no reference to anything beyond "deliberation." It may be well to add that in the Diocese of Chester, after a self-denying ordinance of seven years, whereby the proceedings were limited to bare discussion, a change was resolved upon whereby the results of such discussions are embodied in resolutions, upon which a vote is taken. By this change the tone of mutual forbearance and mutual respect has in no way been lowered, and the moral weight attached to the discussion on such a question as that of "Sunday Closing" is very greatly increased when, as in the Diocesan Conference at Chester, in October last, an amendment in favour of such entire

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<sup>1</sup> *Church Quarterly Review*, Oct., 1879, p. 169.

Sunday Closing is proposed and all but unanimously carried. The Diocese of Chester does not stand alone in following up its deliberations by the practical test of the vote.

Where an experiment was so new and purely tentative as that of the first Diocesan Conference, it could not be otherwise than that experience must test and correct many of the original features. After an existence of seven years the Diocese of Chester framed for itself a working constitution based on information procured from twelve other Dioceses in which Conferences were held. The resolutions which follow are its code, and will be studied with profit by those who wish to know more of the internal organisation of a successful Diocesan Conference:—

1. That the Diocesan Conference meet annually at Chester, under the presidency of the Bishop, and that the time of meeting be determined, with the approval of the Bishop, from year to year, by a committee of management.

2. That all the beneficed and licensed clergy, and all the lay-members of the rural-decanal Conferences be members of the Diocesan Conference—and that a number of laymen not exceeding 24 be nominated by the committee of management and approved by the Bishop, such laymen to be communicants.

3. That the arrangements of the Conference be entrusted to the committee of management appointed year by year, consisting of the Dean, Chancellor, Archdeacons, one clergyman, and one layman, elected from each rural-deanery.

4. That the subjects for discussion be decided by the committee of management, subject to the approval of the Bishop. Subjects may be suggested either by deaneries or by individual members of the Rural-decanal or Diocesan Conferences. Notices of motion are to be sent to the secretary of committee at least 30 days before the meeting of Conference. The business proposed to be transacted at any meeting of the Conference is to be stated in a list of agenda, which shall be issued at least 20 days before such meeting, and no business except such as is of a merely routine character shall be transacted, and no discussion be permitted thereon, unless the same shall be duly notified in the list of agenda, or shall arise in the form of an amendment strictly relevant to a motion so notified and sanctioned by the Bishop. Any special business, the introduction of which shall receive the consent of the meeting, may, with the consent of the Bishop, be brought before the Conference if time permits. Provided always that nothing herein contained shall be taken to prohibit the Bishop himself from making, *proprio motu*, and at any time, any statement or motion, although no previous notice shall have been given thereof.

5. That the conduct of the business of the Conference and the selection of the speakers be vested in the chairman; that voting be by show of hands; and where not less than ten may claim it by orders; in which case tellers shall be appointed and the motion shall not be deemed to be carried unless approved by a majority of each order.

6. That one open session be held at each Conference if the com-

mittee of management so advise, and that special notice of motions to be brought forward at such session be sent to the secretary of committee 30 days before the meeting of the Conference, and be approved by the committee.

7. That it shall be competent to the Conference to appoint committees to consider and report upon any subject of special interest and importance.

8. That the treasurer shall receive 3s. from each church or congregation sending representatives to the Conference, and that such payment be a condition of being so represented.

Against Diocesan Conferences the objections have been frequently urged that they are shunned by the laity, and that they begin, continue, and end in desultory talk. Neither of these charges I proceed to show can be substantiated. The accusation that such Conferences are the creation of the sacerdotal party, undertaken to promote a government of priests, will not bear a moment's investigation, and is at once contradicted by those who remember the circumstances which called them forth, and the character of their constitution.

(a.) The accusation that *the laity have never really been consulted, and that they have never taken any interest in the movement*, can be best refuted by an appeal to facts. Turning to the Diocese of Chester first, we find that its Conference in 1871, when elected, consisted of a total of 465—viz., 258 lay and 207 clerical members. The actual attendance on the first day of that Conference comprised 209 out of the 258 laymen, and 154 out of the 207 clerics. On the second day the numbers were 177 of the 258 laymen, and 151 of the 207 clerics. In the year 1875, when the Conference was thrown open to all members of the ruri-decanal chapters and conferences, and the clergy were thus reinforced by the addition of all licensed curates, the attendance on the first day still showed 180 laymen to 257 clergymen. Turning to the Diocese of Carlisle, we find similar results. "After ten years' trial," says the Bishop, "I see no reason to believe that the interest in our annual Conference diminishes, or that there is any doubt as to its utility. I find that in the present year the numbers attending were 60 clergy and 55 laity. In the previous year the lay element slightly predominated, and the same in the year before. Upon the whole the equilibrium is fairly maintained between the clerical and the lay sides of the house." The Ripon Diocese has been one of the last to adopt the Diocesan Conference, but the feature which seems mainly to have impressed itself upon the minds of impartial onlookers during the Conference which was held in

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<sup>1</sup> "A Pastoral Letter by Harvey Goodwin, Lord Bishop of Carlisle," p. 4, Christmas, 1879.

Leeds in October last, and whose proceedings were reported in full by the local papers, was the great attendance and keen interest of the laity. "Such a gathering of laymen of mark and of position in the area embraced by the Diocese could not (says the editor of the *Leeds Intelligencer* in a leading article) have been drawn together by any other cause than that of the Church, in whose welfare they feel an interest, apart from and above any political associations. To talk of the Church of England as the decrepit creature of the State in the face of a gathering so earnest, so truly representative, and combining such a variety of opinions, firmly held and freely recognised, is the very infatuation of self-deception."<sup>1</sup> The Conference called last into existence is that of the Isle of Man, so recently as January of the present year. The excellent Bishop, Dr. Rowley Hill, thus explains the circumstances under which it was originated:—

Experience has taught us, in the great religious movement of the present day, that there never can be any healthy development of Church life without the hearty co-operation of the clergy and laity. The wise counsel, the help, the experience, the sympathy of our religious laymen are now considered essential to the proper working of the system. It is the realization of this principle which has led to the institution of Diocesan Conferences. For many a long day the whole work of the Church was thrown upon the clergy. We have seen the error of our ways. We feel the importance of acting cordially together. The clergy seek the counsel, they ask for the opinion, they look for the help of the religious laity. They shrink from occupying an isolated position. Hence our Diocesan Conferences.<sup>2</sup>

If our readers will bear in mind such facts as these we have adduced, and which might be easily multiplied, they may ask with astonishment what justification there can be for such statements and counsels as those recently given in one of our religious papers, when, throwing ridicule and discredit on the attempt to organise a Diocesan Conference in London, it remarks: "In this way we get the materials of our Conference, over which the Bishop will preside in person, and which we doubt not will as obsequiously represent the episcopal views as did the Papal Counsels—*alias* the image of the Beast—the predominant theology of the Vatican. As for the laymen who are not 'churchy,' they, if wise in their generation, will have nothing to do with all this complicated machinery for the promotion of priestcraft. Only let them steadfastly refuse to countenance these gatherings, and they will soon collapse; for in reality they do not possess an atom of authority or a particle of stability. They are but the scaffolding without which sacerdotalism cannot

<sup>1</sup> *Leeds Intelligencer*, October 20, 1879.

<sup>2</sup> *London Guardian*, January 28, 1880.

rear its habitation, and they will fall into desuetude the moment the hateful building is complete." It may be hoped that no Evangelical Churchman will rashly accept statements so utterly baseless and so entirely mischievous. It may be confidently claimed that the movement has done more than all other movements combined to make the laity a living and directing force in the government of the Church, and to roll away the reproach brought against it by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, when some years ago, at a Church Congress, amid sympathetic plaudits, he affirmed, "I look with dissatisfaction upon the imperfect share which is assigned to the laity in the administration of matters of common concern in the Church. The readiest means of preventing collisions between the two powers is to provide for such a representation of the lay members of the Church as may enable the whole Church body to act harmoniously together in effecting improvements in discipline and in the mode of the Church's action—for in order to accomplish her task she must make a far greater call than at present upon that great but imperfectly developed element of her strength, the Christian laity."<sup>1</sup>

(b.) The objection that *Diocesan Conferences begin, continue, and end in talk*, can also be refuted by the very simplest statement of facts. If such a charge were literally true, it would not therefore follow that good had not been accomplished. Discussion contributes its share towards forming and moulding that public opinion which in our own day exercises so great an influence on legislation. Canon Ryle, in his little pamphlet on "Our Diocesan Conference,"<sup>2</sup> enumerates a list of thirty-five subjects on which he thinks there is a great deal to be said and a great deal to be learned, and concerning which he would be exceedingly glad to know what his clerical and lay brethren in Norfolk and Suffolk are thinking and doing. He admits, with his masculine common sense, that during a ministry of thirty-seven years he must have made some foolish experiments and had some humbling failures from want of knowledge of the right way to go to work. In such a Conference only those would command attention who were seen to know what they were talking about. In addition to the information elicited by discussion, he argues that much would be gained by the occasional appointment of small committees, who would undertake between the annual meetings to investigate special subjects, to collect and arrange information, and present the result of their inquiries in short reports, which, printed and circulated among the members, would be productive of good, as the experience of certain dioceses has already proved. Those

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<sup>1</sup> "Bath Church Congress Official Report," p. 172, 173.

<sup>2</sup> "Our Diocesan Conference," 1879, p. 10.



who are persistently incredulous as to the practical character of Conferences might profitably be put on such a course of reading as would be involved in the study of the fifteen annual reports of the Ely Diocesan Conference !

As, however, no proof seems so valid as one that can be measured by the pounds, shillings, and pence standard, I may state that taking the Diocese of Chester as an instance of others, such practical tests can be successfully applied. One of the first fruits of the Chester Diocesan Conference was the formation of a fund for the augmentation of poor benefices. That fund has already received from the diocese a sum of 57,884*l.*, which amount has been doubled by grants from Queen Anne's Bounty and from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The work still progresses, and how urgently it was required, and how much has been accomplished will be seen when it is announced that there still remain in that diocese 107 benefices under 200*l.* a year. Again, as a direct result of the Diocesan Conference discussions, an association has been established entitled the Chester Diocesan Finance Association, which receives funds for the four so-called Diocesan Institutions. It is entirely due to this organisation that, notwithstanding the long spell of commercial depression, the funds devoted to the furtherance of Church Building, the maintenance of Training Colleges and Diocesan School Inspectors, the provision for Clergy Widows and Orphans, and the sustentation of Schools for the Children of the Clergy, manifest a steady increase producing during the past year an income of nearly 10,000*l.* This committee in closing their Report feel warranted in saying, " With the return of better times we may anticipate a large development of liberality and zeal not only sufficient to place our Institutions on a more satisfactory basis than in times past, but ample enough to meet any fresh want arising from the growth of population or the increasing action of the Church." The Chester Association is the first of the kind in the kingdom, but other dioceses are quickly following its example. How quickly and successfully a Diocesan Conference may contribute to mould public opinion, a most cheering instance has recently proved. After an interesting discussion in the Chester Conference on Sunday Closing, an amendment, as already stated, was all but unanimously carried in favour of entire closing of the public-houses on the Lord's Day. Three months later, a Parliamentary election is held in Liverpool, and for the first time, in the largest constituency ever polled, numbering over 60,000 voters, the two candidates went to the poll pledged for entire Sunday closing. A few days later, and on Monday, February 1st, the Town Council of the same place, by a majority of 29 votes to 1, decide that a petition in the name of the municipal council shall be forwarded

to the Houses of Parliament in favour of entire Sunday closing. When it is remembered that such conferences now exist in all but four of our English dioceses, and that such are the fruits they can be made to yield, no language can adequately convey the strength of the writer's conviction as to the immense importance of Evangelical Churchmen loyally supporting and intelligently working these institutions which have so rapidly taken root in the soil of our English Church.

If, however, additional evidence be required to strengthen faith in the utility of the Diocesan Conference, it may be well to look outside our own land, and to remember how in the American Church, for wellnigh a century, the convention has been the very foundation on which our sister Church has rested all her organisation—or rather the very root from which her branching system has grown. On the creation of a new diocese a Diocesan Council of clergy and laymen is fully formed, even before the appointment of a Bishop. Besides the annual Diocesan Convention, there is the General Convention every third year, which if the parishes be reckoned as the articulation, and the Diocesan Convention as the larger limbs, may be accounted to hold the place of the backbone in the American system of ecclesiastical framework. How marvellously this system has adapted itself to the growth of the great Republic has been told by the present Dean of Chester. He was privileged to be present at the General Convention, held at Baltimore in 1871, and whereas the last General Convention held at Baltimore in 1808, was attended only by two bishops, there met in 1871 fifty Bishops, together with theoretically 400, but practically 300, lay and clerical delegates elected four and four from each corresponding diocese. The same differences prevail in the sister Church as among ourselves; but the excellent spirit of moderation which was diffused throughout the assembly the Dean ascribes to the presence of the laymen, who with equal knowledge and experience spoke in the Convention on equal terms with the clergy.<sup>1</sup>

Again, it would be well to study the constitution of our own colonial churches. The Diocesan Conference has had no more distinguished, no more hearty exponent, than the late Bishop of Melbourne, Dr. Perry, now Canon of Llandaff. A glowing testimony to the success of the experiment wrought out by Bishop Perry has been given by Sir W. Stawell, Chief Justice of Victoria :—

We met together in Conference under legislative enactment. The representatives elected were members of the Church of England and communicants; clergy and laity met together, and were presided over by the Bishop. They voted by orders, they passed their own enact-

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<sup>1</sup> "Leeds Church Congress Official Report," p. 277.

ments, they framed their own resolutions, and the result has been that in a country in which there were only two clergymen, there are now about 170 incumbents, with churches fully in proportion to the number of clergymen. The most conservative persons in that assembly are the laity. Generally speaking, those who wish to support the power of the Bishop are the laity; those who think the Prayer-book, as it is constituted, cannot be improved upon, are the laity; and those who desire to cling to the old Church, without any alteration whatever, are the laity.<sup>1</sup>

Again, it would be well to study the history of our sister Irish Church since her disestablishment. The fragments have been rendered compact and seaworthy, which otherwise as wreck had been strewed on every shore. To the General Convention, consisting of the Archbishop and Bishops, together with representative clergy and laymen, under God this success is due. On this point our readers may be referred to an interesting article by Archdeacon Whately, in *THE CHURCHMAN* of November last. The opinion set forth in that article, that the laity as a body are more Protestant in doctrine, more practical in business, and capable of stronger attachments by having responsibility imposed upon them, is one which will command general assent, and it is his belief that since the introduction of the laity into the Irish Convention, Plymouth Brethrenism has decreased, whilst in the power expeditiously to put down practices which savour of Romanism, and in the appointment of a committee for the distribution of patronage, the Irish Church has largely gained.

The system which works so well in the American Church—in the Colonial Churches, in the Irish Church, and which has been found so efficacious in the Established Church of Scotland, as well as in the dioceses of our own Church wherever it has been fairly tried, is no longer an experiment. No party in the Church has the credit of its inception, and no Bishop, whatever his school of thought, who has held his Diocesan Conference would be willing to be without one. If the present Bishop of Winchester and the present Dean of Lichfield be classed as High Churchmen they may be claimed as enthusiasts in favour of the Conference. The former has said:—

A diocesan synod was the very embodiment of episcopal autocracy. . . . For these reasons I prefer Conferences of the character of this assembly—Conferences of free thinkers, of free speakers, and of free voters. The clergy require the assistance of the laity; and if the laity are asked to give their work, the clergy must expect that they will desire to give their opinions as well, for it cannot be expected that they will act merely as the followers or bond-slaves of the clergy. Many of the laity, too, are as zealous for the faith as any clergyman

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<sup>1</sup> "Bath Church Congress Official Report," p. 278.

can be ; so that probably the best form of a council now is one which consists of Bishop, clergy, and laity.

The opinion of the Dean will be found on page 158 of THE CHURCHMAN.

The Bishop of Ripon and the Dean of Carlisle will be ranked as evangelical churchmen. Both of them have looked with some suspicion on the diocesan movement, but though among the latest adherents none, as it will be seen, can be more ardent in their support of the Diocesan Conference. The Bishop of Ripon, at his recent Conference in October last, having explained the reluctance with which he was prevailed upon to move by the pressure exerted upon him by the body of the Church itself, gave in his hearty adhesion to the principle as one which must henceforward be recognised as an indispensable condition of healthy Church life, and then added, "the experience of two years has swept to the winds any lingering doubts that might have existed in my own mind." With the opinion expressed by the venerable Dean of Carlisle at the last Conference in that city, I will bring this article to a close :—

This Conference is just the thing we want—that is, a fair representation of clergy and laity in the council of the Church. Bishops are not the Church, the clergy are not the Church, the laity are not the Church ; but the Bishops, priests, and deacons acting in wise accordance with the people, constitute the Church of England. The times in which we live are just adapted for such a Church, and we ought to be thankful if to this ancient structure and machinery, many parts of which have become rusty and useless, we can apply new springs of power and wisdom, which may make it a grand source of reformation, if it be needed, to the Church of England.<sup>1</sup>

JOHN W. BARDSLEY.

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## ART. II.—CHAUCER AND WYCLIFFE.

1. H. SIMON, of Schmalkalden. *Chaucer a Wycliffite*. Chaucer Society's Essays, Pt. III.
2. REINHOLD PAULI. *Bilder aus Alt-England*. Gotha. 2<sup>te</sup> Aufl. 1876.
3. G. V. LECHLER. *Johann von Wiclif und die Vorgeschichte der Reformation*. Leipzig. 1873.

**R**ELIGIOUS reformations have invariably been preceded and attended by times of intellectual excitement and activity, prolific in men who, by voice or pen, have loudly inveighed

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<sup>1</sup> *The Guardian*, Oct. 8, 1879.

against the corruption of manners and the vices of the clergy. It would be idle to deny the services which such men have rendered in preparing the way for the triumph of the truth, even though they have not themselves been preachers of righteousness in any sense. By undermining the authority of an arrogant hierarchy, by tearing the veil of hypocrisy from the face of an ignorant and debased priesthood, and by breaking the spell under which the people had been held enthralled, they have at least served to enlist the sympathy of the masses with the coming change, and greatly contributed to the success of the Reformation; but it is equally certain that to protest against open and shameless demoralisation, to expose vices and abuses which shock the common sense and decency of society, does not require the possession of real religion, nor even the mere intellectual apprehension of doctrinal truth. Some of the most unsparing denunciations of the corruptions of the Romish Church have been uttered by men who never severed themselves from her communion, who held firmly by all her errors, and who even founded new monastic orders in the vain hope of remodelling her constitution on the old lines, or by others whose attacks were really aimed at Christianity itself, not at the deformed image in which it was presented to their readers.

In our own country, while the godly vicar of Lutterworth, John of Wicliffe, protected by the generous but dissolute prince John of Gaunt, was preaching against some of the errors of the Church of which he was a priest, and was engaged along with Hereford and Purvey in translating the Word of God into the language of the people, three poets, Gower, Langland, and Chaucer, each from a different standpoint, joined in exposing the corruption of society in general, and the vices of the monks and friars in particular.

Gower, in his "*Vox Clamantis*," which being written in Latin was evidently addressed rather to the more learned clergy than to the people, and the title of which was suggested by the character of John the Baptist, mercilessly handles peasant and noble, prelate and monk, soldier and lawyer in turn, but shows by the sermon in the second book, that he had no sympathy with the doctrines of Wicliffe, however convinced of the necessity of a moral reformation. He deservedly earned the title of the Moral Gower, but was to the last a sincere Romanist in his creed.

Langland was a man of a very different stamp; born of poor parents, he was schooled in adversity; a clerk in minor orders, too proud to seek preferment by sacrificing his principles, he earned a miserable subsistence by singing dirges at the funerals of the rich. His existence, embittered by penury and blighted hopes, was in melancholy harmony with the crisis of the nation's

life. To him the times were out of joint, and little hope had he of better days. In the vision of Long Will, concerning Piers the plowman, the hero of this "pilgrim's progress," or politico-theological allegory, a long and varied train of characters passes in grim procession before his eyes, but with the single exception of poor Piers the plowman, presenting every form of moral deformity, without one redeeming feature. The powers of darkness seem all abroad, prelates and monks fattening on the revenues of the Church lands, mendicant friars practising every kind of imposture on their dupes, a poor and ignorant secular clergy, peasants and artisans profiting by the dearth of labour consequent on the recent plagues to live in bold idleness or gluttonous indulgence, brutal barons taking advantage of the extinction of villeinage to evict their labourers, driving them to insolent beggary or lawless life, while Parliament seeks to repress the impending revolution by the most rigorous and oppressive measures, rich and poor fearing and feared, hateful and hating one another.

Still diverse from Gower and Langland was the character of Geoffrey Chaucer; his career was indeed chequered, but his trials served only to chasten the native joyousness of his gentle mind. The greater part of his life was passed in comparative ease; he had moved and made friends in every rank of society except the highest and the lowest, and with wondrous dramatic power, exquisite art, and a happy mixture of kindly sympathy and harmless raillery, he depicts the manners of the motley group of pilgrims to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. True, his satire becomes sharp enough as he relentlessly holds up to scorn the pardoner and the friar, but even here we miss the stern invective, the scathing indignation, of the ascetic Langland. Yet we must remember that the popularity which the *Canterbury Tales* rapidly obtained among all classes rendered Chaucer's milder irony far more obnoxious to the clergy than the bitter censure, the unconcealed hatred, expressed in the "Vision," addressed, too, as it was, to a public very few of whom were able to read.

We know how it was sedulously reported that Chaucer before his death had made his peace with the Church, how a retraction, the spuriousness of which is universally admitted, was appended to his works, and we need not therefore be surprised to find that there is good reason to believe that that part of the poem which touches most closely on the points at issue between Wicliffe and the Church of Rome has been grossly tampered with by clerical copyists. The labours of a little band of learned and devoted students had already condemned as spurious several entire poems commonly attributed to Chaucer, when Mr. H. Simon, of Schmalkalden, struck like many others with the inconsistencies

and self-contradictions of the Parson's Tale, has with the critical acumen of a true German scholar after a laborious and exhaustive analysis of the Tale succeeded in separating the interpolations from the genuine work, and shown that the poet was not the elegant sceptic he is usually considered to have been, but a sincere partisan of the doctrines, no less than an admirer of the character, of the Reformers.

Passing over the lay personages in the prologue we have a monk, ironically said to be certain of preferment, richly dressed and mounted, fond of good living and passionately addicted to the chase. A wanton friar, who "knew the tavernes wel in every toun," "an esy man to geve penaunce" and "the beste beggere in his hous," and a Pardoner, even more contemptible with wallet "bret ful of pardoun come from Rome al hot," and relics of the most incredible value, including a glass of "pigges bones" with which—

Upon a day he gat him more moneye  
Than that the persoun gat in monthes tweye,  
And thus with feyned flaterie and japes,  
He made the persoun and the people his apes.

In striking contrast to these repulsive characters stands the "Poure persoun" . . . "riche of holy thought and werk," . . . "also a lerned man, a clerk"—

That Cristes gospel trewely wolde preche,  
Benigne he was and wonder diligent,  
And in adversité ful pacient.  
Wyde was his parische,  
But he ne lafte not for reyne ne thonder,  
In sicknesse nor in mischief to visite  
The ferreste in his parissche, moche and lite,  
A noble ensample to his scheep he gaf.

He did not seek preferment, like too many of the clergy of that day—

But dwelt at hoom and kepte wel his folde,  
So that the wolf ne made it not myscharye.  
He was a schepherde and no mercenarie,  
And though he holy were and vertuous,  
He was to sinful man nought despitous,  
To drawe folk to heven by fairnesse,  
By good ensample, this was his busynesse.

He would sharply reprove the obstinate without respect of persons, and lastly—

But Cristes lore and his apostles twelve  
He taughte, but first he folwede it himselve.

Such is the description of the Parson which, as Mr. Simon says, "has hundreds of times been quoted as the ideal of Christian charity and humility, evangelical piety and unselfish resignation to the high calling of a pastor," yet we cannot deny that such characters have been found among the parish priests even in the bosom of the Church of Rome. But let us examine it more closely; the first feature on which the poet dwells is that he taught the gospel in its purity—

That Cristes gospel trewely wolde he preche

Out of the gospel he the wordes caught, &c.

This was the essential character of the preaching of Wicliffe and his party, by which they were distinguished from the rest of the clergy, who would not allow the sole authority of the Scriptures. Scarcely less characteristic were their irreproachable holiness of life, which their worst enemies dared not gainsay, and their earnest appreciation of learning in the service of the truth. Ignorance no less than laxity of morals was the rule in the regular orders; learning was confined to the secular clergy, from among whom Wicliffe recruited his associates.

Lastly, in his pastoral visits, our parson goes "uppon his feet and in his hand a staf," just as Wicliffe's itinerant preachers are said to have gone about by Henry Knighton, Canon of Leicester, Thomas Walsingham, a Benedictine of St. Albans, and other historians of that period. At the same time it cannot be Wicliffe himself who is portrayed, for he did not travel, nor was he ever a *poor* parson.

Leaving the picture of the man himself as given by Chaucer, let us turn for a moment to the language and behaviour of his companions. When the parson firmly but gently remonstrates with the rollicking innkeeper for taking God's name in vain, Harry Bailly derisively remarks—

I smell a loller in the wind.

But receiving no answer, as he had expected, points directly at the parson, and with another profane oath exclaims—

We schal have a predicacioun

This loller here wol prechen us somewhat.

Nay, by my fader soule! that schal he not.

Sayde the schipman, Here shall he not preche :

He schal no gospel glosen here, ne teche.

No greater insult could have been offered to an "orthodox" priest than this of calling him a Lollard. If our parson did not admit the impeachment, he must in self-respect and for the sake of the company have indignantly repudiated it. But he does nothing of the kind; he did not indeed feel bound to proclaim



himself a heretic, and thus to provoke opposition, but silently waits the opportunity of giving them, when he shall be called on to speak, a few simple words in season. Again, however unwelcome might be the expectation of a sermon of any sort, how could such harangues as they were accustomed to hear from the preaching friars, made up of stories from the lives of the saints, legends sacred and profane, the "*Gesta Romanorum*," and even Ovid's "*Metamorphoses*," the whole spiced with coarse jokes and with jingling rhymes, be described as "gospel glosing?" Such preaching Wicliffe denounced with all his soul. Everywhere in his sermons we find condemnations of the "*Gesta vel cronicas mundiales*," "*Gesta, poemata vel fabulas*," "*Colores rithmicos*," and "*formam metricam*." "*Debet evangelisator predicare*," says he, "*plane evangelicam veritatem*." The parson was a Wicliffite, and all the pilgrims knew it. At length the bully of an inn-keeper, rudely as he had treated the monk and the "nonnes priest," is disarmed by the gentle behaviour and dignified meekness with which the parson had borne the jeers and thrusts of the rougher members of the party. He respectfully invites him to favour them with a fable, only stipulating that it be a short one, as the day is nearly spent. He even attempts a little flattery, an unmistakable testimony on the poet's part to the conduct, the peaceful disposition, and influence of the Lollard or Wicliffite preachers. To this invitation the parson accedes on certain conditions—

Thou getest fable noon i told from me  
 For Poul that writeth unto Timothé,  
 Repreveth hem that weyveth sothfastnesse,<sup>1</sup>  
 And tellen fables, and such wrecchednesse.  
 Why schuld I sowen draf<sup>2</sup> out of my fest,  
 Whan I may sowë whete, if that me list?  
 For which I say, if that you lust to hie  
 Moralité and vertuous matiere,  
 And thanne that ye wil geve me audience,  
 I wol ful fayn at Cristes reverence  
 Do you plesauncé leful,<sup>3</sup> as I can.  
 But trusteth wel, I am a suthern man,  
 I can not gesté,<sup>4</sup> rum, ram, ruf,<sup>5</sup> by letter,  
 Ne, God wot, rym hold I but litel better.  
 And therefor, if you lust, I wol not glose,  
 I wol you tel a merry tale in prose,  
 To knyte up al this fest, and make an ende;  
 And Jhesu, for his gracé," wit me sende<sup>6</sup>  
 To schewë you the way, in this viage

<sup>1</sup> Them that waive (or pass by) truth.

<sup>2</sup> Draf—rubbish.

<sup>3</sup> Lawful pleasure.

<sup>4</sup> Gesté—to tell romances.

<sup>5</sup> Use alliteration.

<sup>6</sup> Send me wisdom.

Of thilke parfyte, glorious pilgrimage  
That hath Jerusalem celestial.

His appeal to the authority of St. Paul in the Epistles to Timothy when declining to favour the company with a fable, is eminently characteristic. Nowhere does the Apostle expatiate so fully on the right discharge of the office of a pastor, or warn his readers so earnestly against false doctrine and enforced celibacy and abstinence. They were special favourites of Wicliffe, and the caution against *fables*, which occurs no less than four times in these and that to Titus, is echoed again and again in the writings of the Reformer. He who put such words into the mouth of the parson must have been acquainted with the sermons of Wicliffe.<sup>1</sup>

Nor need we be surprised at finding a Wicliffite preacher taking part in a pilgrimage, or as he advisedly calls it a "*viage*" to Canterbury. The shrine of à Becket was indeed the destination of the others, but there also were the tombs of Augustine, the first missionary to the Saxons, and of Ethelbert, his royal convert, there was the first English church, there too were the tombs of Langton, the champion of our national liberties, and of the Black Prince, the idol of the people; but above all, in the concourse of superstitious pilgrims from all parts of the kingdom, he would find a rich field for his evangelic labours. That he attached himself to one of these parties was a mere precaution against the perils of the road. The Tale itself, being purely a religious discourse without any reference to mediæval romances, has not received at the hands of critics the attention that has been bestowed on the others for the sources of the materials of which the literature of East and West has been ransacked.

But no one who has read it with the least care can fail to have remarked its inconsistency not only with the character of the speaker, but with its own self. Side by side with the language of Scripture, and the simple evangelical doctrine of repentance and forgiveness of sins by faith in Christ alone, are long disquisitions concerning the degrees of guilt depending on circumstances of time and place which might have been culled from Peter Dens, and an exposition of enormous length on the seven deadly sins. Passages which irresistibly recall the language of our reformed communion office jostle others insist-

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<sup>1</sup> Objection has not unnaturally been taken to the coarseness of much of Chaucer's writings. It must be remembered, however, that in the age in which he lived, and indeed for nearly two hundred years after, the common language of society was marked by an utter absence of refinement or even of modesty. Besides, it may be mentioned that the prologue to the Wife of Bath's Tale is composed almost wholly of free translations from Jerome *adversus Jovinianum* and Theophrastus *de Nuptiis* and Tertullian *de monogamiâ* as quoted by Jerome in his work.

ing on the necessity of auricular confession and priestly absolution, and are followed by a minute description of the various forms of private and public penance.

But when we come to a critical examination of the Tale as a literary production, the clumsiness of the forgery becomes patent. Every rule of composition and of grammar is violated, theses and definitions are contradicted by their illustrations, the order of the several points is repeated or inverted, and the tedious digressions are marked by decided differences in language and idiom. Once the interpolator got confused between the personalities of the parson and the poet, and makes the former "a lerned man, a clerk," . . . "leve to divines so heigh a doctrine" as the exposition of "the Ten Commandments"

The perfect symmetry of every other work of Chaucer's, his mastery of the arts of composition, the transparency and logical accuracy of his sentences, are well known to every student of his writings. It is remarkable how the Tale, judged from a purely literary standpoint, gains by the elimination of the foreign matter. It now forms a concise, yet clear and complete statement of the views of Wicliffe's party on the doctrine of repentance; it is perfect as a work of art, and excellent in every part; it is in entire harmony with the character of the Parson; and, lastly, it is, what the corrupt version most certainly is not, in compliance with the express wish of the host, short.

The plan of the Tale may be thus stated. The preacher, wishing to "improve the occasion" of the pilgrimage by proving that true penitence does not consist in any such works of satisfaction or self-imposed penance, but in turning from sin, in repentance and faith in Christ, takes for his text a passage from the Prophet Jeremiah (vi. 16), evidently chosen with a view to turn the thoughts of his hearers from the innovations of the Romish Church to the primitive doctrine of Christianity. He then gives a definition of penitence according to St. Ambrose, and "some doctor," adding a third of his own. The explanation of the word itself, which he had promised, is omitted; probably it has been excised by the copyist. Next, he discusses the things which should move a man to repentance, enumerating (1) the remembrance of his sins; (2) the consciousness of slavery implied in sin; (3) dread of future punishment; (4) the sorrowful remembrance of good left undone and of happiness lost; (5) the remembrance of the sufferings of Christ for our sins; (6) the hope of forgiveness, the gift of grace to do well, and the glory of heaven; secondly, the "manner of contrition," and, lastly, the fruits of repentance. Such is the pure gold of this gospel sermon, separated from the dross in which it has been smothered by monkish scribes.

The subject of the Parson's Tale, or "*Meditacioun*" as he

calls it, is that of Wicliffe's "Wicket," the manner of treating it is the same; nay, more, the very words are, in numberless instances, borrowed from the works of the great reformer. The palpably spurious portions are those treating of the three "acciouns and the three spices (*i.e.*, *kinds*) of penitence"; "the laste thing . . . (*viz.*) whereof availeth contricioun" which follows the sixth of the six things which should move a man to repentance; the whole of the "seconde partye of penitence" of which no first part has been indicated in the introduction; and the dissertation on the seven deadly sins, much of which is too obscene for general reading; in fact, the remaining three-fourths or more of the Tale, except the closing section on the "fruyts of penitence," which is genuine. These additions have necessitated numerous minor interpolations or alterations in the text of the introductory part, which Mr. Simon has pointed out, besides which there are many passages in the sections on the things which should move a man to penitence found in the Lansdowne or other MSS., but wanting in the Harleian, which look very suspicious.

It is scarcely necessary to add that the "Preces de Chauceres" which is made in some copies a part of the Parson's Tale, and in others added as a sort of death-bed recantation of the poet's, is utterly unworthy of notice.

To persons not familiar with the domestic history of those times it might seem incredible that such wholesale falsification could be perpetrated on a work of so popular a poet. There is, however, good reason to believe that Chaucer did not publish the Parson's Tale in his lifetime. Since no contemporary MS. of the Canterbury Tales exists, this must remain a matter of conjecture; but Lydgate, some years after Chaucer's death, speaks of the Tale of Melibeus as the only piece of prose among them, whereas that of the Parson, had he known of it, would have possessed special interest to him as an ecclesiastic. The author, too, had good reasons for suppressing his sermon on penitence.

After Wat Tyler's insurrection had been put down, Wicliffe was falsely accused by his enemies of having contributed by his preaching to the popular rising. His doctrines were condemned by the Synod of 1382, and he was deprived of his professorship, though he was protected from further persecution by the influence of the Queen, and of John of Gaunt until his death, which occurred in 1384. In 1386 a change of government took place: the Duke of Gloucester superseded John of Gaunt, who was driven from power, and with the fall of his patron Chaucer was deprived of his lucrative office. From 1388 to the end of the century, *i.e.*, to the time of Chaucer's death, the persecution of the Lollards waxed hotter, until Archbishop Arundel, who had

succeeded Courtney in the see of Canterbury, induced the usurper Henry IV. to pay for his assistance by the bloody statute *De Comburendo Heretico*.

Chaucer was now old and infirm; a poor layman, dependent for his subsistence on the charity of the court, he could not feel himself called on to provoke persecution, and to forfeit his means of living by making public a work which would inevitably have brought on him the indignation of the ruling powers; but kept it to himself until the storm of persecution should have passed, or he should have been removed by death. Chaucer died in the little house in the gardens of St. Mary's, Westminster, which he held on lease from the Abbey, surrounded doubtless in his last hours by the monks who constituted themselves his literary executors. The Parson's Tale, of which, as we have seen, Lydgate was ignorant, did not probably appear till between 1410-20, the date of our earliest MS., when Lewis Chaucer, the poet's only son, had long been dead, if indeed he survived his father, and there was no one who cared to identify the poet's handwriting, or possibly had ever seen the original Tale.

That the monks, when the persecution of the Lollards was at its height, when the writings of Wicliffe were being hunted up and committed to the flames, and his followers brought to the stake, should have themselves published so heretical a work is inconceivable: they might have destroyed it, but felt that the production of an orthodox essay on penitence, inculcating the necessity of auricular confession, of penance and priestly absolution, proving that whatever doubts he might have entertained in his lifetime, the poet of the people at least died a "Catholic" at peace with the Church, would be a triumph, the moral effect of which would be incalculable. They had plenty of leisure for a complete falsification of the work, though the forgers, who were obviously clerics, seemed to have found the transformation of the Tale no easy task.

Mr. Simon has done the cause of learning and truth good service, but there is still ample scope for a further revision of the Parson's Tale by collation with the writings of Wicliffe, though it would be well to postpone the attempt until the completion of the sixth text edition of the Tales, which the Chaucer Society has in hand.

EDWARD F. WILLOUGHBY.

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## ART. III.—ON CHURCH AND STATE IN FRANCE.

1. *L'Église et la Révolution Française.* Par EDMOND DE PRESSENSÉ. Paris, Meyrueis : 1864.
2. *L'Église Gallicane dans son Rapport avec le Souverain Pontife.* Par le Comte JOSEPH DE MAISTRE. Lyon, Pelagaud : 1874.
3. *Histoire du Gouvernement Parlementaire en France.* Par M. DUVERGIER DE HAURANNE. Paris, Lévy Frères : 1871.
4. *Le Correspondant* : 1879.
5. *Manuel du Droit Public Ecclésiastique Français.* M. DUPIN. Cinquième édition. Paris, Plon : 1860.

## I.

ON the 21st January, 1535, "all Paris was astir; the streets were hung with drapery; reposoirs were erected;" a solemn procession defiled through it;—"many bodies of the saints"—were carried through it. The Virgin's milk; our Lord's purple robe; one of His many crowns of thorns; one of the numerous true crosses on which He was hung; the relics of Sainte Genéviève were brought out of their shrines. Cardinals, archbishops, and bishops preceded the Host under a magnificent canopy, borne by princes of the blood; then followed Francis I., bareheaded, and on foot, the Queen, the courtiers, the university, the corporations, all walking two and two, with lighted torches, "exhibiting marks of extraordinary piety." The object was a reparation because the sacrifice of the Mass had been openly impugned by the Huguenots. The reparation was completed by the plunging up and down into flames of three "heretics." The wretches "were made to feel that they were dying." The people were filled with cruel joy; savage thirst for blood was aroused in them.

On the 21st of January, 1793, there was another gala day in Paris. There was again a procession through the streets of the great city. On this occasion there were no reposoirs, no relics, no priests, no nobles; but there was a king borne along in a tumbril to the scaffold. Once more the people were filled with cruel joy, once more the savage thirst for blood was aroused. "Une multitude sans Dieu vaut une multitude idolâtre."

During the intervening period of four hundred and fifty-eight years, the Church of Rome had reigned supreme in France. One third of the country belonged to ecclesiastics. At the

expiration of it the throne, the nobility, the priesthood were swept away, and France was reeling to and fro drunk with blood and crime, having made the miserable exchange of atheism for superstition. For the time the desolation was complete. Society had to be built up afresh out of ruins. Nearly a hundred years have elapsed and the work is yet incomplete. The struggle is still severe between those who would restore the past and those who would reconstitute France on the principles contended for at the Revolution. It will be our task to note the chief incidents of this protracted conflict and to comment upon them.

## II.

It is a mistake to consider Frenchmen irreligious. In the seething times which preceded the Revolution, it is perfectly true that there was a dissolute crew of nobles and philosophers, of infidel priests and debauched abbés, whose only creed might be summed up in "let us eat and drink for to-morrow we die." But poor Jacques Bonhomme had little share in all this ghastly revelry and these wild speculations.<sup>1</sup> During the revolutionary period there were the most frantic excesses of mocking infidelity, and up to the present time there are multitudes of Frenchmen absolutely "without God in the world." But the whole history of the Huguenots shows that there is in Frenchmen a capacity for worshipping "God who is a spirit, in spirit and in truth," without fetichism and without cumbrous ceremonial. The marvellous and rapid manner in which religion was restored in France after the delirium of the Reign of Terror, points in the same direction. In the Constituent Assembly Mirabeau declared, "Dieu est aussi nécessaire que la liberté au peuple Français." In the Convention, even Robespierre maintained that the idea of the Supreme Being and of the immortality of the soul is "un rappel continuel à la justice ; elle est donc sociale et républicaine." Again he affirmed, "Si Dieu n'existait pas, il faudrait l'inventer." In the same spirit M. Portalis le Père, when introducing the Concordat and the Organic laws to the Legislative Assembly, propounded the question, "La religion, est elle nécessaire aux hommes ?" In answering it he first inquired whether a new religion could be established. To this he re-

<sup>1</sup> For the full account of this wonderful contrast, see Merle d'Aubigné's "History of the Reformation in Europe," vol. iii.

<sup>2</sup> The reference was to "Théophilanthropie," a new system set on foot by the Directory. It was a sort of Deism, of the kind suggested by Rousseau in his "Contrat Social ;" La Reveillère Lapaux was the hierophant of it. The ritual was as absurd as that of Modern Positivists. The officiating ministers were clad in white robes with rose-coloured sashes, and preached on tolerance, filial piety, commercial honesty, and similar topics. This, however, was soon found to be very wearisome, and the

plied in the negative. What religion was possible? Christianity. Nor was this policy confined to isolated expressions of a few republican leaders. In 1792, the Fête of Sainte Genéviève was celebrated with enthusiasm in Paris by multitudes. More than a thousand persons could not gain admittance into the Church. The Commune endeavoured to put a stop to the "Fête des Rois," but only succeeded in creating great scandal.

As there were, in the time of the Dragonnades, French Huguenots, who were "tortured, not accepting deliverance that they might obtain a better resurrection," so in the revolutionary era there were French bishops and clergy equally prepared for similar martyrdom. In the massacre at the Carmes there were scenes of heroism displayed worthy of the times of Irenæus; conspicuous among all was the venerable Archbishop of Arles, thanking God that he had his blood to offer to Him. Of course there was another side of this picture. While these holy men were willingly offering themselves up to a cruel death, apostate priests in the Church of St. Eustache were dancing the carmagnole round a bonfire in which missals, copes, and relics were burning. Still the sentiment of religion was not extinct, but revived rapidly in France; it exists now even among those who, seduced by what is termed philosophy, or ensnared by evil passions, are, in darkness and confusion, feeling about after God if haply they may find Him. Too often the upshot of their baseless speculations is that they

Find no end in wandering mazes lost.

But yet there are depths of religious feeling which can be stirred in Frenchmen; there are multitudes among them ready at any moment to cry out, "who will show us any good?" When any great preacher, like Lacordaire, or Ravignan, or Hyacinthe, mounts the pulpit at the conferences at Notre Dame, and brings, or is supposed to bring, a message from God, the vast church is filled, not only with the drilled supporters of clericalism, but with souls athirst for the water of life, wherewithal to quench their consuming thirst. Why, then, certainly ever since the Revolutionary era, and indeed long before it, have the French laity appeared to be in antagonism with Christianity? Why, under all the successive phases of Government, has there been a perpetual struggle against religion, presented to them under the form of Romanism, whenever that struggle has been

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listeners had to be paid for attending. It was a remarkable instance of the complete failure of a "*croyance sans mystères et sans dogmes*" to become a religion, even under circumstances apparently most favourable. This is the perpetual difficulty of Unitarianism.



possible?<sup>1</sup> Why has, since the Reformation, the conflict been unceasing between the intelligence of France and Ultramontanism?

The answer to this must be found in the words of Mirabeau, which we have already quoted. France wants God, but France wants liberty also. During the days of the Second Empire, we were much touched with the words which fell from the lips of a most distinguished Frenchman in Paris, as he was speaking of England. Glancing at the police present at a meeting, he exclaimed, "Et nous autres Français, nous aimons aussi *un peu* la liberté." In order to develop this position it will be necessary to review, in a brief historical sketch, the relations which have existed between the Church of France and the State since 1789. The date might be removed further back with much advantage, but it will suffice in an article like the present, to show how what may be summed up in "Dieu," has been unceasingly presented to Frenchmen in an attitude irreconcilable with "la Liberté."

### III.

In his most interesting volume on "l'Église et la Révolution," M. de Pressensé, in a very able manner, proves that throughout the whole of that stormy period, ecclesiastical questions, not merely relating to the property of the French Church, but also to its tenets and maxims, constantly occupied the attention of those who successively rose to power. He asserts that the aim and object of the Revolution was "Liberty." Equality was a subsidiary matter. The question of religion badly understood and hastily resolved, was, he maintains, the proximate cause of the Reign of Terror. In order to understand this we must review the attitude of the clergy. In 1787, La Fayette, in the Assembly of Notables, had been instrumental in procuring the Edict of Toleration of that year. By this edict non-Catholics (*par pudeur* no other name was given to them!) were allowed to live in France and to practice their professions or trades; they were permitted to marry, and to register the birth of their children before civil officers; regulations were also made for their burial, although no permission was hereby accorded for

<sup>1</sup> Le caractère le plus distinctif et le plus invariable du parlement de Paris se tire de son opposition constante au Saint Siège. Sur ce point jamais les grandes magistratures de France n'ont varié. Déjà le XVII<sup>e</sup>. siècle comptait parmi les principaux membres de véritables Protestants tels que les Présidents de Thou, de Ferrière, &c; on peut lire la correspondance de ce dernier avec Sarpi, dans les œuvres de ce bon religieux; on y sentira les profondes racines que le Protestantisme avait jetées dans le parlement de Paris. . . . Ce même esprit s'était perpétué jusqu'à nos jours dans le parlement, au moyen du Jansénisme qui n'est au fond qu'une phase du Calvinisme.—De Maistre, sur l'Eglise Gallicane.

Protestant worship, which was expressly confined to the French Church. Until the Revolution the clergy never ceased protesting against this edict. "Lord save us! the kingdom is in peril, for Protestants, contrary to the laws, are admitted to employment," was the cry of the Archbishop of Arles.<sup>1</sup> The last act of the assembly of the clergy in 1788, was a formal demand to the King to revoke the edict of toleration. It might with some truth be said that the first occupation of the Constituent Assembly was the question of religious liberty. The step taken was tentative, a species of compromise. "No one, it decreed, was to be molested on the score of his opinions, even his religious belief, provided the manifestation of it did not disturb public order established by law." This decree (5th November, 1789,) is worth noticing, for hitherto France can hardly be said to have got much further, if indeed quite so far, after a conflict of a hundred years.

With much more ease and completeness the relations between the Church and the State were transformed in other respects. The nation took possession of the whole property of the clergy, who from independent proprietors, became salaried agents, as they have ever since been. It was useless to make any attempt to uphold conventual establishments, then a hopeless scandal to public morality. M. de Pressensé (p. 122) shows that the system of a salaried clergy was no novelty of the French Revolution. It had been a monarchical tradition, handed down from the days of Louis XIV. In reality it was "*Gallicanisme à outrance*." We recommend the admirers of the "Gallican" Church seriously to consider this question. Le Vayer de Boutigny, who was consulted by Louis XIV., compared the Church to a ship; this is no novelty; but he added, the helm is in the hands of the spiritual power, while the captain, who regulates its whole course, is the State. It was in vain that in the Assembly Dom Gerle strove to obtain a decree that all religions could not be admitted into France, but that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion is, and ever shall be, the religion of the nation, and its worship alone authorised. The Huguenots were permitted to return; they were to be eligible for all employment. Rabaut L'Etienne, the son of an old Huguenot minister, "an apostle of the desert," for whose head a price had often been offered, wrote in 1790 to his father, "The President of the National Assembly is at your feet." In the Constituent Assembly, Jansenism, so long trodden under foot, triumphed over its ancient adversaries. The civil constitution of the clergy was adopted. Bishops and clergy were to be elected by the people. The spirit of the Constituent Assembly may be summed

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<sup>1</sup> *Cædimus inque vicem præbemus crura flagellis.*

up in the apothegm of the Jansenist Camus, uttered June 1st, 1790. "The Church is in the State, the State is not in the Church. We are a National Assembly; we have the power of changing the religion of the country." This is in precise accordance with the maxims of "*Gallicanisme à outrance*," if we substitute Louis XIV. for the National Assembly.

In these recent conflicts there had been some doubtful and imperfect gain for religious liberty. The germ of future troubles was contained in the oath imposed on the future clergy, by Article 21 of the "*Civil Constitution of the Clergy*," that they would be faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king, and would maintain with all their power the constitution voted by the National Assembly. This would not seem a very formidable difficulty to an English clergyman, but it must have been a very bitter test for a French bishop or priest. Although it attacked no article of Catholic or Apostolic religion it was directly antagonistic to Romanism. Those who had so long and so cruelly persecuted, were rapidly finding themselves exposed to persecution. It is impossible not to feel sympathy with them in the terrible dilemma to which they were reduced. If the French clergy had been content to struggle for their own independence and for more just relations with the State, which was oppressing their consciences, that sympathy would be extreme. But with this they combined undisguised hatred to political liberty; then and ever since they have been in open antagonism with all who love liberty in France. In this war the Pope took the lead. Early in 1790 the National Assembly was condemned in a brief, unreservedly, for having decreed liberty of conscience and eligibility<sup>1</sup> of non-Catholics to military and civil employments. "The Papacy had only anathemas for France," Louis XVI. wrote earnestly to the Pope, pleading with him to accept the civil constitution of the clergy. "Even a provisional sanction could not be obtained." The two powers, the Papacy and the Revolution, Ultramontanism and Religious Liberty, were in open conflict. This is no justification for the subsequent horrors in France; but, when neither party would yield, one or the other had to succumb. The weakest, the French Monarchy and the French Church, was trampled under foot. Louis XVI. had before him the alternative of excommunication or dethronement. Fatally for himself he attempted a middle course: he fled to Varennes. Meanwhile resistance was organised at Rome. Religious liberty was condemned as monstrous and chimerical. All possibility of accommodation was cut off. The new constitution of the clergy was condemned as heretical. A schism

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<sup>1</sup> *Habiles facti sunt acatholici ad omnia gerenda municipalia, civilia, militaria munera.*

was set up. Most of the Bishops emigrated at an early period (John xii. 11-13); a few remained at their posts, faithful to death. The flight to Varennes sealed the fate of the French monarchy. Then the wine-press was trodden throughout France; blood came out of the wine-press. To use the striking expression of Mirabeau, a thick veil was thrown over Liberty in France.

After the frightful events of the Thermidor religious questions came up again. On the motion of Cambon, in 1794, it was decreed that the "French Republic pays no expenses, no salary of any form of worship," but the liberty of public worship which had been interdicted was restored, and citizens were permitted to use the churches for different forms of worship at hours to be fixed by the civil authorities, on condition that the ministers acknowledged submission to the laws of the Republic. Under the Directory, Camille Jourdain vindicated liberty of conscience and liberty of worship. Religious feeling repressed during the last horrible crisis exhibited itself afresh. Both in the Constitutional and in the Ultramontane Church signs of new life were apparent. M. Pressensé does not hesitate to compare this feeling to that of the Jews on their return from exile at Babylon. Grégoire, the Constitutional Bishop of Blois, preached fifty times and confirmed 45,000 persons in his diocese. Thirty thousand persons attended the *Te Deum* at Notre Dame after the battle of Marengo. In the first council of the Constitutional Church, held in 1797, Bishop Grégoire reported that 40,000 parishes had restored the worship of their fathers. It is not easy to express a favourable opinion of the Constitutional Church, composed as it was of incongruous elements, lacking in fervour and spirituality. Still, if it had had fair play, which it never had, it might have gone far to reconcile for Frenchmen two ideas so long painfully in antagonism—God and liberty.

But Bonaparte, now First Consul, was meditating that transformation of his authority into Imperial power, which, at the cost of all liberty to France, he accomplished. For the metaphysicians of 1789, as he termed them, he had the most supreme contempt. He meant to be the founder of a new dynasty of emperors in emulation of Charlemagne. In an evil hour for France and for himself it occurred to him that the Pope could be a serviceable tool; a bargain might be struck mutually advantageous to both parties; religious sanction conferred by the Pope might consecrate his power, placing him on a level with the ancient kings to whose throne he was succeeding. Lafayette said to him, when negotiations for the Concordat were opened at Rome—"Vous avez envie de vous faire casser la petite fiole sur la tête." The answer of Napoleon was—"Nous verrons, nous verrons." Bourrienne, who relates the story, tells us this was the true origin of the

Concordat.<sup>1</sup> It is not easy to distinguish in Bonaparte what his real sentiments on religious subjects were, but he has left on record this statement:—"No society can exist without morality; there can be no true morality without religion. It is religion alone upon which a State can rest with stability and continuance. A society without religion is a ship without a compass." With him, however, the restoration of the papal power in France was a pure measure of policy. It may be summed up in his statement, "*J'ai besoin du Pape; il fera ce que je voudrai.*" He was woefully mistaken. M. de Pressensé tells us that the Concordat was only a revised edition of the civil constitution of the clergy with the democratic element omitted. This, in many respects, was, as we have shown, the old system of the lawyers in the times of the monarchy. The delusion which mainly influenced Bonaparte was one which is not unknown to our own statesmen—"Je nourrirai les prêtres." By this contrivance he imagined that he would rule them instead of the Pope. In his contempt for the power of the Papacy—perhaps in his ignorance—he yielded to the Pope more than Ultramontanism ever could have anticipated.

But what he gave in the Concordat he withdrew virtually in the Organic laws which were presented with it and ratified by a decree of the Corps Législatif (8th April, 1802). These Organic laws were, in their main points, restoration of the old Gallican liberties. Whether through desire of precipitating negotiations, misplaced confidence in the might of the civil power, or, still more probably, reassertion on the part of her statesmen of the religious independence of France, the assent and consent of the Pope to these Organic laws was never applied for or obtained. Certainly it would have been diminution of liberty to ask for it; still, it is maintained that the Concordat was granted upon condition of its being regulated by these laws. The State thus asserted its independence; just in proportion as it maintains its supremacy even to the present day, it enforces these laws. On the other hand, the Papacy has never recognised them; it has only submitted to them. It will be readily seen what a fertile source of discord was thus created. The subsequent troubles of France result from this unhappy complication. It will give some idea of the short-sightedness of even able politicians in religious questions, that M. Portalis, when recommending the Concordat and Organic laws, urged, as a reason, that "we have nothing to fear from Ultramontane systems and the excesses consequent upon them"! He declared that monastic institutions were a thing of the past, and would not be revived! He was alive to the danger of falling

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<sup>1</sup> De Pressensé, "*L'Etat et L'Eglise*," p. 384.

under the yoke of Rome, but conceived it sufficiently protected by "the deposit of our ancient liberties" reproduced in the Organic laws! Under these illusions the Concordat (*ensemble*), with its Organic laws, was passed. At first Napoleon congratulated himself on having restored everything in its ancient order. One of his generals replied, "Yes, except two millions of Frenchmen who died for liberty, and cannot be recalled to life." Subsequently he admitted that the Concordat was the greatest fault of his reign. "I reap what I have sown," he said to M. de Pradt in 1811; "the Concordat is the greatest mistake I have made in my life." From that time forward he was himself entangled in religious quarrels. For France the Concordat was more fatal than the subsequent defeat on the plains of Waterloo.

#### IV.

In 1789 Liberty was the aim of France; at the period of the Restoration it had to all appearance perished under the iron despotism of Napoleon. But the intervening struggles had not been altogether in vain. Much that had unshackled the nation had perished and could not be restored. In this political had fared better than religious liberty; still it too had made some progress. Protestants could live in France without civil disabilities and with some freedom of worship. This was not much, but it was enormous progress. Against this the Church of the old *régime* had contended till it was destroyed itself. At the period of the Restoration, even in the Charter of 1814, there were symptoms of a reversion to the former condition of things. In the Concordat of 1802, which the Pope had accepted, it was declared that the Romish faith was that of "the great majority of French citizens;" also that it might be freely exercised, and its worship public, subject to police regulations necessary for public peace and order. In the Charter of 1814, while equal liberty and protection was accorded to all sects, the Romish faith was recognised as "the religion of the State," and its ministers alone were to be subsidised from the Treasury. This was in the condition of France a retrograde step.

From 1814 till the expulsion of Charles X. the ceaseless object of the restored clergy was to abolish religious liberty and to undo the past. No sooner was the Monarchy established than propositions were brought forward to abolish the University and to place all colleges and schools under the Bishops; all educational establishments in the country were treated as haunts of immorality, atheism, and sedition, which must be destroyed (*anéantis*). Roux Laborie, well-known as the representative of the clergy, declared in the Chamber that all their old power and riches must be restored to the clergy. In contravention of the organic

laws all persons were compelled to dress their houses (*tapisser les maisons*) during religious processions. For refusing to do this Protestants were condemned to fine and imprisonment. Lamennais insisted that if they did not the police should do it for them. In opposition to Odillon Barrot, who maintained that in religious matters law was neutral, he declared that then "la loi est athée." The retort was prompt, that if neutral = atheistical, the law ought to be *athée*. In the opinion of Lamennais, to hold that the temporal power of kings was independent of the spiritual was atheism. In his earlier career he was one of the ablest exponents of the views of the clerical party. He stated them thus: "No government, no police, no order are possible if men are not united by one common belief, conceived under the sense of duty; therefore, in order that human societies may not be abandoned to the anarchy of opinions or to the wills of individuals, there must be an infallible power. This infallible power must be by Divine appointment, the Pope in temporal as in spiritual things; kings as well as people must be obedient, "L'Eglise ordonne; les princes exécutent; des deux puissances l'une décide, l'autre agit; voilà l'ordre!"<sup>1</sup>

In 1824 a grand sensation was caused by a pastoral of M. de Croi, Archbishop of Rouen, ordering the clergy to denounce their parishioners who did not attend mass; to post on the parish or cathedral doors those who did not go to Communion at Easter,<sup>2</sup> placing in a separate list "Concubinaires," all those who had contracted a civil marriage. In 1824 a law of sacrilege was passed, by which those who profaned sacred vessels were to be punished with death; those who profaned the sacred wafers were to be treated as parricides, that is, were to be punished by death preceded by mutilation. This law was carried in the Senate by the Bishops, who declared that if it was passed they would be the first to go into the condemned cells, to exhort the guilty to suffer death with resignation; to accompany them in the tumbrils, to mount the scaffold with them and embrace them there as brethren under the eyes of the common Father of mankind! Had such a law been now in existence in England, as a consequence of the fearful outrage recently committed in Hatton Garden, the wretched criminal, not for shooting at the priests but for scattering the consecrated wafers about, would have been first mutilated, then hung, while some Romish Bishop attended the condemned man on the scaffold! This was the law procured by the vote of French

<sup>1</sup> La Mennais, "Progrès de la Révolution et de la guerre contre l'Eglise."

<sup>2</sup> It has been computed by the Romish clergy that scarcely one Frenchman in twenty-five is an Easter communicant. When the extreme importance of this participation is borne in mind, it is a fair test of the relation of the French laity to the Church. "Ils ne font pas leur Pâques."

Bishops. So marked was the opposition of the clergy to all liberty, that Chateaubriand, who was ambassador at Rome, declared to the Pope that, "instead of supporting the new institutions or at least maintaining silence, the clergy had blamed them in terms which impiety made a weapon of. It cried out that Catholicism was incompatible with public liberty," and that "there was internecine strife between the Charter and the priests." It would be difficult to say that it was not so.

Meanwhile the Jesuits had returned and, although prohibited by law, were attempting to assert themselves. At Amiens and Nancy they tried to force the Cours Royales to follow in their processions. The difficulty about teaching created then almost as much excitement as it does now. In spite of all efforts their success was not great, so bitter was the hostility to them. Then as now, they endeavoured to raise the cry of religious liberty. Then, as is the case now with the Belgian Bishops, the Pope was more alive to the situation than they were, accepting the ordinances passed by the Portalis Ministry in 1828. Exactly as we have recently seen, the Bishops maintained that Cardinal Benetti's letter, condemning their opposition, did not express the Pope's sentiments, and that it was a deadly blow to the Catholic religion. So fast and furious was this more than Ultramontanist, that it provoked the most deadly hostility. We cannot stay to dwell upon the manifestations of it. It may suffice to say that all the rising intellect of France was against the Church. Too often, as it could not have both God and liberty, it chose the latter, rejecting the former, at any rate so far as the profession of religion was concerned. In the pages of the *Globe*, Saint Simon, Comte, Thiers, Ampère, de Rémusat, Saint Beuve, encouraged by Broglie, Guizot, Cousin, Villemain, indulged in the most audacious speculations. M. de Montalembert, an unimpeachable witness, declares that during the fifteen years of the Restoration the Church, so far from having gained ground, had fallen into the most deplorable discredit. Not one in twenty, even from the best colleges, of young Frenchmen turned out a Christian; the visit of an ordinary man to a church was, he said, as great a marvel as that of "a Christian traveller to a mosque in the East."

Once more the deluge came. The ancient Monarchy was swept away. The Church of France, according to Montalembert, narrowly escaped perishing with it. But if it survived under the Monarchy of July, it was with maimed powers and authority. In the Charter of 1830, the Roman religion is no longer "the religion of the State." Ministers of other religious denominations are salaried equally with priests. It was expressly declared by M. Dupin in his Rapport on the new Charter, that the terms of the former Charter had awakened imprudent pretensions to exclusive



dominion which had resulted in the disgrace of the family then reigning, and had brought the State to the verge of ruin. Once again the French Bishops and clergy had striven to arrogate spiritual and temporal despotism. Once again had France revolted against them. "Le Christianisme est mort" was a general sentiment. The clergy on their own admission were smitten with a sort of "civil death." M. de Salvandy declared, "some months ago the priest was everywhere; now God is nowhere." Six years afterwards Nôtre Dame was filled with overflowing congregations, chiefly consisting of young men, presided over by the Archbishop of Paris, whose life had been given to him for a prey, while all were hanging on the accents of Lacordaire. What had happened in the interval? For a brief interval there was liberty: and there was God. The motto chosen by Montalembert, La Mennais, and Lacordaire, for their celebrated journal *L'Avenir* was, "Le Dieu et la Liberté." To this France, not as we have said in reality irreligious, heartily responded. The priesthood had withdrawn into its proper functions, and had, too, ceased to domineer over and to wound susceptibilities.

This apparent reconciliation, however, between what was held to be God and liberty was not of long duration. We have not space to follow in detail the tracasseries of Louis Philippe's reign. We can only point generally to the enterprise of M. de Montalembert with his two friends De La Mennais and Lacordaire. Of these three De La Mennais was the eldest. He had established himself as a power in royalist and clerical circles. But he had seen how fatal to religion in France had been its alliance with the fallen monarchy. He had become a republican. In his anxiety to preserve religion, he had cast away his old political convictions. A grand hope of a theocracy, free, pure, enlightened, disinterested, floated before his vision. It was his mistake to imagine that this could possibly be the Church of Rome. When bitter opposition sprang up against the *Avenir* and the doctrines it taught, De La Mennais, in the fiftieth year of his age, was willing, in the spirit of a little child going to a father, to set out upon an expedition to the Pope to claim his sanction for the noble but Quixotic enterprise on which they had embarked of reconciling in concert with Rome "God and liberty"! They sallied forth on this wild errand, wilder than the quest of the Sangreal. The story of their failure is one of the mournful episodes of history.<sup>1</sup> They saw the Pope. In due season they were informed by an Encyclical Letter (15th August, 1832) that "from the infected fountain of indifferentism, the absurd and erroneous maxim—or rather the delusion—that liberty of conscience must be assured and guaranteed, has flowed."

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Et quæ tanta fuit Romam (illis) causa videndi? Libertas!!!

Again they were assured that the liberty of the press is "a fatal liberty, which cannot be too much hated or cursed." Then, as we are informed in the pages of the *Correspondant*, "*Une âme perit dans cette catastrophe, l'âme de Lamennais.*" The fervent defender of religion found that, as a Roman ecclesiastic, it was impossible to reconcile God and liberty. He chose the latter. But it may be permitted to ask how many more souls have perished and are even now perishing in this, to a Roman Catholic, hopeless entanglement whenever a thought of true liberty is entertained?

The shock to Montalembert and Lacordaire was fearful. But the habit of submission prevailed over the temptation to revolt. Their glorious ideal had been demolished, but there was still a certain kind of liberty to contend for. The laws of France had proscribed the religious orders which had been an incubus upon the country; they had also restricted teaching, and placed it under the control of the University. Now with Rome it is one thing, and a damnable thing, to uphold liberty of conscience, liberty of opinion, and liberty of the press, either in the abstract or when they are indulged in to her prejudice. It is another thing to urge the claims of liberty when her usurpations can be forwarded. In this subordinate quest after a certain sort of liberty, Lacordaire and his friend thenceforward employed themselves. Religious orders were forbidden by law; Lacordaire employed himself in resuscitating them. Clothed in the garb of a Dominican friar, he stood up in *Nôtre Dame*, and shaking his robe, exclaimed, "*Je suis une liberté.*" Strictly speaking he was a lawlessness. Montalembert exerted his brilliant abilities to compass what he termed "*la liberté de l'enseignement.*"

No impartial person will deny that there was cause for complaint in French education. It would be very easy to establish that there was mismanagement in the *Lycées*, and teaching by professors hostile to Christianity. For this a remedy was needed. The difficulty was to find one which would be suitable. Godless education is a terrible calamity. M. de Gasparin has borne his testimony, and it is that of a distinguished Protestant—"I bethink myself with terror what I was when I issued forth from this national education. I recalled what all my companions were. Were we very good citizens? I know not, but certainly we were not Christians; nor did we possess even the weakest beginnings of evangelical faith." Père Gratry has in like manner left on record a dismal account of the experiences of his early career in what we would term public schools. But what was the remedy? Towards the end of the reign of Louis Philippe "*clericalism*," as the French term it, was once more gaining the ascendant. But in 1848 there was once more a Revolution. There was again a

National Assembly in power. In the fundamental law which it adopted there was not even mention made of the Catholic religion. The Charter of 1830 had declared it to be the "religion of the majority of Frenchmen." Since 1848 it is "legally" neither the "religion of the State" nor the "religion of the majority." On the occasion of each revolution jealousy of "clericalism" was a main predisposing cause of it. At the issue of each, as the Sibyl came to Tarquin with fewer books, France has offered the Church of Rome fewer prerogatives. Still the partisans of Romanism did not lose heart. Montalembert and his friends, urging the plea of liberty, battled for the "liberty of teaching." When Louis Napoleon was President they obtained, in 1850, the passing of the *Loi Falloux*. By this law, which might much more appropriately have been termed the *Loi Montalembert*, licences given for opening schools were abolished; so were certificates from some authorised school for the B.A. examination. Religious seminaries were thrown open, and the religious orders were permitted to teach. An academy was created in each department, in which delegates from the local clergy held a position. There was thus freedom for Catholic teaching. Had there been prudence, enlightenment, moderation in the clergy, there would have been once more a prospect of "God and liberty." Unfortunately for France it was not so to be. Instead of what we in England understand by religious teaching, or anything like it, what Montalembert in his hour of triumph expressed his dread of in words painfully prophetic, came to pass—"Catholics were wanting to freedom."<sup>1</sup> There was a fresh and determined effort made to subjugate consciences rather than to teach Christian truth, also to re-assert the ancient dominion of the Papal Church. Religious congregations, notably the Jesuits, proscribed by law, established themselves during the period of the Empire with the connivance of the temporal and with the undisguised support of the spiritual authority both in Rome and in France. In a celebrated letter to the clergy of his diocese, written in 1869, M. Dupanloup numbers up with pride these congregations, and speaks of them as "*cette incomparable armée pacifique, qui est comme nôtre armée guerrière la première du monde.*" But what was the feeling of France at the fresh invasion of this expelled army whose head-quarters were at Rome? It is possible that many French parents were

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<sup>1</sup> As freedom can never be effectually established by the adversaries of that Gospel which has first made it a reality for all orders and degrees of men, so the Gospel can never be effectually defended by a policy which declines to acknowledge the high place assigned to Liberty in the councils of Providence, and which, upon the pretext of the abuse that like every other good she suffers, expels her from its system.—"Gladstone on Vaticanism."

discontented with "Liberty," as taught in the Lycées, but were they satisfied with "Dieu," as expounded to them by M. Dupanloup's army? In the mean time, under Pius IX., the Pope declared himself to be the Church. In 1859, in the presence of the assembled Bishops, he proclaimed the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. They simply listened to him and accepted it. In his Encyclical of 1869, he declared that it is madness to desire liberty of conscience; that the clergy ought to pay no taxes; that they should have their own tribunals in criminal or civil matters; that public education must be in the hands of the priests. In that and in the Syllabus which epitomised all the doctrines of previous Encyclicals, there was, it is true, talk of liberty. But as has been well observed, "It was the liberty of the Head of the Church to claim in the name of Heaven, and to exercise by all earthly means over souls, bodies, peoples, and princes the most absolute despotism. It was the abrogation of all rights, the absorption of the individual into that ideal being, the Church, which alone is free, but at the price of the liberty of all."<sup>1</sup> But was this the liberty which Frenchmen wanted? A desperate and partially successful effort was made by flattering French vanity to connect the Catholic destiny of France with the military destiny. The upshot was the German war; the disappearance of the Bonapartist dynasty; the singing of Luther's Hymn in the halls of Versailles; and the establishment once more of a Republic on the wrecks of all previous kingdoms or empires of France.

Again the Church of Rome has lost ground. Each successive revolution since 1819 has stripped her of privileges. Even the last seem now in peril. It is an anxious question whether there will be still money voted for the maintenance of bishops and priests, and for the conservation of religious edifices. The bills of M. Jules Ferry threaten the destruction of the law of M. Falloux. The "Liberté d'enseignement," which has been so abused, is apparently on the point of being restrained. The Jesuits will shortly disappear, except as private Frenchmen, from France, once more free. Liberty has been reclaimed, but what of God? There is an ugly look, that at the present moment the two ideas are once more in opposition in France. On the one hand, are the serried and well-disciplined battalions of Rome receiving their *mot d'ordre* from Rome. At their disposal, as camp followers, are the remains of the ancient noblesse, political Bonapartists, whose fortunes are wrecked, and a considerable mass of the women of France. These just now are clamour-

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<sup>1</sup> "Rome and the Council in the Nineteenth Century," by F. Bungener, p. 159.

ing for liberty as the Pope understands liberty. They also proclaim "God;" but inextricably mixed up with this are Papal Infallibility, sacerdotalism, Lourdes, La Salette, puerile and disgusting fables and practices of all sorts, together with all the revolting teaching sanctioned by Jesuitism. Lying wonders, jugglery, and absurdities form the strength and the weakness of this teaching. In opposition to them is the mass of Frenchmen prizing above all things, madly and often ignorantly, liberty. Vain in the last degree have been the efforts to show that they have any sympathy with all that is bound up with Ultramontanism, which is what is presented to them as "God." When we bear in mind that "Go to Lourdes" is the modern French synonym for imbecility, we may form some conception of how far Frenchmen are prepared to sacrifice their hardly-won liberty for this conception of religion or "God."

We have indicated, we fear only too briefly and too imperfectly, what may be fairly termed the disease from which France is still and has been so long suffering. In describing it we have endeavoured to exhibit it from the French rather than from our own point of view. It is possible, also, that the terms used may seem startling to English apprehension not accustomed to identify liberty with licence, or God with grovelling superstition. But it would not be easy otherwise to explain the dilemma which France is now in, or how the alternative presents itself to Frenchmen as a people. The question is, Can there be no remedy found whereby what seems irreconcilable can be reconciled? Must France necessarily be Voltairian, Hegelian, Positivist, or else Ultramontane and fetichist? Is there no *juste milieu*? Is there no balm in Gilead which can heal wounds, bruises, and putrefying sores? Must a Frenchman believe in Marie Alacocque in order to be a Christian? Must he surrender himself to the Pope, body, soul, and spirit, if he would acknowledge and worship God? Are liberty of conscience, liberty of opinion, liberty of speech, inconsistent with religion? The answer to this requires separate and independent treatment hereafter.

GEORGE KNOX.

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#### ART. IV.—PRINCE METTERNICH'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

*Memorials of Prince Metternich.* Edited by HIS SON. Translated by MRS. NAPIER. 2 vols. Bentley.

THE appearance of these Memorials has been long eagerly anticipated by a curious public. It was known that the famous diplomatist had during his long career, both as Ambassador to Paris and Minister of Foreign Affairs at Vienna,

been busy in describing the conduct of events and the characters of his contemporaries in a journal which was one day to be published, and the reading world looked forward to a literary pleasure which had not been gratified since the perusal of the *Memoirs of St. Simon*. It was the wish of the illustrious chronicler that an interval of twenty-five years should elapse before his criticisms were made public. This period having now expired, the literary labours of the Prince are presented to the world, in German, French, and English. The *Memoirs* are well written, full of incident, and depict history in a most graphic style. Only two volumes have as yet appeared—from 1793 to 1815—but the work, which will be in six volumes, will rapidly be completed.

Prince Metternich was born at Coblenz, May 15, 1773. His father was the associate of the famous Minister Kaunitz, whose name is so much associated with the Low Countries, and who stood as the godfather of the subject of this biography. At the age of fifteen young Metternich entered the University of Strasbourg, and on the completion of his studies was attached to the Austrian Embassy at The Hague. His rise was rapid. In 1801 he was appointed Minister at Dresden; in 1803 as Ambassador to Berlin, where he took a prominent part in negotiating the treaty between Austria and Prussia and Russia; in 1806 he was sent to Paris, and there signed, the following year, the Treaty of Fontainebleau. As soon as the war had broken out between France and Austria in 1809, Metternich was summoned to Vienna to hold the seals as Minister of Foreign Affairs. At the Conference of Dresden and Prague, as will be seen by these volumes, he warmly espoused the cause of his country; and the beginning of the downfall of Napoleon may be dated from this time. In the year 1813 war was formally declared by Austria against France, and in September the Grand Alliance was signed at Töplitz, when Metternich was rewarded for his past labours by being raised to the dignity of a Prince of the Empire. With his elevation to this high position the present contributions to his biography, now under review, cease. The remainder of his history is soon told. In the subsequent conferences and treaties he took a very prominent part, and signed the Treaty of Paris on behalf of Austria. Upon the opening of the Congress of Vienna, Metternich was chosen president. On the formation of the "Holy Alliance" he was the controlling genius. In 1848, on the breaking out of the Revolution, he was compelled to fly from Vienna. He returned in 1851, and, though he never again assumed office, his counsels are said to have swayed the Emperor down to the moment of his death, June 5, 1859.

The chief interest of these *Memoirs* lies in the knowledge we

obtain of Napoleon; we are admitted, as it were, behind the scenes, and watch the great General maturing his plans, treating all who cross his path with the hauteur of a vulgar and successful conqueror, carrying out in every detail the schemes of his ambitious policy—resolute, aggressive, avaricious, scorning advice or repulse—till the Nemesis that was on the trail of his war-path overtook him and made him bite the dust of humiliation, surrender, and exile. From his position first as Austrian Ambassador at Paris, and afterwards as Minister of Foreign Affairs, Metternich was thrown much in official intercourse with Napoleon, and the information he gives us as to the life and character of the proud Corsican is as novel as it is interesting; indeed, these Memoirs are more comments upon the proceedings of the first Emperor of the French than of reflections upon the other historical and political events of the period. The character given by the Prince of Napoleon is most carefully limned; the faults and virtues of the man are laid bare as if dissected by the pen of a Boileau or a Balzac.

Among individuals by their position independent of this extraordinary man (writes Metternich) there are few who have had so many points of contact and such direct relations with him as I have had. In the different phases of these relations, my opinion of Napoleon has never varied. I have seen and studied him in the moments of his greatest success; I have seen and followed him in those of his decline; and though he may have attempted to induce me to form wrong conclusions about him—as it was often his interest to do—he has never succeeded. I may then flatter myself with having seized the essential traits of his character, and with having formed an impartial judgment with respect to it, while the great majority of his contemporaries have seen, as it were through a prism, only the brilliant sides and the defective or evil sides of a man whom the force of circumstances and great personal qualities raised to a height of power unexampled in modern history.

From this "impartial judgment" let us proceed to draw for the colouring of our portrait.

On presenting his credentials as Austrian Ambassador at the French Court, Metternich does not appear to have been favourably impressed with the appearance of Napoleon. He found him standing in the middle of one of the rooms at St. Cloud, wearing the Guard's uniform, and with his hat on his head. "This latter circumstance, improper in any case," comments the Prince, "for the audience was not a public one, struck me as misplaced pretension, showing the *parvenu*; I even hesitated for a moment whether I, too, should not cover." This hauteur was, however, only the arrogance which seeks to mask its shyness and to appear at ease. In spite of his brilliant victories and the halo of glory which surrounded his past actions, Napoleon

seems to have been guilty of the pettiness which is ashamed of its humble birth. He was a conqueror, and a maker of kings, yet he felt that the Sovereigns of Europe ridiculed his pretensions, sneered at his newly-created aristocracy, and regarded him as an adventurer. Sensitive and uneasy, he was soon galled at any slight upon his social position, and was ever asserting claims that Heralds might have had difficulty in substantiating. He laid great stress on his aristocratic origin and the antiquity of his family. He frequently assured Metternich that envy and calumny alone could throw any doubt on the nobility of his birth.

I am placed (he said, alluding to the flatteries of his toadies and the sneers of his foes) in a singular position. There are genealogists who would date my family from the Deluge, and there are people who pretend that I am of plebeian birth. The truth lies between these two. The Bonapartists are a good Corsican family, little known, for we have hardly ever left our island, but much better than many of the coxcombs who take upon themselves to vilify us.

Conscious of his social inferiority, now that he had risen to equal the proudest, Napoleon was most anxious to appear before the world as the thorough gentleman. He so essayed to act the part that he necessarily became stiff and artificial. By a man like Metternich, sprung from one of the noblest families in Austria, who had every advantage as to face or figure that Nature could endow him with, who had formed his manners in the most exclusive *salons* in Europe, and who was a keen observer of life, the snobbish aims and arts of Napoleon were easily seen through. "His attitude seemed to me," remarks the discriminating critic, "to show constraint and even embarrassment. His short, broad figure, negligent dress, and marked endeavour to make an imposing effect, combined to weaken in me the feeling of grandeur naturally attached to the idea of a man before whom the world trembled." As we are generally most deficient in the very gifts that we the most admire, so Napoleon, who envied the ease of the true gentleman, was almost destitute of *savoir vivre*. We are told that it is difficult to imagine anything more awkward than the Emperor's manner in a drawing-room; whilst the pains he took to correct the faults of his nature and education only served to make his shortcomings more evident.

I am satisfied (says Metternich) he would have made great sacrifices to add to his height and give dignity to his appearance, which became more common in proportion as his *embonpoint* increased. He walked by preference on tip-toe. His costumes were studied to form a contrast by comparison with the circle which surrounded him, either by their extreme simplicity or by their extreme magnificence. He



endeavoured to imitate the well-graced attitudes of the actor Talma. In the society of ladies he was dull and vulgar; though his efforts were frequent he never succeeded in framing a graceful or well-turned speech to a woman. He spoke to them of their dress, or of their children, and sometimes indulged in an offensiveness of illustration which exposed him to repartees he was unable to return. "What red hair you have!" he said to one of the maids of honour of the Empress Josephine. "Yes, Sire, I have," was the reply, "but you are the first gentleman who told me so."

But if we turn from the petty vanity of the man to the genius of the statesman and the commander, how different is the portrait! By the force of his character, the activity and lucidity of his mind, and by his talent for the combinations of military science, he was one of those men who are not so much aided by opportunity as who make their opportunities. Influenced by one passion, that of power, he never lost either his time or his means on those subjects which might have diverted him from his aim. Master of himself, he soon became master of men and events. In whatever time he had appeared he would have played a prominent part. He regarded himself as one isolated from the rest of the world, made to govern it and to direct every one according to his will. Existence—without his controlling genius to direct affairs—was in his eyes impossible. "I shall perish perhaps," he said to Metternich in the eventful year of 1813, "but in my fall I shall drag down thrones, and with them the whole of society." Many men, astonished at his successes, said he was a "privileged being" born under a "lucky star," and the "favourite of fortune," but Napoleon, conscious of his intellectual superiority and the labour with which he had thought out his combinations, replied, "They call me lucky because I am able; it is weak men who accuse the strong of good fortune."

Like Sir Robert Walpole and those who are intent upon one object and indifferent to the means provided the end be attained, the Emperor judged human nature alone by its baser parts. As Walpole said "every man has his price," so Napoleon attributed all human action to unworthy motives. Guicciardini and Macchiavelli were his two favourite authors, and he acted upon the hard, selfish principles they inculcated. His selfishness, indeed, was brutal; the fearful sufferings which it inflicted upon myriads never caused him a pang. To quote his own words, he made no account of a million men's lives.

He was eminently gifted with that worldly tact of recognising those who would be useful to him. He discovered their weak side, their greed, vanity, or spite; then he laid siege to it and took care to join their fortunes to his own, involving them in such a way as to cut off the possibility of retreat to other engagements. A mere adventurer, he studied the national character of the people he

governed, and the history of his life proves that he had studied it rightly. He knew exactly how to play upon the levity, the fickleness, and the intense vanity of the Frenchman. He looked upon the Parisians as children, and often compared Paris to the opera. When remonstrated with by Metternich for the palpable falsehoods which then formed the chief part of his bulletins, he replied, with a smile, "Oh, they are not written for you; the Parisians believe everything, and I might tell them a great deal more which they would not refuse to accept."

Aware of the manner in which he had taken possession of the throne, he never lost an opportunity of anxiously protesting against those who accused him of being a usurper.

The throne of France (he said to Metternich) was vacant. Louis XVI. had not been able to maintain himself. If I had been in his place, the Revolution—notwithstanding the immense progress it had made in men's minds in the preceding reign—would never have been consummated. The King overthrown, the Republic was master of the soil of France. It is that which I have replaced. The old throne of France is buried under its rubbish: I had to found a new one. The Bourbons could not reign over this creation. My strength lies in my fortune: I am now like the Empire: there is, therefore, a perfect homogeneity between the Empire and myself.

In these days of an aggressive Socialism it would be well if our demagogues took to heart this remark of the Emperor—"the child of the Revolution," as Canning called him. "When I was young," he said, "I was revolutionary from ignorance and ambition. At the age of reason I have followed its counsels and my own instinct, and I crushed the Revolution." In other words, having nothing to lose—like most Communists—he agitated as the mischievous leveller, but when it fell to his lot to become a possessor both of property and power, he changed into a staunch Conservative. Nothing more proves the purely predatory designs of the Socialist than this remark of the Emperor upon his past conduct. How true is the saying of Job, "Doth the wild ass bray when it hath grass?"

Intellectually, Napoleon stands before us in these pages as biography has hitherto regarded him—as a man more dependent upon genius than upon education. In conversation he was singularly clear and precise—"seizing the essential point of subjects, stripping them of useless accessories, developing his thought, and never ceasing to elaborate it till he had made it perfectly clear and conclusive; always finding the fitting word for the thing, or inventing one where the usage of the language had not created it, his conversation was ever full of interest. He did not converse, he talked." One of his habitual expressions was, "I see what you want; you wish to come to such or

such a point; well, let us go straight to it." He had little mathematical knowledge. "His knowledge of mathematical science," says Metternich, "would not have raised him above the level of any officers destined, as he was himself, for the Artillery; but his natural abilities supplied the want of knowledge. He became a legislator and an administrator as he became a great soldier, by following his own instinct." The turn of his mind always led him towards the Positive. He valued only those sciences which can be controlled and verified by the senses, or which rest on observation and experience. His heroes were Alexander, Julius Cæsar, and Charlemagne. The great aim of his military policy was to make France supreme over the States of Europe—the centre and force of all Governments. The vast edifice which he had constructed was entirely the work of his hands, and he was himself the keystone of the arch. Yet this gigantic construction was wanting in its foundation, and composed of materials which were nothing but the ruins of other buildings. When the keystone of the arch was removed, the whole edifice fell in.

Within the limits of a magazine review it is impossible to take notice of the mass of new historical matter presented to the reader in these Memoirs. The book must be consulted by all who wish to obtain a clear view of the events which so gravely agitated Europe at the commencement of this century. One incident we must, however, allude to, for it is the most interesting as well as the most dramatic of all in the pages before us. Coming events were beginning to cast their shadows. The great Emperor had recovered from the losses he suffered on the frozen plains of Russia, and had once more faced the Allies in Saxony. At Lützen and Bautzen the troops of the Coalition had been defeated; yet difficulties were gathering around Napoleon, and he was uncertain of the course Austria intended to pursue, who, with her usual shifting policy, had not yet joined the Allies. An armistice was proposed, which was accepted by the Coalition, anxious of obtaining aid from Vienna. The scene opens at Dresden, in the famous summer of 1813. No sooner arrived at the Saxon capital than Napoleon summoned Metternich to his presence, for upon the decision of Austria depended the fate of Europe. "I felt myself," says the Prince, "at this crisis the representative of all European society. If I may say so, Napoleon seemed to me small!"

"So you too want war," he cried; "well, you shall have it. I have annihilated the Prussian army at Lützen; I have beaten the Russians at Bautzen: now you wish your turn to come. Be it so; the rendez-vous shall be at Vienna." "Peace and war," replied Metternich, "lie in your Majesty's hands. Between Europe and the aims you have hitherto pursued there is absolute contradiction. The world requires

peace. In order to secure this peace you must reduce your powers within bounds compatible with the general tranquillity, or you will fall in the contest. To-day you can yet conclude peace; to-morrow it may be too late." "Well, now, what do they want me to do?" asked Napoleon, sharply; "do they want me to degrade myself? Never! I shall know how to die: but I shall not yield one hand-breadth of soil. Your sovereigns, born to the throne, may be beaten twenty times and still go back to their palaces: that cannot I—the child of fortune; my reign will not outlast the day when I have ceased to be strong, and therefore to be feared. I have made up for the losses of the past year: only look at the army, after the battle I have just won! I will hold a review before you!"

Metternich hinted that the army desired peace. "Not the army," cried Napoleon, hastily. "No! my generals wish for peace. I have no more generals. The cold of Moscow has demoralised them. I have seen the boldest cry like children. A fortnight ago I might have concluded peace; to-day I can do so no longer." A discussion then ensued. The Prince endeavoured to prove that, in a conflict between Napoleon and Europe, the latter must be victorious. The Emperor defied the Coalition, but he was anxious that Austria should remain neutral. "The Emperor of Austria," said Metternich, "has offered the Powers his mediation, not his neutrality. Russia and Prussia have accepted the mediation; it is for you to declare yourself to-day." Here Napoleon entered upon a long digression on the strength of his army, and the force he could assemble in the field. "Is not your present army anticipated by a generation?" asked the Prince. "I have seen your soldiers: they are mere children. And if this juvenile army that you levied but yesterday should be swept away, what then?" At these words—

Napoleon allowed himself to be overcome by rage; he turned deadly pale, and his features worked convulsively. "You are no soldier," he exclaimed fiercely; "and you do not understand what goes on in a soldier's soul. I have been reared on battle-fields: and such a man as I am makes no account of a million men's lives." He used a much stronger expression than this; and, as he spoke, or rather screamed these words, he flung his hat, which he had hitherto kept in hand, into a corner of the room. I did not stir, but leant upon a console between the two windows, and said, with deep emotion, "Why do you apply to me? Why do you make such a declaration to me between four walls? Let us open the doors; and may your words resound from one end of France to the other! It is not the cause which I represent that will lose thereby!" Mastering his passion, he replied, in a more moderate tone of voice, "The French cannot complain of me. In order to spare them I have sacrificed my Germans and my Poles. During the Russian campaign I lost three hundred thousand men, but only thirty thousand of them were Frenchmen."

The interview lasted till dusk. As Napoleon dismissed the Prince, he said, as he held the door, "We shall see one another again." "At your pleasure, Sire," replied Metternich, "but I have no hope of attaining the object of my mission." "Well, now," said Napoleon, touching the Prince on the shoulder, "do you know what will happen? You will not make war upon me?" "You are lost, Sire," said the Austrian; "I had the presentiment of it when I came; now, in going, I have the certainty." He *was* lost. It was the will of God. The victories of Lützen and Bautzen were followed by the defeats on the Katzbach and at Leipsic, and by that terrible campaign of 1814, which led to the lonely isle of Elba.

Here we take our leave of these interesting volumes; they are certain to appeal to a large circle of readers, for few subjects are more fascinating than history written by those who have created it.



#### ART. V.—CLERGY SUPPLY AND THE PLURALITIES ACTS.

IN No. III., p. 239, we quoted the following expression of opinion by the Bishop of Norwich, at his Diocesan Conference, on what we ventured to call "a really practical question:"—

Small cures with small incomes are evils in more ways than one. It is an evil to have an impoverished clergy, and it is an evil for a clergyman not to have enough to occupy his time. Further, there is great waste of strength which could be utilised elsewhere, particularly in London, where, with four times the population, there is only half the number of benefices which exist in the diocese of Norwich.

It will be observed that the Bishop here speaks only of small parishes with small incomes. But he would have included, no doubt, parishes with small populations and large incomes. For if it be an evil for a clergyman with a small income "not to have enough to occupy his time," it is hardly less an evil in the case of a clergyman with a large income. The "waste of strength," which his lordship complains of, is the same in both cases; and in the case of the disproportionately well-endowed benefice, the waste of strength is intensified, and its supposed mischievousness is increased, by waste of endowment.

The subject to which the Bishop of Norwich has drawn attention is one of interest and importance in many ways. For certainly under the present strain to keep abreast of the ever-growing demands upon her strength, the Church of England can

but ill-afford to let any of it run to waste. It is admitted on all hands that there never has been so much difficulty experienced by incumbents in getting curates as at the present time, and this, notwithstanding an increase of some 40 or 50 per cent. in the average of stipends. Instead of the ordinations increasing annually at the rate of 20 per cent., which would probably be no more than is necessary to keep pace with the erection of new churches, and with the growing desire of incumbents, wherever possible, to keep a curate, we believe that they are nearly stationary. This state of things has been variously accounted for. It is alleged to be due to our unhappy differences; to the stringency of the rubrics as to the Athanasian Creed; to the so-called Erastianism of our ecclesiastical system; to the widespread doubt which prevails among educated young men. Mr. Gladstone, in his recent Address to the University of Glasgow, referred to the subject in the following terms:—

I am glad to infer, with confidence from the figures before me, that there is no lack of youths in Scotland who like the business of the Church ministry for their vocation in life. That is not so in all lands at the present time. In two great countries, Germany and France, there is a great decline in the number of candidates for ordination both in Protestant and Roman communions. In Holland, it is said that one-seventh of the cures are vacant. There were, some time back, similar apprehensions on this score in England—at least, in the Established Church of England, amid the desolating convulsions it has undergone; but I think they have diminished or passed away. There are, however, traces of a latent feeling here and elsewhere, that Divine interests are secondary or unreal in comparison with those of the physical or experimental world, or that the difficulties belonging to subjects of religion are such that to handle them effectually and with a sound conscience is hopeless.

For ourselves, we believe that the influence on the supply of clergy, of the causes to which we have referred has been, and is, much exaggerated. Even were it not so, and the state of the case to be as alleged, we should be sorry to see the ranks of the clergy extended by any sacrifice at the shrine, either of Liberalism or Mediævalism, of the Protestant and Scriptural truth which characterises the doctrinal and liturgical standards of our Reformed Church, or by covering over and concealing the differences and divisions of antagonistic schools of thought with a veil of so-called charity. We do not say that here and there some of these causes do not operate, but we are satisfied their effect is very limited, and that the chief cause for the stationary figures of the annual ordinations is to be sought in other directions. Two kinds of influence have been at work. One is the deepened sense of responsibility as to the ministerial office which has happily grown up of late years, and *pari passu* with this, there has been the

withdrawal of many inducements—worldly inducements may we call them?—to take holy orders which formerly existed. During the last twenty years or so, partly as the result of changes introduced by the Endowed Schools' Commissioners, by which holy orders are no longer in most cases a requisite condition for masterships, there has been a considerable decrease in the ordination of graduates engaged in tuition. The great majority of college fellowships are now held free of the obligations to take orders. The termination of the Concordat between the Education Department and the Archbishops, as to the inspectorships of Church schools, and the action of the department in confining the office of H. M. Inspector to laymen, have also not been without some influence. We believe also it would be found, on investigation, that fewer family cadets are now destined from early years for the occupation of family livings. The *tone* of public opinion has been raised, and parents are more shy of putting pressure on their sons in the direction of the ministerial office.

All this affects materially, no doubt, the number of ordinations. But it is really the reverse of discouraging. For it proves that, even with the ordination-figures stationary, there must be a positive increase in the number of men ordained for parochial work. Moreover, it is as true of the Church as of the army, that twenty hearty volunteers are worth more than any number of pressed or bribed men. The mischief has been incalculable which has been done to Christianity and to the Church of England in days gone by, and is done now, through the ordination to the ministry of men without spirituality or a converted heart—of men to whom all truth is unreal, and the discharge of ministerial and pastoral functions a mere perfunctory thing, empty of life, and unction, and peace. Such men may go through the round of ceremonialism with decent propriety, and perhaps even deceive themselves by imagining that religion is equivalent to godliness, the regulation-posture at a so-called altar an act of faith, and busy-ness about ecclesiastical decoration or Church work the realisation of the ministerial ideal. But let the ideal embrace, as it must, the honest preaching of God's truth, the skilled and faithful dealing in tenderness with souls in all the varied phases of spiritual experience, and who does not see how entirely uncongenial hearty work of this kind must be to the man who is of the world worldly, who has no conscious sympathy with God, no living experience of the power of the Holy Ghost in his own heart, who knows nothing, and can tell nothing of what God has done for his own soul. We can well believe that the consideration of this has had something to do with the deficiency in clergy supply. Men are not so ready, as formerly they were, to answer offhand the plain and searching

questions of the ordination service, and every true Churchman may thank God for it.

It is in view of these circumstances that once and again during the past few years the question has been boldly pressed forward whether the time has not arrived for reconsidering the provisions of the Pluralities Acts, with a view to the more economical employment of the strength which the Church of England possesses in the aggregate number of the clergy. It is impossible, in the limited space at our disposal, to present the case so strongly as it might be presented, but a few facts as to the relative numbers of the town and rural clergy, and the work which devolves upon them, will suffice to indicate the grounds on which the advocates of a change rest their case. Some few years ago the *Quarterly Review* had some remarks on the unequal distribution of the clergy, though not with any reference to the repeal of the Pluralities Acts and the union of small parishes. So far as we know, the figures then published have never been controverted. It was there stated that for some 15,000,000 of town population there were employed less than 6000 clergy, incumbents and curates included, with endowments of only 750,000*l.*, while for 7,500,000 of rural population there were upwards of 13,000 clergy, with endowments of about 2,750,000*l.*! Further inquiry has elicited the fact that of 10,700 benefices in the Southern Province, about two-fifths have a population of less than 400 all told, while of these two-fifths, nearly one-half or 2100 have a population of 200 or less—that is, on an outside estimate, about forty or fifty families. What makes the anomaly more conspicuous is the fact, that very often the smaller parishes are the better endowed, so as to justify the sarcastic criticism sometimes heard, that Church endowments are distributed in an inverse ratio to the population and the amount of work to be done. It is now forty years or more since the author of “*Essays on the Church*” specified the unequal distribution of endowments as one of the glaring illustrations of the need of Church reform.

But the immediate question which the Bishop of Norwich seems anxious to ventilate is not the readjustment of disproportional endowments, but the union under one incumbent of small and scantily-endowed parishes, so as thereby to set free clerical power, which is now running to waste for want of sufficient material on which to employ itself, and at the same time, to give to the clergyman a sufficient, or, at least, a better income. *Prima facie*, any proposal to repeal or modify the stringent enactments of the Pluralities Acts would probably be met with a decided negative. More than forty years have passed by, carrying with them an entire generation of clergy, since the Act 1 and 2 Vict. c. 106, received the Royal assent



with the unanimous approbation of all parties. The crying abuses of nepotism and plurality which disfigured the Church of England for the half century preceding the Queen's Accession, and made it a by-word and a reproach to the enemy, have become so entirely a thing of the past as to linger only in the memories of the elder clergy. It was a time when the Sparkes, the Norths, the Pretymans, and others of equal notoriety revelled in the enjoyment of piled-up preferments; when a hack curate, holding also perhaps the mastership of a grammar school, would take three or four services in parishes miles apart, before sunset; when three brothers in the diocese of Norwich held between them fifteen livings; and when of some 500 curates, four-fifths were employed by non-resident incumbents. "A burnt child dreads the fire." It is therefore not unnatural for those who recall the experiences of those days to feel somewhat suspicious and even alarmed at the proposal to undo even partially what was so wisely done when Parliament passed the first Pluralities Act.

On the other hand, it will be replied that though the law was wisely brought to bear at that time in a trenchant and sweeping way, as the only effectual method of eradicating very gross abuses, yet now that the abuses are got rid of, and a healthier moral tone has been developed alike among clergy and laity, the Church may fairly be allowed to reconstruct her ecclesiastical system and reorganise her forces. Even should this involve the union of contiguous small parishes, the Church authorities, it is argued, may be trusted to provide ample safeguards against the possible recurrence, under cover of the proposed arrangements, of these now extinct abuses. For ourselves we are by no means prepared to say that such safeguards are impossible of construction. But the danger is a palpable one, and would demand the most careful and stringent precautions to protect the Church against it. There is, unquestionably, a good deal of truth and justice in the contention of the Bishop of Norwich as to the waste of strength under existing circumstances. But in the absence of other and equally important changes, we are by no means sure that the suggestion for uniting under one pastorate adjacent small parishes is capable of very extensive realisation; in cities, it may be feasible, because the people are clustered together, though even there, the union generally involves the removal of one of the churches, a result which is not contemplated in the case of the rural parishes. But in the country, where the churches are two and perhaps even three miles apart, it is not clear how the people can be provided with two services at each church, unless the incumbent be compelled to employ a curate. In that case there seems no sufficient reason, speaking generally, why each parish should not have its own resident pastor, as at present. We should view with something stronger than regret any attempt

to re-establish the custom of restricting the services in a parish to one on a Sunday, unless in the case of a very small parish, or where the neighbouring parish church is within easy walking distance. It strikes us, indeed, that any such proposal as that hinted at by the Bishop of Norwich, even if desirable on the grounds indicated by his lordship, would be of small practical use for setting the clergy free for town curacies, unless steps were taken for the establishment of a permanent diaconate. This element of the question is, however, too large an one to be fairly considered at the close of our Article.

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#### ART. VI.—THE MAGNIFICAT.

##### ITS LITURGICAL USE.

THE Song of the Virgin Mary has become a Song of the Church. Therefore the reflections (presented in a former Paper<sup>1</sup>) on its first intension and personal bearing may properly be followed by a few words on its liturgical use.

The Christian instinct has rightly felt that the first utterances of faith and joy at the beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ should not be left as silent records in a book, but should sound as living voices for ever, and that the breath of the Holy Ghost, which is in them, should be felt in the congregation to the end of time. These Songs thus become both a means of unity and a refreshment of faith: for thus the devotions of the ages become one with each other, through the element which they all successively inherit from their common source; and, in using the words, every generation feels closer to the time when they were spoken first, and renews its sense of the historic truth of the events which attended the incarnation of the Son of God.

But, besides these benefits from the liturgical use of the Canticles, there is a fitness in the words themselves to become the perpetual voice of the Church. Has not this been always felt? Is it not felt now? How many worshippers still breathe out their own emotions in "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour!" knowing now the full meaning of that word, as she who first uttered it could not at the time have known it. How many, with a larger intelligence than was then possible for her, marvel and rejoice at the "great things," which "He that is mighty has done" for servants in such "low estate!" How many repeat the assurance that

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<sup>1</sup> THE CHURCHMAN, p. 301.

"His mercy is on them that fear Him from generation to generation," with a thankful consciousness that this mercy has now descended to their own generation, and lightened on their own souls!

Indeed, this first strophe may be said to be our best instruction in the true principles of praise. It shows us that "if praise express itself in words, it is yet in its essence an internal act," an act in "my soul," and (going yet deeper into my nature) an act in "my spirit;" as also appears in the great Psalm of Thanksgiving, "Praise the Lord, O my soul, and *all that is within me* bless His holy name." So also when "magnifying" deepens into "rejoicing," we learn that true praise is not only duteous homage, but also spontaneous joy; and when the great name, "the Lord," is followed by the sweeter title of "God my Saviour," we are taught in what kind of faith and experience the reasons for that joy will be found. Again, in the following verses we see how naturally the highest apprehension of blessedness will ally itself with the deepest sense of holiness, and how the view of "great things done to" us will solemnise as well as elevate the mind, disposing to such reverent adoration as is condensed in the ascription, "and holy is His name."

In the second division of the Song the truths proclaimed are also proper to be recorded through the whole course of human history. So long as there is vanity in the imaginations of men's hearts, and arrogance comes out of their mouths; so long as there is unbelief in the seats of teaching and oppression on the thrones of government; so long as there is in the common mind a worship of wealth and confidence in the arm of flesh; so long, in short, as the world continues what it always has been and still is, so long should the prophetic strain be heard in the houses of God:

He hath shewed strength with His arm.

He hath scattered the proud in the imaginations of their hearts.

He hath put down the mighty from their seats: and hath exalted the humble and meek.

He hath filled the hungry with good things: and the rich He hath sent empty away.

It is fit that, like the Psalmist,<sup>1</sup> we should feel how great a change passes on the outward scene when we "go into the sanctuary of God;" and how the high things of this world shrink and wither under the breath of the world to come. They pass before us here in their chief forms: the pride of intellect and of the imaginations of the heart; the pride of rank and power and sway over others; the pride of possession and self-sufficiency,

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<sup>1</sup> Ps. lxxiii. 17.

which says, "I am rich and increased with goods, and have need of nothing." The Song presents these forms of pride as scattered, cast down, or sent empty away, because at last the truth of things is come. In so doing it celebrates no secondary accident of the Kingdom of Heaven, but its essential principle, that "God resisteth the proud and giveth grace to the lowly."<sup>1</sup> The same strain is heard from all the voices of the prophets, who have told of the day when "the lofty looks of man should be humbled, and the haughtiness of men should be bowed down," and when also "the meek should increase their joy in the Lord, and the poor among men rejoice in the Holy One of Israel." With this exalting of the humble, and this filling of the hungry, the Son of Man began His whole course of teaching.

He opened His mouth and taught them, saying,

Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth . . .

Blessed are they that do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled.

The exaltation thus assigned to one moral state implies a corresponding downfall in its opposite; which indeed, in other places, the Lord spares not to announce, and the express declaration of which is added to these very beatitudes in St. Luke's report (Luke vi. 24-6). But the first place is occupied in the Lord's discourse by the exaltation of the humble, and in the Virgin's Song by the downfall of the proud, because He is "lifting up His eyes on His disciples," and she is lifting up her eyes on the world as it was; He speaking in the midst of a Church which was forming, she at a time when no Church was gathered. But with us the two elements are ever present; the spirit of the world and the spirit of the gospel, working according to their several natures: and to the one is administered a needful warning, to the other a strong consolation, by ever-repeated words which tell in effect that "he that exalteth himself shall be abased, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted."

If the principle of divine government which the Song proclaims is one to be rehearsed for ever, so also is the testimony with which it concludes.

He remembering his mercy, hath holpen his servant Israel: as he promised to our forefathers, Abraham and his seed for ever.

We see how great stress is laid in the Holy Word on the continuity of the plan of God. A thousand links, some obvious, some intricate, bind the New Testament to the Old. As many as are the references in the pages of the Old Testament to the

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<sup>1</sup> Prov. iii. 34, quoted, James iv. 6, and 1 Pet. v. 5, *αντιτασσεται τοις ηρηφανοις*. Sets himself against them, as in battle array.

things which shall come after, so many are the references in the pages of the New to the promises which had been made before. It is of great moment to the due appreciation of the gospel that we regard it as the scheme of God from the beginning, in which the law itself was but parenthetical, and that we recognise the salvation which was once presented to anticipation, that which we now enjoy at present, and that which is "ready to be revealed in the last time," as successive stages of one everlasting covenant.

For us the words "to Abraham and to his seed for ever," are associated with a voice which echoed them, and a teaching which explained them; that in which the Apostle of the Gentiles contracts the seed of Abraham into the single person of Christ, and in so doing expands it to all that are in Him, in all nations and through all ages.

Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, "And to seeds," as of many; but as of one. And to thy seed, which is Christ.

As many of you as have been baptised into Christ have put on Christ.

And if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise.—Gal. iii. 16, 27, 29.

Thus to its last word the Song is all our own, and claims of right the Doxology to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, with which we end it, and by which the Church adopts as its own the proleptic psalms and hymns, and *naturalises* them, so to speak, in the perfected revelation of truth.

One concluding observation remains to be made concerning the Liturgic use of the Canticles, and in particular of this, the first voice of New Testament praise. Thus incorporated into the devotions of the Church, they become examples of the *tone* of Christian song, and give the key-note to the general praise.

The tones of Christian song must be various, as are the emotions which it expresses, and the themes which it celebrates. But this variety makes it all the more necessary to maintain the influence of the examples divinely provided, as permanent standards of the best type of devotion. This benefit is more than ever to be appreciated in the day in which we live. A certain facility of composition is widely diffused, utterance is become voluble, the standard is generally taken from the popular taste, and there is an ever-increasing confusion of religious voices in the air. For the hymns of such a time there will be various kinds of danger, but especially that of a free indulgence in bold and heated expression, and of an easy, familiar tone on sacred topics, which must in its ultimate effect impair and depreciate the general character of religion. Over this tendency

the Canticles sung in our Churches exercise a kind of oblique restraint, attuning devout minds to reverence and lowliness, and to that grave and tender reserve which suggests more than it utters, and chastens holy joy in order to exalt it. Thus, through all the variations of feeling incidental to place, to time, and to individual temper, the strain of Christian song is kept in tune with the voices which lead it, among which was heard first, and is heard still, "The Magnificat, or Song of the Blessed Virgin Mary."

T. D. BERNARD.

NOTE.—To these observations on the Magnificat, I will venture to append the expression of a wish that we had an authorised selection and collection of the scriptural and chief ecclesiastical Canticles, with some greater liberty for variation and interchange in their liturgical use. Such a collection is found in the famous Utrecht Psalter. A beautiful MS. volume of a late date (1514), in the Cathedral Library at Wells, contains, I think, the same selection and in the same order, only that the Psalms, instead of being illustrated, as in the Utrecht Psalter, by curious pictures, are accompanied throughout by explanatory glosses and many admirable Collects.

The contents are as follows:—

1. The whole Psalter, with the additions mentioned.
2. Canticum Esaie, Is. xii.
3. Scriptura Ezechie Regis, Is. xxxviii. 9-21.
4. Canticum Anne, 1 Sam. ii. 1-11.
- Oratio Abacce pro ignoracionibus, Hab. iii.
6. Canticum Moysi, Exod. xv. 1-19.
7. Canticum Moysi, Deut. xxxii. 1-44.
8. Ambrosii et Augustini. Te Deum.
9. Canticum trium puerorum. Benedicite.
10. Canticum Zacharie. Benedictus.
11. Canticum dñe Marie Virginis. Magnificat.
12. Canticum Symeonis. Nunc dimittis.
13. Symbolum Athanasii. Quicumque vult.

It is interesting to see how entirely the "Athanasian Creed" was reckoned, not as a Creed properly so-called, but as a hymn or Canticle in expansion of the Creed, or a song of defence against assaults of heresy.

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#### ART. VII.—THE DOCTRINE OF THE FATHERS ON THE LORD'S SUPPER.

THE Eucharistic controversy, as waged between the different sections of the Church of England, has long been in a state eminently unsatisfactory. The question at issue turns in this, as probably it does in all other cases, on matters of fact. The ultimate authority is admitted by all parties to lie in the intention of Christ, and in the words by which the Sacrament was

first instituted. Protestants do not admit that there is the least ambiguity in these words, or, taking the whole teaching of our Lord together, any difficulty whatever in definitely fixing their meaning. They are quite prepared to abide by the literal form of our Lord's words. It has been acutely pointed out by that eminent dialectician, the late Dr. Vogan, in his work on the Eucharist, that the literal meaning of the words of institution is fatal to the modern doctrine that the natural Body and Blood of Christ are to be found in, with, or under the elements by virtue of their consecration. The natural element cannot contain that with which it is itself identical. But however this may be, Protestants do not admit that the words of institution are doubtful in such a sense, that they themselves have any doubt of their meaning; but in the sense that different people put different interpretations upon them, they are bound to admit it. Appeal to the words themselves fails therefore to furnish an end to controversy, so long as they are thus variously interpreted. The Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, the Zwinglian, and the Calvinist, the Ritualist and the Evangelical, all appeal to the same words, but are separated *toto cælo* in the sense which they put upon them.

In this state of things the interpretation put upon the words of institution by the Christians of the early centuries, and the views they consequently entertained of the nature and effects of the Lord's Supper, become a very important element in the controversy. Those who decline to accept the Fathers as authorities may yet value them highly as witnesses to the belief of their day. If those who conversed with the Apostles, and the generations immediately subsequent to them, are found to have understood the words of institution in one uniform and unvarying sense, the fact can scarcely be regarded otherwise than as raising a strong presumption that this particular sense is the true one. But is it a fact, that the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the consecrated elements did form part of the faith of Christians from the first? The Anglo-Catholic section of the Church of England confidently affirms the assertion to be true and reiterates it with the utmost emphasis and confidence. For instance, we have recently been told that "it is as clear as day that S. Ignatius understood S. John vi. 51—of the bread of the holy Eucharist;" that "not only in the age of S. Ignatius and afterwards, but in the very earliest times, in the days of S. Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Eucharistic table was a *Θυσιαστήριον*. And of course, if so, that which was offered upon it, and eaten off it, was *θυσία*, a sacrifice, and he who celebrated it was *λειτουργός*, a priest;"—that Ignatius considered the consecrated elements to be "the medicine of immortality, the union of his flesh to that of Christ," and that this mode of speaking

was not peculiar to him : that it was the teaching of the early Church that "the Eucharist (that is, the consecrated elements) is the flesh and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ," which suffered for our sins, which the Father in His mercy raised again ; "that the doctrine of S. Iræneus is perfectly clear and conclusive for the Real Presence."<sup>1</sup> Such assertions may carry little weight with those who are accustomed to examine the authorities for themselves, but at all events they bear witness to the strong and confident convictions of the party represented by the writer. Yet Protestants speak with equal decision on the other side, and unhesitatingly affirm that such statements, as have been quoted, do not justly represent the teaching of the early Fathers, and are only made plausible either by mistaking rhetorical language for dogmatic statement, or by misapprehension of the real issue which has been raised in the course of discussion, or by careless and defective quotation. They have shown their confidence in this view by reiterated attempts to bring the question to the test of public examination. Thus the matter has stood pretty much since the Reformation. For the present no more is necessary than to refer, in proof, to the language of Bishop Jewell, in his celebrated sermon at St. Paul's Cross, repeatedly renewed as the challenge has subsequently been ; as, for instance, by Archbishop Usher, in his "answer to a challenge made by a Jesuit."

And yet the disputed fact is one which, in its own nature, should admit of ready determination. The passages from the early Fathers, at all events, are very few in number. It is true that their language in many instances is exceedingly loose and inaccurate, and almost entirely devoid of that precision which the controversies of succeeding ages have compelled more modern writers to adopt, as theology has been reduced more and more to an exact and scientific form. Nevertheless, inaccurate and rhetorical as is the language of the early Fathers, the difficulty of clearly determining their views on the subject of the Lord's Supper cannot be insuperable. Why, then, have things remained in this unsatisfactory state ? It is because High Church writers on this subject have up to the month of October last steadily refused to face the question, or to enter on any thorough vindication of their statements.

That the state of the case may be clearly seen, it is desirable that the facts should be more precisely recapitulated. In no religious controversy can all the members of a school be expected to examine for themselves the authorities on which their case rests ; this must be the duty of the few, who have time and inclination for so laborious an inquiry. It is no disrespect, there-

<sup>1</sup> "Doctrine of the Fathers on the Real Presence." *Church Quarterly Review*, October, 1879.



fore, to the High Sacramentalists, with whom we are in conflict on this subject, to express the belief that their views have been mainly founded on the writings of Archdeacon Wilberforce and Archdeacon Denison, on the array of authors contained in the elaborate judgment of Sir Robert Phillimore in *Sheppard v. Bennett*, and above all in the catena furnished by Dr. Pusey. Not only has the high reputation of this last-named divine served to justify the confidence placed in his authority, but his own strong assertions have naturally increased the feeling. Thus, he writes :—

The following evidence that the belief in the Real Presence was part of the faith of Christians from the first, is more than enough to convince one who is willing to be convinced. If this convinces not, neither would any other. There is no flaw, no doubt, I might almost say no loophole, except that man always finds one to escape what he is unwilling to accept.

I have now . . . gone through every writer who in his extant works speaks of the Holy Eucharist, from the time when St. John the Evangelist was translated to his Lord to the date of the Fourth General Council, A.D. 451, a period of three centuries and a half. I have suppressed nothing; I have not knowingly omitted anything; I have given every passage, as far as in me lay, with so much of the context as was necessary for the clear exhibition of the meaning.—“*Doctrine of the Real Presence*,” pp. 316, 317, 715.

The immense influence which Dr. Pusey's works have exercised is proved by the testimony of his own friends. Rev. W. E. Bennett addresses Dr. Pusey thus—“I have gradually learned from yourself, and from other doctors of the Church, to whom in your writings you have referred, the essential necessity of these great truths.” The devout John Keble speaks yet more positively, in the preface to his work on Eucharistical adoration—“This I do not profess to demonstrate, but accept it as demonstrated by Dr. Pusey.”

His own competence for the task he asserts, gently indeed, but very firmly, affirming that he had lived with the Fathers for the last twenty years, as “in his home.” How, in the face of such assertions, it can be possible for any writer to use such language as the following, we are at a loss to conceive :—“Dr. Pusey is not responsible for the penning of the patristic passages; he is not responsible, except to a limited extent, for their selection. They are the common-places of the subject, found in a long extent of theological treatises and manuals.” The last clause may perhaps explain a good deal of what appears otherwise to be utterly inexplicable.

It must be remembered that not one writer, but many, have emphatically denied the truth of Dr. Pusey's conclusions, and questioned the accuracy of his quotations. The learned work of

the late Dean Goode on the Eucharist is one long bill of indictment against them. This work was, indeed, already passing through the press when the volume on "The Doctrine of the Real Presence," &c., was published, but Dr. Pusey's views had already been made known. In regard to him Dean Goode uses the following language:—"How, as respects a large proportion of these passages, Dr. Pusey himself could suppose that they convey any proof that their authors held this doctrine, it is difficult to imagine. The whole evidence in the case of almost all of them seems to lie in the fact that in speaking of the consecrated elements they apply to them the terms 'the Holy Blood of Christ.' But, as I shall show presently, this fact proves nothing." In his subsequent volume on "The Real Presence," &c., Dr. Pusey has referred more than once to Dean Goode's arguments, and expressed his hope of replying to them, if health should permit. But the intention has never been carried into effect. The Dean of Ripon has not stood alone. He was promptly supported by no less a person than the acute and learned Bishop Thirlwall, who in his charge, delivered October, 1857, discussed the doctrine of the Eucharist, and expressed himself thus:—

I believe, however, that the so-called Catholic teaching, understood as I have said, is no less repugnant both to Scripture and to the whole stream of genuine primitive tradition, though, by means of compilations, which are bringing the name of a catena into suspicion and disrepute, as equivalent to an engine of polemical delusion, it may be made to appear to have a great mass of patristic evidence in its favour.—"Remains of Bishop Thirlwall," vol. i. p. 266.

A foot-note to the same page adds:—

A very large part of the passages collected by Dr. Pusey in his notes on his sermon, "The Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist," would be deprived of all even seeming relevancy and argumentative value by the simple insertion of the words sacramental and sacramentally.

In 1869 the learned Dr. H. Burgess, formerly editor of the *Clerical Journal*, published his work on "The Reformed Church of England, in its Principles and their Legitimate Development." The fourth chapter is devoted to the subject of the Lord's Supper. Among the page headings occurs the following:—"Use of Justin, by Dr. Pusey." He closes his discussion on the evidence of antiquity in the following words:—

We think we have proved that, unless we are to extend that tradition (primitive tradition) far into mediæval times, it is utterly unable to lend its countenance to any of the mysterious doctrines and ceremonies made to cluster round the Lord's Supper by the Church of Rome, and its imitators, the Anglican-Catholic party.—P. 196.

The charge was subsequently renewed by Dr. Vogan in his

great work on the "True Doctrine of the Eucharist," originally issued in 1849, but republished in an enlarged form in 1871. He too appeals to the Fathers, and after quoting a passage from Hilary, says: "This part of Dr. Pusey's work is largely made up, I think, of passages as little pertinent to the purpose. In fact, I find that fully one half in number, and much more in bulk, of the passages he has cited to prove 'that the belief in the Real Presence was part of the faith of Christians from the first' are quite inapplicable, and consequently that the number of the Fathers he has called in evidence must be considerably reduced." (page 148). He subsequently points out, as, for instance, in Chapters xii. and xiii., causes which have led to the misunderstanding of the Fathers who are quoted, and concludes the discussion thus:—

Let the reader . . . place this brief statement of the doctrine of the Real Presence side by side with the extracts which have been or may be produced from the Fathers; he will see that these venerable authorities give no sanction to this doctrine; and that, for well nigh a thousand years, they proclaim with one voice their belief in our Lord's words, when He said of the bread, "This—is—my body which is given for you! This—is—my blood which is shed for you;" a belief which Dr. Pusey again and again states and acknowledges, but strangely converts into the belief of his own very different and self-contradictory doctrine.—P. 161.

Then followed the works of Dr. Harrison. "Whose are the Fathers?" was published in 1867, and the author states his thesis thus: "Our serious charge against these Anglo-Catholics is that the extracts given from the Fathers are often garbled, and many passages, though not garbled, have been quoted apart from the context, which, if it had been given with the extracts, would have made them useless for the purpose for which they were adduced." This charge was reiterated with further evidences and illustrations in the "Answer to Dr. Pusey's Challenge respecting the Doctrine of the Real Presence," published in 1871, in which he formally renews his accusation of "garbled extracts, unfair translations, and unaccountable omissions."

It thus appears that it is not Dr. Harrison alone who has impugned the quotations adduced by Dr. Pusey to prove that the Real Presence was part of the faith of Christians from the first. He is but the last of a considerable succession of writers, some of whom have been men of the highest reputation and position in the Church, to say nothing of many minor publications of the same general kind which have reiterated the same complaint. Yet of these charges no serious notice whatever has ever been taken.

The *Church Quarterly* states the fact with evident self-

congratulation. It quietly ignores all the other writers named, and mentions Dr. Harrison alone.

It had been anticipated that this bold attempt to claim the Fathers for the Protestant side, and to refute Dr. Pusey, would raise a perfect storm in the Ritualistic and High Church camp. Instead of that there was perfect silence even of the good-natured kind. Not even the majestic challenge of the *Christian Observer* could elicit a single word.

There must be some one among them, writes that editor, although there may probably not be many, who has sufficient acquaintance with patristic learning to rebut the crushing exposure, if indeed the assertions of Dr. Harrison can be met. As it is, Dr. Pusey is arraigned before the world on charges which amount to mendacity—no less!—of the most shameful and disingenuous character. The system of Rome, it is true, is a system of forgery and lies; but he never has professed that he is a Romanist. We shall wait with much anxiety to see what answer can be made by him or for him.

And he has waited ever since January, 1864.

The complacent satisfaction breathed throughout this extract is singularly misplaced. Men are so naturally identified with the principles they profess, that the character of the one cannot be called into question without injuring the influence of the other. Public writers have no right to sit down contentedly under the grave accusation of misleading the Church of Christ. Either the accusation is false, or true; if false, it is a duty to repel it; if true, it is a yet higher duty to submit to it. Every conceivable motive might have been supposed to suggest an indignant, immediate, and complete refutation of charges so discreditable to those that made them, if they are false; so discreditable to those against whom they were alleged, if they are true. Yet a serious attempt at vindication has never been made. The silence of assumed contempt has been maintained, not only from 1874, but from the publication of Dean Goode's work in 1856, down to October, 1879. For three-and-twenty years the party has been content to lie under the gravest suspicions which can possibly be alleged against public writers, and above all against theologians.

But at last the silence has been broken. Dr. Harrison condensed his previous works into one small readable volume, under the title of the "Fathers against Dr. Pusey." He subsequently issued a yet smaller publication, of which he has circulated 20,000 copies throughout the country. It can be readily understood that this measure was too formidable to be overlooked. Hence the Article in the *Church Quarterly* of last October. Its appearance should be a matter of most sincere congratulation, for it admits the gravity of the accusations made against the catenas of Dr. Pusey, and of others of his school. It moves the controversy one step forward, and opens a prospect, at

last, of bringing the opposing facts alleged on either side to a final and conclusive settlement. It does more. The writer, in order to vindicate in certain selected crucial instances the sense put upon the language of the Fathers, is compelled in his own defence to explain the canons by which it has been interpreted. The wonder of the fact, as well as the fact itself, is thus shifted onward. No one can be surprised that with such canons of interpretation as are now maintained, the teaching of the Fathers should be supposed to support the doctrine of the Real Presence, for the whole question is really begged beforehand. The only subject of surprise is, that such canons should ever have been adopted. If they can be sustained, the allegations of Dr. Pusey will be justified. But if no one of them will bear examination, the entire argument founded upon them falls at once to the ground.

Here, therefore, the personal questions with which the main issue has been encumbered may all be dropped. No further allusion will be made, for instance, to Dr. Pusey. Had it not been necessary for a full statement of the case, his name would not have been used at all. Christian courtesy may be allowed to distinguish between the theologian and the man. Not but that, even as a theologian, Dr. Pusey has rendered noble service to the Church of Christ. His work on Daniel and his commentary on the minor Prophets, for instance, will ever remain a *κτῆμα εἰς δόξ.* Would that it were possible, in the recollection of services like these, to forget the incalculable evils that have resulted to the Church of England, and to the interests of God's truth at large, from the system which first sprang into activity under the shelter of his name. It is no little misfortune that the respect due to the undisputed learning and unquestioned personal piety of one who has filled so large a place in the recent history of the Church of England as to have been called "The Great Anglican Doctor," should be clouded by such a recollection, or that indignant protest should be mingled with the sympathy with which all parties in the Church will regard the domestic afflictions of an aged Christian. May it be with him as it was with Bellarmine in his last hours, that he may find during the closing years of life the strength and consolation of his soul in Christ, and Christ alone. It is no unfaithfulness to truth to express the hope that the hard tones of controversy may be gently tempered to the ears on which are beginning to break the everlasting harmonies of the better world.

Here also may be dropped for the most part the personal discussion between the *Church Quarterly* and Dr. Harrison. It has been shown that he is not the only antagonist with whom the maintainers of the Real Presence, as part of the faith of Christians from the first, have to do. He is but the latest of

a series of writers who have maintained the same accusations against ultra Church catenas as himself, and whose reputation stands as far above the reach of any supercilious indifference, as their arguments stand above the reach of loose reasoning and unproved assumptions. Dr. Harrison is well able to defend himself, and may be assured that contemptuous references to "Edinburgh Theology" and hard words of reproof will alike be brushed aside by any independent reader, as equally irrelevant and unbecoming. The personal discussion is altogether overshadowed by the grave issue at stake. We do not care so much to know in what points any particular writer is right and in which points he is wrong, as we care to know whether the early Church did, or did not, believe in the Real Presence of the true Body and Blood of Christ in the consecrated elements at the Lord's Supper. On this question attention must now be concentrated by the critical examination of the four canons laid down by the *Church Quarterly* as rules for interpreting the language of the Fathers. For on these canons the whole question will be found to turn. There are, however, some points on which it is desirable to dwell for a short time, before the personal side of the controversy is entirely dismissed.

Great fault is found with the assertion that "the doctrine of the Real Presence was unknown to the Christian Church till it was invented by Paschasius Radbert in the ninth century." The words do not, be it observed, refer to transubstantiation. On the mode in which the Body and Blood of Christ are present in the elements they say nothing. It is on the fact of their alleged presence that stress is justly laid. "If Dr. Harrison errs in his estimate of the doctrine of Paschasius, he errs, it must be admitted, in good company. "About A.D. 831, Paschasius Radbert, a monk, and afterwards Abbot of Corbie, maintained the corporal presence. Whether even he taught the full-grown doctrine of transubstantiation, or only consubstantiation, our divines have questioned." So has written no less competent a witness than Dr. Harold Browne, the present Bishop of Winchester ("Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles," p. 696). Hagenbach, whose authority is admitted to be "considerable," makes the same assertion. "Gerbert, whose reputation was great in those days, endeavoured to illustrate the doctrine propounded by Paschasius of a real change of the bread into the Body of Christ" ("History of Doctrines," pp. 11, 84). Gieseler, in a passage containing several points well worthy of attention, says:—

The ecclesiastical mode of speaking, that bread and wine in the Lord's Supper became by consecration the Body and Blood of Christ, may have been frequently understood of a transformation of substance by the uneducated; but among the theologians of the West, this

misconception could not so readily find acceptance, in consequence of the clear explanations given by the celebrated Augustine. When, therefore, Paschasius Radbert, a monk, and Abbot of Corbie from 844-851, expressly taught such a transformation, he met with considerable opposition.—“*Ecclesiastical History*,” vol. ii. p. 284.

This passage is the more noticeable because an attempt has been made to create confusion as to the teaching of Paschasius, by quoting certain phrases which, taken by themselves, apart from their context, appear to bear an Evangelical meaning. The attempt is more ingenious than it is ingenuous. It is scarcely accurate to state that the sentiment of Paschasius is expressed in the words “*Christum vorari fas dentibus non est*.” In his letter to Trudegard he ascribes the sentiment to Augustine. “If I could believe,” he says, “that it was the body our Lord took from the Virgin Mary, his mother, yet, on the other side, even the illustrious doctor Augustine declares this to be a great sin; which wise saying seems to excite too much horror in the recipients, unless they believe that to be present in the sacrament which the truth testifies to exist in reality (*in aperto*). And if they shall have believed that this is so, as some believe, nevertheless they incur that sin, inasmuch as they believe falsely, because it is thus spoken, that it may be lawful that Christ should be eaten with the teeth (*quia sic dictum est, ut fas sit eum dentibus vorari*).” But he proceeds to allege that Augustine had contradicted himself in this matter, and draws a distinction between two concurrent acts, implying that Augustine was partly right and partly wrong. “Thus partly (*ex parte*) all do not eat with the mouth, but with the heart, and by faith we believe that it is the Body and Blood of Christ.” He is writing, it must be remembered, to one whose mind had been disturbed by the language of Augustine (“*cujus te commoveri sententia dixisti*”). (*Migne Patrologia*, vol. cxx. pp. 1551, 2). He allows a considerable place to faith in his argument, but the province he gives to faith is very different to what Augustine gives to it; it is faith in the fact that the bread and wine become after consecration the actual Body and Blood of Christ, “the flesh in which He was born in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and which hung upon the cross, and the blood which was shed upon the cross, and which was then in His own body” (*Ibid.*). In his great treatise, “*De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*,” he explains his own meaning thus: “*Sub eorum specie visibili quæ videtur, secretius virtute divina caro consecratur, ut hæc sint interius veritate, quod exterius creduntur virtute fidei*.” under the visible form of Sacraments by the inward power of God, is consecrated flesh, so that they are inwardly and in truth what they are outwardly believed to be by faith. Here we see the meaning attached by Paschasius to such words as “*potentialiter, efficaciter*,” and so forth, when used

by Paschasius. The object of faith is the actuality of the flesh and blood present in the Sacrament. It is not easy to define the precise doctrine of this writer, and hence the wise caution with which Bishop Harold Browne speaks in the passage already quoted. That has happened to Paschasius Radbert which has happened to well nigh every teacher of a new doctrine, that its logical results have been carried out by his followers to extremes which he himself never contemplated.

There is nothing in all this to throw a shadow of suspicion on the trustworthiness and consistency of Dr. Harrison. Nor is the attempt to damage his authority more successful which is founded on his quotations from Augustine. He has been accused of picking out particular passages, without either considering their context or inquiring as to their consistency with other passages from the same writer. No doubt Dr. Harrison would reply, that this is the very thing which he himself has done, and which he charges his opponents with not doing. Indeed, here again he is in most excellent company:—

We must now proceed to Augustine, whom all agree to honour. He has so much to the purpose, that how to choose is difficult. "Prepare not thy teeth, but thy heart." "Why make ready thy teeth and thy belly? Believe and thou hast eaten. Our Lord hesitated not to say, *This is my Body*, when He gave the sign of His Body." "Spiritually understand what I have spoken to you. You are not to eat that Body which you see, and drink that Blood which they will shed who will crucify Me. I have commended to you a Sacrament. Spiritually understood, it will quicken you. Though it must be visibly celebrated, it must be invisibly understood." "What you see is bread and the cup. But as your faith requires, the bread is Christ's Body, the cup is His Blood. How is the bread His Body, and the wine His Blood? These things, brethren, are therefore called Sacraments, because in them one thing is seen, another understood. What appears is a bodily form: What is understood has a spiritual point." "The Body and Blood of Christ will then be life to each, if what is visibly received in the Sacrament be in actual verity spiritually eaten, spiritually drunk."—"Bishop of Winchester Exp.," pp. 693-4.

One more subject must be noticed before the way is clear. There is no part of this controversy which has been pushed into such subtleties, or made the occasion of such contradictions, as that which surrounds the phrase "spiritual body." The Church of England asserts, in language as precise as it seems possible to use, that "the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and not here; it being against the truth of Christ's natural Body to be at one time in more places than one"—(Post Communion Rubric). Yes, it is replied, that is undoubtedly true. But it is not the "natural body" of which we speak, but the spiritual body. This spiritual body is that in which the Lord



now sits in heaven, and it possesses capacities and attributes altogether unknown to the natural body. This spiritual, glorified body we believe, in some mode or other, which we do not presume to scrutinise, and which is the proper object of faith, to be really and actually present in the consecrated bread and the consecrated wine in the Lord's Supper; and this, at one and the same time, in the countless thousands of spots in which the Sacrament may be administered. What the Rubric says, it says only of the natural body of Christ, and not of the spiritual, glorified body, in which we believe. Such an argument implies either that Christ's risen body ceased to be a corporal body when it became spiritual; or else that Christ has two bodies, one a natural body, subject to the ordinary conditions of time and place to which the natural body is liable, and also a spiritual body gifted with omnipresence, and containing in itself the eternal life of the Lord Jesus Christ. Would it be at all rash to say that this doctrine of two bodies is a rank heresy? It is certain that the Apostles' Creed, the creed of the undivided Church, attests the unity of the Lord's body throughout, from the conception in the womb of the Virgin onward, till the judgment day. "I believe in Jesus Christ," who was "conceived," "born," "suffered," "was crucified," "descended," "rose again," "ascended," "sitteth," "will come to judge"—one and the same Jesus Christ all through. The language of the Athanasian Creed is not less precise: "One Christ; one not by the conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by the taking of manhood into God." Just as positive is the Third Article, "Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again *His* body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature; *wherewith* He ascended into heaven, and there sitteth, until He return to judge all men at the last day." In this matter, Paschasius may be allowed to speak, who says, "No sane man believes that Jesus had any other flesh or any other blood than that which was born of the Virgin Mary and suffered on the cross."

Not only do Anglo-Catholic writers accept this fiction of a spiritual body of Christ as well as a natural one, but they appear to argue that the same thing is true of us all. What other meaning can be put upon the words, "Had they (the Apostles) no idea of a pneumatic or spiritual body? Had they no idea of a body, underlying the visible, tangible body, which at death casts off its mortal garment, and wends its way to regions invisible?" Are we to believe in two coexisting bodies that make up each man's one personality? or is there merely a play upon words, and do they refer that to the body, which is true only of the soul? No doubt the soul, exactly speaking, may be termed a body; that is, the soul is finite; for else it would be divine, not human; for the divine essence alone can be infinite. But if it is finite it must occupy

a definite space, and be capable of being circumscribed. In that sense the soul may be a body; but if it be so, it proves nothing whatever towards the object of the ultra-Church writer. If the soul be an immaterial body because it occupies space and can conceivably be circumscribed by lines, this does not prove that our Lord's glorified body has ceased to occupy a definite space, and to be amenable to the laws of bodies. This is what it is sought to establish; the object is to show that it is possible for the Lord's body to be in ten thousand places at the same time, wherever the bread and wine are consecrated in the Lord's Supper. But if our Lord's body has become immaterial and spiritual, like the soul of man, it would not also become ubiquitous, for the soul of man is not ubiquitous. The analogy may prove that our Lord's body would be invisible if it were present; but it would not in the slightest degree prove the possibility of its being present in more than one place in one time. It would disprove it, if there be any worth in the analogy at all. But such specious subtleties only darken counsel. There is not the slightest ground for supposing that our Lord's glorified body is an immaterial body. All the evidence points the other way. If it were immaterial, it would not be the body which our risen Lord bade His Apostles touch and handle. It would not have flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection and completeness of man's nature, as the Articles assert. It would not be the body that rose into heaven, and of which it was announced that "that same Jesus shall so come in like manner as ye have seen Him go into heaven."

All this special pleading has been made possible by the unfortunate use of the word "natural" in the Post Communion Rubric—unfortunate, because it is evidently used for material. But it is used in 1 Cor. xv. as the opposite to "spiritual;" and if "natural" means material, spiritual would seem to mean "immaterial." That it does not mean "immaterial" has been decided by the Church, for she declares our Lord's risen body to be material—that is, to have flesh and bones; and indisputably she is right. To become spiritual is not to be converted into spirit, or else the adjective itself would be absurd. As the regenerated man of 1 Cor. ii. is spiritual, *πνευματικός*, just as we speak of a spiritual mind, as opposed to natural, *ψυχικός*, so the *σῶμα ψυχικόν* of 1 Cor. xv. is the body under the condition of sin and controlled by its influence, in which sense Scripture frequently uses the phrase of "flesh and blood" as equivalent to the sin-stained nature with which we are born into the world; and the *σῶμα πνευματικόν* is the same body, freed from its mortal weaknesses and brought under the control of the Spirit of God. Does any one dream that the human body after the resurrection will become ubiquitous? Yet we are

taught that such as the body of Christ is now in heaven, such our bodies will be hereafter. If, therefore, Christ's glorified body is omnipresent, the risen bodies of the saints will be omnipresent likewise—that is, they will be Divine, not human. If all this only means that the Godhead of the Lord Jesus Christ is everywhere even in the bread and wine, why should it not be clearly stated? But this is not what is meant.

It is much to be regretted that a controversy so important as that concerning the nature of the Lord's Supper should be obscured by subtleties which can only deceive ordinary readers, and which, it must be believed, deceive the writers themselves. Why should they use plain fallacies, unless they are themselves deluded by them? Because it is inconceivable that the natural body of the Lord Jesus Christ should be in, with, or under the consecrated elements, does it therefore really follow that we must give up our belief in the resurrection and the future life? ("Doctrine of the Fathers," p. 60). Because the writers of "The Unseen Universe" have proved that "if we possess nothing else than that which is visible and tangible, in that case our mortality, our utter extinction at death, is a demonstrable thing," does it follow that every living man must have two bodies, one visible and tangible, the other invisible and intangible? (Ibid.) Because Jesus could not give His actual organic human body to eat, and His blood, as yet flowing in His veins, His genuine human blood, to drink, does it follow that we have no need to concern ourselves "about such matters as right and wrong, truth and justice, virtue, heroism, nobility of soul, self-denial, or indeed about anything else except what will minister comfort and satisfaction to each man's own selfish self?" (Ibid. p. 207). Because our blessed Lord did really come out of the unseen world to take flesh, and after His death went back to the right hand of the Father, does it follow that His glorified Body descends from heaven at every administration of the Lord's Supper, and is held in the hand, and pressed by the teeth, even of the unworthy recipient? What possible dependence propositions so utterly unlike can have upon each other is beyond all the realm of reason and the comprehension of ordinary men.

One lucid thinker, to whose definitions the Church of England will ever be deeply indebted, has been removed from amongst us, almost while these lines are being written. A few words of grateful remembrance may be permitted. Dr. A. J. Stephens, the greatest ecclesiastical lawyer of his day, has been taken to his rest; but will never be forgotten by any one who had the privilege of knowing him. The tall, powerful frame, with the massive face, the eagle eye, the firm lip, and the all-pervading intelligence, were but the outward signs of his strong individuality. The masculine intellect and the firm grasp of truth,

the broad comprehension, the lofty impatience of all that is little, the disdain for the petty trivialities of verbal criticism, the insight that went at once to the very heart of his subject, the directness of his character, and the steadiness of his convictions, all fitted him to walk with unflinching step amid, to the minds of other men, the complexities of the Eucharistic controversy, and to unfold with singular lucidity of order and a most happy command of words, what was as clear as daylight to his own convictions. What his genial frankness and kindness of heart made him to his personal friends, belongs to another sphere than that in which this article moves. He is gone, and his like will not soon be seen again.

EDWARD GARBETT.

### Reviews.

*Sunshine and Storm in the East: Cruises to Cyprus and Constantinople.*

By Mrs. BRASSEY, Author of "A Voyage in the *Sunbeam*." With upwards of 100 Illustrations, chiefly from Drawings by the Hon. A. Y. BINGHAM. Pp. 450. Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

A JOURNAL kept while cruising in the Mediterranean, though less novel than the story of a family yachting-voyage round the world, may yet be almost as attractive. Certainly, by the readers of that charming book "A Voyage in the *Sunbeam*, our Home on the Ocean for Eleven Months," Mrs. Brassey's letters from the shores of the Mediterranean will be eagerly welcomed. The letters, indeed, have many points of interest. In some respects, perhaps, the journal of the cruises to Cyprus and Constantinople possesses, at the present time, an interest even greater than that of the voyage round the world. Mrs. Brassey's style, graceful and unaffected, is well known. In a literary point of view, her letters, chatty, graphic, agreeable, and full of information, deserve unstinted praise.

The first cruise was undertaken in 1874, and it included a visit to the Ionian Islands. Four years later came the second cruise, and this included a visit to Cyprus, and a second visit to Constantinople. "Melancholy, indeed, seemed the change in the Turkish capital during the four years since our last visit—a change from all that was bright and glittering to all that was dark, and miserable, and wretched."

Two or three extracts from Mrs. Brassey's journal, without comment, will show the character of the book. First, of a narrow escape, while the *Sunbeam* was lying moored to a Government buoy in Portsmouth Harbour. Mrs. Brassey, recovering from a severe illness, was lying in bed: it was 8.30 in the morning, and the children were at breakfast:—

I heard some of the men shout, or rather scream, "She is into us! We shall be sunk! Fetch the children! Lower the boats! Get the misses on

deck !” Then I heard the rattle of the falls through the davits, and the splash of the boats in the water. Then two stewards rushed through the engine-room passage, each carrying a child, and followed by the affrighted maids, all saying, “She will cut us through by the fore-companion.” Then two men came flying down to carry me up, and the nurse appeared with a quilt to wrap me in. There was a scare, a scurry, a terrible fright, a crash, but not so bad a one as we had anticipated, and then a cry of relief. She has not cut us below the water-line ; we shall not sink after all. The *Assistance*, a troopship bringing soldiers from Ireland, in trying to avoid a sailing-barge, had been caught by the tide, and come stem on into us, but fortunately very far forward, where our over-hanging bow protected us. She had reversed her engines before she touched us ; for had she not tried to alter her course, and been going astern at the time she ran into us, we should have been crushed like a walnut-shell, and sunk in a few seconds. It was a *mauvais quart d’heure* such as I hope never to experience again, especially when unable to move, or to do anything to help myself or any body else.

Shortly afterwards, while on the Barbary coast, they had another escape from collision. We read—

Tom and I had retired to rest, and were both fast asleep, when Mr. Bingham knocked at the door to tell us that Kindred wanted to see Tom on deck. This was by way of not alarming us, the fact being that we were in imminent risk of a collision, and that Kindred did not see his way of avoiding it. As there was no wind, I never thought of anything being amiss, and did not rouse myself till I heard Kindred say to Tom in an agonised voice, “She *won’t* come round, and we must be into her.” After our recent experience in Portsmouth Harbour, I lost no time in rushing up on deck, when I saw the huge black hull of a barque bearing slowly down upon us, with her red light showing, and her bowsprit pointed right amidships. As there was no breeze, we were both quite helpless, and, in spite of all we could do in the way of shifting sails, nothing seemed to succeed. Whether we tried to get ahead or astern of her, there appeared to be some force of attraction between the two ships that drove them slowly but surely towards each other, as they rose and sank on the heavy swell. After about half-an-hour’s suspense, a breath of wind came, and we managed to draw slowly ahead, so as to allow her to pass astern of us. I never thought I should have been so glad to see any green light as I was to catch sight of hers. By the time midnight had arrived we were at a really safe distance, and retired to rest again. At breakfast this morning we not unnaturally discussed the events of the night, and I asked Tom what would have happened had we really come into contact with the barque. “Oh ! we should have been bumped against, or have scrunched up and down against one another, till we went to the bottom.”

The account of the run through Cyprus is bright and full of interest. Sir Garnet Wolseley and the higher officials of the island, Turkish, Greek, and English, showed Mr. and Mrs. Brassey all that was best worth seeing. Here is a specimen of the many pretty pictures. At Nikosia—

After breakfast we strolled through the camp to the Greek monastery from which it takes its name, a large ancient building, containing a church and many cells, some of which are now used by Sir Garnet for office purposes during the day-time, when the tents are unbearably hot. The pretty little garden attached is full of jasmine, verberna, and oleander, and we were invited to take a stroll

in it till the Archimandrite, or Archbishop of Cyprus, was ready to receive us himself, with all his attendant priests, and to show us the church. He is a fine-looking old man, about seventy years of age, with piercing black eyes, a long grey beard, and a polite but dignified manner—altogether quite one's *beau idéal* of a Greek patriarch. In the church, to which he conducted us, there is a fine-gilt, carved wood screen, containing three pictures in the Byzantine style, of considerable merit, and surmounted by some life-size figures of the Apostles. The pulpit is most curiously arranged. A little carved and gilt lantern is fixed against the wall, close to an arch, on the opposite side of which is suspended a ladder by means of ropes, which, when lowered, forms the only means of communication between the pulpit and the floor of the church; so that when once the priest has ascended, and the ladder has been removed, he cannot get down again without assistance. After our visit to the church, the Archimandrite invited us to his own apartments, where we were entertained with sweetmeats, cold water, and Turkish coffee.

The following is a description of a terrible gale when the yacht was off Milo, in the Greek Archipelago. With the glass at 29.80, on December 17th, they made a start for Old England under sail:—

Dec. 18th was indeed an eventful day, and if our friends in England could only have seen us, they would have felt much anxiety on our account and have given us much pity. It was terribly rough when I first awoke and groped my way on deck in the dark, and by 8 A.M. we hove-to in a fearful gale under a trysail and reefed canvas. Three times did we try to get the yacht round under her mizen, but she utterly refused. The stays and rigging that support her masts will have to be seen to as soon as we get into port, or they will be getting us into trouble.

The wind blew harder even than on last Friday, I think, or else we were more fully exposed to its fury. It howled and roared, and really seemed to scream in the rigging, as the sudden blasts rushed wildly by. A tremendous sea was running, and there appeared to be every prospect of the weather getting worse. I therefore tried hard to persuade Tom to run back to Milo, but he was loth to lose twenty miles of the distance we had gained with so much trouble yesterday. The glass kept falling, falling, till at last, about 12.30 P.M., he consented to put the yacht round, and then we had a dusting. Although we shipped only one really big sea just as we were going about, it was quite enough to make everything very wet and uncomfortable. Once round, she rode the waves like a cork, though the water poured over her lee rail—which must be at least ten feet above the level of the sea—like a cascade, and the boats, three or four feet above that again, were frequently full of water, and in imminent danger of being torn, or rather lifted, from their davits. It was indeed an anxious time, before a gale like this, almost under bare poles, close to a lee shore. I cannot recollect ever in my life seeing Tom more anxious. It was a grand sight, though, to see the huge waves tearing alongside of us, threatening every moment to engulf us altogether; rushing along the channels, dashing up the rigging, pouring over the lee rail like a fountain, while still we went rushing along faster and faster before it and with it. Sometimes we seemed to fly before the gale, and sometimes the gale seemed to tear past us. It was a great relief to everybody on board when at last the order was given to jib. No sooner was it carried out than we were in comparative shelter from the fury of the sea round the point of Milo.

But the strength of the gale still seemed to increase; the wind blew harder

than ever. All the morning it had been impossible to light the fires, either for steaming or cooking; but as soon as we had begun to run, and it was possible to do so, fires had been lighted in case steam might be wanted. Very fortunate it was that this had been done, for just as we thought we were safe inside the long harbour of Milo, we found the yacht would not fetch it. Oh! the disappointment of that moment, when we thought our miseries and dangers were over! We had to wait three long quarters of an hour hove-to at the mouth of the harbour till steam was up.

And here we must take leave of this fascinating volume. Open it where we will—and we confess we have only “dipped into it,” from sheer lack of time, a treat is in store for us,—we read its pages with pleasure. Mr. Bingham’s illustrations must not be forgotten; they are really charming. The book is beautifully printed, and “got up” in admirable taste.

## Short Notices.

*Is the Papacy predicted by St. Paul?* (2 Thess. ii. 1–13.) An Inquiry. By CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln. With a few words in reply to Dr. Farrar. Pp. 34. Rivington.

This timely and vigorous pamphlet deserves to become widely known. All earnest and reverent students of prophecy, whether or no they agree with the learned Bishop on every point, will read the pamphlet, we believe, with deep interest. As a reply to the rash remarks of Dr. Farrar, it has a peculiar value at the present moment. In support of the statement that idolatrous worship is now claimed by the Papacy, according to the prediction of St. Paul, Bishop Wordsworth quotes from modern Roman Catholics. Montalembert, for instance, in 1870, wrote that these favoured votaries of the Papacy, the Ultramontanes, “trample under foot all our liberties to sacrifice truth, justice, reason, and history, to the idol they have set up in the Vatican”—“pour venir ensuite immoler la vérité et la justice, la raison et l’histoire, à l’idole qu’ils se sont érigée au Vatican.” Bishop Wordsworth concludes his able inquiry in these words:—

In this solemn question we have now appealed, not to uninspired men, but to St. Paul; we have inquired of the Holy Ghost; we have heard the verdict of God. Thence we may conclude as follows:—If the *Mystery of iniquity* is the same thing as the *Mystery of godliness*; if the Man of Sin is a man of God; if the Son of Perdition is an heir of Salvation; if *deceivableness of unrighteousness* is the same thing as godly sincerity; if *strong delusion* is the same thing as sound persuasion; if to *believe the Lie* is the same thing as to hold the Truth; if to be in peril of condemnation is the same thing as to be saved; if to be consumed with the *spirit of Christ’s mouth* is the same thing as to hear from Christ’s lips the joyful words, *Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you*; then Romanism is a safe religion; then it is not sinful to encourage it; then it is a matter of little moment whether you belong to the Church of England or fall away to the Church of Rome—but not otherwise.

*The Two Paths; or, Canon Farrar’s “Eternal Hope” briefly examined.* By the Rev. J. BENNETT, M.A., Incumbent of Park Chapel, Chelsea. Pp. 128. New Edition. J. F. Shaw & Co.

We have read several pages in this book, here and there, with satisfaction; the argument appears to be not only sound, but clear and vigorous. The last chapter, however, headed “Evangelical Truth,” especially

attracted our attention, and we found it to contain a sort of complaint against "the Evangelical body as a whole," and, further, an attack upon those Evangelicals who attend Church Congresses. Surely in a book which professes to be an examination of Dr. Farrar's mischievous work, such remarks are out of place.

*The Antiquary.* A Magazine devoted to the Study of the Past. Edited by EDWARD WALFORD, M.A. No. 2. Elliot Stock.

With this new Magazine we are much pleased. The articles are ably written, and well varied, and a good deal of antiquarian news is given in short compass. The notes on Thomas à Kempis, and "The Mythical Gersen" are exceedingly good. As to printing, paper, and general "get-up," *The Antiquary* deserves warm praise.

*Comforting Words for the Weary, and Words of Counsel and Warning.* With Original Hymns. With an Introduction by the Rev. HUGH MACMILLAN, D.D. Pp. 102. Houghton & Co., 10, Paternoster Row.

An admirable little book, and well suited for the sick, sorrowful, and weary in body or mind. It is written with charming simplicity and freshness, and is replete with Scriptural truth. The hymns which conclude each one of its brief meditations are good, both as to their sentiment and diction. Dr. Macmillan gives the work great praise, and remarks that its authoress has inherited much of the genius and piety of her ancestress, the well-known Lady Colquhoun of Luss.

*The Church under Queen Elizabeth.* An Historical Sketch. By the Rev. F. G. LEE, D.D., Vicar of All Saints', Lambeth. 2 vols. W. H. Allen & Co.

The author of these volumes is a beneficed clergyman of the Church of England; but his position in regard to the Church of Rome we will not attempt to define. For the "Ritualists" he has nothing but hard words. Thus, in the Introduction he quotes from the *Church Times* (Sept. 26, 1879) and thus comments: "The person who could deliberately write of the Elizabethan Reformers' Supper as a 'Mass' must be either a profound ignoramus or as daring as he is impudent and dishonest." Again: "The more recent exhibitions of 'Ritualism,' as it is called, display all the narrowness, virulence, and pettiness of the most perverse sects." And, once more, the author blames the Ritualists for discouraging "Corporate Reunion," and disparaging "*the English Roman Catholics who, through so long a night of moral darkness, have kept the Lamp of Divine Truth burning.*" The italics are our own; and we refrain from comment. In regard to "Corporate Reunion," however, we may mention that at the end of Dr. Lee's second volume appears a very singular "statement." The "Rulers of the Order of Corporate Reunion, founded Sept. 8, 1877," we read, are—

The Bishop of DORCHESTER.

The Bishop of SELBY.

The Bishop of CAERLEON.

What Bishops are these? In another statement we observe a petition to the Pope, and a "prayer for the restoration of England, Scotland, and Wales, and of the non-Catholics of Ireland, to Catholic Unity," sanctioned by Cardinal Manning! After this, we are by no means surprised to read a letter from Lady Gertrude Douglas to the author of these volumes, concerning cures wrought by "Our Lady of Lourdes." As to the volumes—we have only quoted from the Preface and Appendix—it is needless to say much. Their chief characteristic is hatred of the Reformation. The



author candidly confesses that for his "facts" he is considerably indebted to "Brother H. Foley, S.J." Members of that "great Society" may, possibly, both read and praise these dreary volumes.

*The Responsibility of the Heathen, and the Responsibility of the Church.*

A Missionary Address founded upon 1 Timothy ii. 1-7. By the Rev. C. F. CHILDE, M.A. Pp. 62. Nisbet and Co.

A little book which should be read and given away.

*Observations on Sunday-School Instruction.* By the late John GREGG, D.D. Edited by his Son, ROBERT S. GREGG, D.D., Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross. Pp. 85. Dublin: Geo. Herbert.

We had the pleasure, in a recent Number, of recommending a very valuable series of Addresses to Children by the late Bishop Gregg—"The Story of Stories, and other Sermons,"—a book which, in many ways, stands almost alone. Such Sermons, we think, young people will read right through. The little book before us, an admirable Address to Sunday-School Teachers, deserves a wide circulation.

*Echoes from a Village Church.* By the Rev. FREDERICK HARPER, M.A., Vicar of Shalfleet. With Preface by Lieut.-Gen. Sir ARTHUR COTTON, R.E., K.C.S.I. Pp. 109. Nisbet and Co.

In his interesting preface to this welcome little volume, Sir Arthur Cotton observes that of Ministers in the Church of England who know and teach the way of God in truth, there is an increasing number. "We need to be reminded," he writes, "that the few evil men, of whom the newspapers are full, are not all who compose the Clergy of the Church of England, but that by God's grace there never were so many faithful men in her ministry, whose names are never hardly mentioned beyond their own parishes; who preach in such simplicity, clearness, and fulness as these Sermons exhibit, the truth of God; men in whose churches the pulpit and reading desk are in perfect accordance."

We heartily recommend *For the Master's Sake*, a well-written Tale of the Days of Queen Mary, by Miss HOLT (Shaw & Co.); a good gift-book.

A tasteful little volume—*The Christian Remembrancer Birthday Book* (R. A. Suttaby)—contains texts selected by the late CHARLOTTE ELLIOTT, and verses of poetry corresponding, chosen from her poems.

A really well-written story, true to life, with many touching passages, is *The Children's Kingdom*, by the Author of "Great St. Benedict's," and other impressive Tales. (J. F. Shaw & Co.) Boys and girls will read it with eagerness and profit.

*The Musical Hand-Bell Ringers' Instructor*, by Mr. S. B. GOSLIN (Warner and Sons), will prove, to a certain class, an interesting pamphlet. Many of the illustrations are curious.

In *The Church Sunday-School Magazine* appears a Paper on Plymouth Brethren, by the Bishop of Rangoon.

The political articles in *The Congregationalist* (Hodder and Stoughton) are, to put it mildly, decidedly partisan. It is stated that "the supporters of Lord Beaconsfield's policy avow a cynical contempt for any suggestion that the affairs of nations should be governed by Christian principle!"

No. 3 of *The Churches of Yorkshire* (Elliot Stock) contains an engraving of the Parish Church, Bradford.





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